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HENRY B. DAWSON.
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HENRY B. DAWSON.

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THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

January, 1872.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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~~This~~ This notice is intended to protect, especially, the Second, Third, and Sixth of the articles named below, *et. al.* of which are first published herein, by due authority.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The publication of this Number has been very unwillingly delayed by reason, *FIRST*, of the severe illness of the Editor and Publisher and his consequent inability to attend to business, during several months; and, *SECOND*, of the unexpected and distressing delays in the settlement of some disputed points concerning *The Story of Fort Sumter*, on which we desired entire accuracy and in the determination of which we sought, and have enjoyed, the earnest co-operation of four of the distinguished survivors of the officers of the garrison, as well as that of Larz Anderson, Esq., (a brother and correspondent of Major Anderson,) that of General Fitz-John Porter, (then an Assistant-Adjutant-general of the Army and conversant with many of the facts concerning the subject,) and that of ex-Governors Magrath and Orr of South Carolina, the family of ex-Governor Pickens, of the same State, the late William Gilmore Simms, LL.D., and General P. G. T. Beauregard, C. S. A.

We are confident, with these reasons before you, that you will not condemn us.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

[Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

JANUARY, 1872.

[No. 1.]

I.—TO OUR READERS,

ON THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRD SERIES.

Five years since, at the opening of the eleventh year of the publication of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, it was our privilege to address those of you who were then "Our Readers;" and, again, at the opening of our twenty-first volume—the first of our Third Series—we are permitted, to-day, to enjoy the same privilege.

Five years, meanwhile, have presented their joys and their sorrows; and each year, as it has passed away, never to return, has borne with it some of those who were our companions and our friends—fellow-laborers, very often, in the field in which we have labored,—all of them laden with the fruits of their toil, returning, their appointed work having been completed, to the rest which had been already prepared for them. Those who have been spared, in order to complete their allotted work, not yet finished, have encountered five years more of anxieties and of joys than they had then encountered; and some there are, with heads more deeply blanched than they then were, and with hands far less steady—trophies of their faithful labors, and, too often, their only rewards,—who, in the interval, have lost the elasticity of their step and the overflow of their spirits, and quietly await the order for their departure—too near, it may be, for those who are dependent on them, for guidance and support—which is, evidently, not far distant. Five years have also shaken thrones; disarranged boundaries; overthrown some of those who were, previously, high in authority; elevated some of those who were, then, low in obscurity; tested the capacity of men for self-government, as it had seldom, before, been tested; developed the resources of those partisans among whom the possession of power, no matter how acquired, is the warrant for the exercise of authority, no matter how much unauthorized by law; and, in politics and in war, set aside maxims which prevailed in better days, among better men; made giants of pigmies; and so concealed and belittled the Truth, that Falsehood has become the most attractive.

In the midst of all these changes, unaffected by any of them, *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* occupies, comparatively unchanged, the same position which it occupied, five years ago; and it enters another era,—the third—in its history, with no new duties, no new hopes, no new prospects. What it was, five years since, it is, to-day; and what, to-day, it seeks to attain, it sought, five years ago, as earnestly and as honestly, as now. We promise, now, as we promised then, that "it will be steadily devoted, as it has been, hitherto, to the History, Antiquities, Biography, and Standard Literature of America; and we believe we may safely say that there will not be found in its columns, with our knowledge and consent, any place whatever, for any subject which does not seem to bear 'the guinea stamp' of historic truth and genuineness, unless for exposing its character and denouncing its author."

Nor is there any greater necessity for change in the policy which shall, hereafter, control the Magazine, than in the choice of subjects to which it shall be devoted. We said, five years since, and we say now, that "THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, while it shall remain under our control, will never recognize any pretended necessity to remain silent on any subject which may, properly, be discussed in its columns; nor will it ever hesitate to follow those who shall venture to display their authorial dexterity on the slippery paths of personal or political history." "What is known to be historically untrue, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will fearlessly expose and condemn, no matter by whom it may have been uttered; and he will be fearlessly exposed and denounced, therein, no matter from whom he may have descended, who shall seek to remove any of the landmarks of our country's history, for the purpose of sacrificing the truth on the altar of expediency." "With such a course marked out for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, we can confidently appeal, for sympathy and support, to the more earnest and honest of our countrymen, who are neither ashamed nor afraid to follow the truth, whithersoever she may lead them. To the mere time-server and sycophant, to the

"historically self righteous, and to 'him who 'loveth and maketh a lie' in the name of History, this work will neither commend itself nor prove useful; and their sympathy and support are neither expected nor solicited."

It will be seen, from this reiteration of its time-honored principles, that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has made no compromise with either Falshood or those who sustain her; and that it will continue to sit in judgment, hereafter—to become the *uninvited censor or umpire*, if that term shall be preferred—as it has sat, hitherto, on all matters, *opinions as well as statements*, within the range of its published objects, which have been published to the world and, thereby, made instruments for either good or evil, among men. Its judgment may not always be a correct one—it makes no claim to infallibility—but, in every case, it will be an honest and an earnest one, and unbought with either fear, favor, or affection.

It will neither mutilate nor *condense* any document which it shall consider worthy of a place in its pages, either for the purpose of saving paper and presswork, of adapting it to somebody's tastes, or of concealing somebody's shortcomings; nor will it mutilate any original contributions to its pages, by other pens than its Editor's, simply in order to make those contributions more palatable to somebody, or less decided in their tone, than their authors, themselves, either desired or intended. The Magazine's contributors will be allowed to speak for themselves, in their own language, over their own signatures; and it will not be a part of our duty to either *prune*, or *condense*, or *modify in expression*, anything which shall be accepted from any one, for publication in its pages—whatever shall be so far unfit for publication as to require such an "uninvited" and unenviable censorship, at our hand, will be either rejected, altogether, or accompanied with suitable foot-notes, exposing and condemning what we shall conceive to need correction.

In short, the Magazine will endeavor to have, hereafter, as it has had, hitherto, well-grounded and clearly-defined opinions on all matters pertaining to the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America; and those opinions, either with or without the authorities on which they shall be based, shall not be withheld whenever there shall be found a sufficient reason for the publication of them, no matter whose descendants may be thereby aggrieved or whose personal, or official, or authorial pretensions, thereby, disturbed.

Those who shall need other food than this, thus forewarned, will unquestionably seek, elsewhere, that food for babes which they cannot find in these pages: those who shall be unable, without flinching, to look the truth of history squarely in the face, quite as unquestionably, will seek, in

other directions, that modified, and condensed, and pruned, and, very often, more agreeable, article, call it what you will, which they will not find in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

II.—THE MORRISTOWN GHOST.

By JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH UNIVERSITY, INDIANA.

When King James's version of the Bible was made, it was the common belief, in all parts of England, that a *witch* is "a female who, by the 'agency of Satan, or rather a familiar Spirit or 'gnome appointed by Satan to attend on her, 'performs operations beyond the powers of 'humanity, in consequence of her compact with 'Satan, written in her own blood, by which she 'resigns herself to him, forever. Among other 'advantages resulting to her, from this engagement, is the power of transforming herself 'into any shape she pleases, which is generally that of a hare; transporting herself 'through the air on a broomstick; sailing on 'the sea in a sieve; gliding through a key hole; 'inflicting diseases, etc., upon mankind or cattle." Doctor Kitto asserts that modern witchcraft can be traced back only to the Middle Ages. Another author states that, in 1484, Pope Innocent VIII. sought to arrest witchcraft, in which he believed, as a fact, by hissing on his inquisitors to find and punish those guilty of it. He even had the *Hammer of Witches (Malleus Maleficorum)* published, in which were specific directions for the detection and trial of such persons. In 1494, Pope Alexander VI., in 1521, Leo X., and, in 1522, Adrian VI., hurled their hottest bolts against witchcraft. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the almost universal belief was in the fact of there being certain such persons as those who became witches by some process like that already named. It is said that "five hundred witches were burned at Geneva, in three months, about the year 1515; "that one thousand were executed in one year in "the diocese of Cours; * * * and that not less "than one hundred thousand victims must have "suffered in Germany alone." Thirty thousand were executed in England for witchcraft. "This "commerce with evil spirits," as Blackstone calls it, was commonly admitted to exist. The Church sounded the alarm; and the State, forthwith, began to exterminate those supposed to be guilty of this nefarious "commerce." Some of the most curious relics of those Middle Ages are handed down in the form of witch-trials, before the highest tribunals of England and the Continent. From the confessions which were extorted from the accused, by all kinds of horrible torture, it was gathered, and became a popula

belief, that "general assemblies of witches were held, yearly or oftener, in which they appeared entirely naked, and besmeared with an ointment made from the bodies of unbaptized infants. To these meetings, they rode, from great distances, on broomsticks, pokers, goats, hogs, or dogs; the devil taking the chair, in the form of a goat. Here they did homage to the prince of hell, and offered him sacrifices of young children, etc., and practiced all sorts of license, until cockcrowing."

Sir Walter Scott, in his *Demonology and Witchcraft*, states the fact that, in 1722, "an insane old woman" was burned, as a witch, the last execution of the kind in Scotland. The miserable creature "had a daughter lame both of hands and feet—a circumstance attributed to the witch's having been used to transform her into a pony, and get her shod by the devil." We often amuse ourselves by speaking of the "witch-ordeal" by which the executioner either tied together the thumbs of the suspected person or put her in a closely-tied sack, and then threw her into deep water. If she drowned, then she was not a witch: if she did not sink, then, clearly, she was a witch, to be put to death in some other way. And yet this ordeal indicated how witchcraft had possessed the convictions and imagination of the popular masses. What a hold it must have gained, is inferable from the superstition of Blackstone and Samuel Johnson. "The thing itself"—witchcraft—says Blackstone, "is a truth to which every nation in the world hath, in its turn, borne testimony, either by examples, seemingly well attested, or by prohibitory laws, which, at least, suppose the possibility of a commerce with evil spirits." How the great Johnson placed his shoes, at night, and his unwillingness to put the left foot, (if I do not forget) first across the threshold, are well known.

Mr. Bancroft shrewdly apologizes for the superstition prevalent in this country, and which broke out, notably, in Salem, by saying, "the belief in witchcraft had fastened itself on the elements of religious faith, and become deeply branded into the common mind. Do not despise the credulity. The people did not rally to the error: they accepted the superstition only because it had not yet been disengaged from religion." In Boston, Salem, and many other places, was found many a "scandalous old hag * * * thought to be crazed in her intellectualness." It became a popular creed, that "there is both a God, and a devil, and witchcraft," that "most nefarious high treason against the Majesty on high." And what the credulous Mather said, the saintly Richard Baxter endorsed. There is scarcely any part of human history so humiliating to recall as this of

the Salem witchcraft, at the close of the seventeenth century.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the witch murders ceased; but, in the old world and the new, the superstition held the popular imagination in bondage. It was an easier task to drive it from the head than from the imagination of mankind. This was seen in the almost numberless "signs" which people had, for the common occurrences of life. Sensible men shuddered to find themselves "looking at the new-moon over the left shoulder," and experienced a sense of relief to find themselves taking their first look over the right shoulder. Friday was "the unlucky day;" potatoes, radishes, and such roots, planted in "the new of the moon," would "run to top;" and pork and beef butchered "in the old of the moon would shrink in the pot." The time to wean a baby or a pig was laid down in this time-table of superstition; and, to this day, there are thousands who would as soon deny the authenticity of the Bible as neglect those rules which popular superstition has maintained so long. Besides this, every community had "its haunted house" and its places where spectres dire or sheeted ghosts had been seen.

Long after the "witch-ordeal" and the trials for witchcraft had ceased, there were many people who believed in witchcraft as firmly as in their own existence. It is true, they never saw a loaded wagon bewitched into immovability between the bar-posts neither of which it touched; nor had they ever seen a demon, in obedience to some notorious witch, "invisibly entering the house and tearing down part of it." They had never seen the witch riding on a broomstick or poker, or engaging in the "devil's dance;" nor, indeed, anything appealing to any outward sense. But thousands heard witch-stories related at the ample kitchen fire-place, by the slaves, who, as a class, did not a little to keep the people sound in the belief in witches. People now are living, not fifty years old, who can remember how Sambo and Dinah conjured up hobgoblins and witches in their thrilling stories, until their hearers started at every shaking leaf, and feared to look over their shoulder lest they should see something. Age became garrulous, as it told a thousand tales about witch and ghost; and time was, not a hundred years ago, when around many an ample fire-place, with its cheerful warmth and glow, people talked of these things, over their apples and cider, with evident sincerity. It was a very general fact, belonging to every section of this country; and it throws light on what I am now to relate.

Who has not heard of "The Morristown Ghost"? Eighty-four years ago—1788—this famous character excited more notice in New

Jersey than the putting the new *Constitution* in motion. Some people were ashamed to have their credulity exposed; others were enraged to find themselves robbed of cash, by the ghost; and others were beginning loud explosions of laughter, which one generation after another takes up and transmits.

"The Morristown Ghost" exhibited himself to a few select mortals, in various places and circumstances, during the years 1788 and 1789. Great events then happened together. The immortal *Constitution* of these United States was published, in 1788; and the immortal Morristown Ghost came into being, the same memorable year. The immortal Washington, in the Spring of 1789, became our first President; and, whilst he was entering on his high sphere, the immortal Ghost of Morristown was gliding about, on stilts; shaking horse-shoes around the houses of people, in dark nights; occasionally thumping the weather-boards, in a ghostly way; and performing many other ghostly deeds.

A word about my authorities. The bursting of the bubble covered with confusion the very respectable persons duped by the Ghost, who was arrested and imprisoned, but let out, as is said, in order that he might clear the country. About two years afterward, a pamphlet was published, having, on the outside cover, the title printed, *The Morristown Ghost*. The inner title page is as follows: *An account of the Beginning, Transactions, and Discovery of Ransford Rogers, who seduced many by pretended Hobgoblins and Apparitions, and thereby extorted Money from their pockets. In the County of Morris and State of New Jersey, in the year 1788. Printed for every Purchaser—1792.* Who wrote and who published this pamphlet cannot now be certainly ascertained. Some supposed that Rogers himself wrote it, in order to increase his revenues and also to punish the Morristown people for their treatment of him. From the resemblance of the type and paper to that used in the *New Jersey Journal*, of that date, I suspect the pamphlet was printed by Sheppard Kollock, of Elizabethtown. The production was said to be very offensive, in Morristown and vicinity; and that those involved in the transactions, as far as they could, bought up and destroyed all the copies they could learn of. Whether this tradition is true or not, I have inquired of many people, in Morris-county, for that old pamphlet; but, thus far, in vain. Fortunately, I found a copy, nearly perfect, in the hands of a Newark antiquary, Samuel H. Conger, Esq. The title-page I have already quoted.

In 1828, appeared *The Wonderful History of the Morristown Ghost; thoroughly and carefully revised. By David Young. Newark: Published by Benjamin Olds, for the author.* J. C.

Totten, Printer. This was "David Young. Philom," whose name figured so conspicuously on the title-pages of half the almanacs printed in this country, thirty years ago. By accident, he found a copy of the old pamphlet, in Elizabethtown; and he thus speaks of his reasons for revising it: "The very inaccurate and apparently headlong manner in which it was executed rendered a revision highly necessary. * * * Every reader may rest assured that, if the truth of this narration had been doubtful, I should have taken no pains to rescue it from oblivion." The additions made by Mr. Young are very slight; but he has omitted some things, and touched up the grammar and rhetoric of his original.

In addition to these printed authorities, some, very recently, were living, who remember the scenes; and, a few years ago, the number of these was quite large. From them, I have learned many curious facts which have never been published. In reference to the general condition of society, at that time, I may quote from a letter written by the late Rev. Peter Kanouse, who was old enough to give testimony, as an eye-witness. He refers to that region, familiarly known, in Morris-county, as "Rockaway Valley." To use his words, "We have rambled over this ancient field as far back as I dare venture, when witches and hobgoblins held their pow-wows in the Old Indian burying-ground, just as you go down to the Beaver brook, on the East side, as you approach Dixon's dwelling, in Rockaway-valley. And, when the witches burnt down Old Charlotteburg Iron Works, I heard a lady say they metamorphosed her aunt into a horse, and, after riding her to the place of rendezvous, tied her to a tree, where she witnessed the bonfire and their devil-dance! Will-o-the-wisp was a spook, often seen, by the timid ones, along the Rockaway-river, from the Owl-kill up to Dover, and farther, too. My early school-mates and myself had many a frightful race past the graves of old Yommer and Pero, two Africans, who knew all the arts of feticism. Then, elf-shooting was often witnessed—for instance, a cow shot through, from side to side, with a ball of hair, without wounding the skin! It was an age of necromancy and heathenish superstition, when men were prepared to be duped by such impostors as 'the Morristown Ghost.' Witchcraft and fortune-telling were in vogue, * * * and some obscure, yet honest, ignorant, kind-hearted matron, bowed with age and face furrowed over with years, was regarded with terror, and her oracles esteemed as if uttered by a very Pythoness! Spooks and Will-o-the-wisps were often seen, and were frequently made the sober theme of the domestic circle,

"when seated before the good old-fashioned fire, on a cold wintry night. There were some astrologers, and, now and then, one who used divination, and could detect rogues and thieves, and find stolen property. The wonderful old Almanac, with the waterman or water-bearer, surrounded by the twelve signs, was full of curious cuts and was oftener read than the Bible."

There was also a very general popular ignorance. Schools were few; and they were usually taught by strolling itinerants, who were not of a kind to correct the popular superstitions of the times. Indeed, they and the slaves were a sort of medium through which the follies of superstition were communicated from one place to another. Most of the early teachers, in Morris-county, were from New England and Ireland; and facts are still remembered, which show that many of them were either superstitious or artful, since they did not a little to fasten the yoke of bondage on all within their reach. Many of the slaves were native Africans; and, in their broken but expressive gibberish, they entailed, on the children, their creed in spooks and hobgoblins, as they learned it, in Africa. Most of the wealthy families, in Morris-county, had slaves, as a respectable appendage; and many of these were very cunning. Even now, I seem to hear old Juliet, or Tom, or Sam, or Dinah, in the old Dutch kitchen, dimly illuminated by the fire, swaying backward and forward, as if under some mysterious spell, whilst they told about a certain house in which a pedlar had been murdered for his money; and how his unhappy ghost prowls about the scenes where ended his mortal life; and how, in such a place, an apparition glided across the road, noiselessly as a moving vapor, and disappeared in a certain spot, where, tradition says, a lover was killed by a jealous rival; and how, in such a house, and in such a room, the attenuated, misty form of a beautiful girl has been seen, with hands clasped on her snowy breast, revisiting the place in which jealousy extinguished her life, on her bridal night. In fact, the negroes who lived in the kitchens of the people in this region, eighty and a hundred years ago, were the most ingenious tellers of ghost and witch stories that could be found; and they did a great deal to bring multitudes into a semi-belief in the absurdities of the times. If the whites held them in bondage, slaves as they were, they did not a little to enthrall their masters with chains harder to break than those which they themselves wore.

There was prevalent, in this region—and, no doubt, elsewhere—a class of ghostly stories which pointed to hid treasures, whose vastness was exaggerated by the imagination of the superstitious, and whose hiding-places were guard-

ed by sleepless and mighty demons. In some cases—so the story ran—these treasures were buried securely; and some poor souls were cruelly murdered and buried, in the same place, in order that their ghosts might guard the valuable deposit. To gain these treasures, thus secured, it was necessary to find the hiding-places, and then, either put the ghostly sentinels off their guard, or, in some way, propitiate their favor.

During the War of Independence, there was a very considerable class, in New Jersey, who had no faith in the success of the American arms, and no intention to assume a hostile attitude against the Mother Country. Many of these men were reported to be rich; but, until such time as the rebellion should be crushed, such found it necessary to secrete their money. Besides this class, there was another, who sought to pursue a safe course, for themselves, in either event, the triumph or the defeat of the Rebellion. Some such, as is well known, were seemingly identified with the patriots and yet carried about with them the hateful "British protection." Some of this class were rich; and, to save their riches, they pursued this unmanly course. They, too, as was said, buried their treasures, in order to safe-keeping against the time of peace. Peace at last came; but it did not come in the way the Tories expected it. Many of them, having taken an active part with the enemy, were expatriated and their estates confiscated. I have before me a copy of an advertisement made by "Alexander Carmichael and Aaron Kitchel, Commissioners," offering for sale "the houses, lands, and leases for life, and all the real estate that belongs to" "Thomas Millidge, Stephen Skinner, John Troop, John Steward, Ezekiel Beach, Joseph Conliff, John Thornborn, Asher Dunham, Richard Bowlsby, John Bowlsby, Edward Bowlsby, Philip van Cortland, Samuel Ryerson, Jacob Demarest, Isaac Hornbeck, William Howard, and Lawrence Buskerk." This was in 1779. The newspapers of the day contain many similar advertisements of confiscated estates, for sale, in Morris and other Counties of New Jersey; and such was the feeling against these men, that their lives would not have entirely been safe, had they ventured back after the War.

It was a common opinion that men of this class had hid their money in *Schooley's mountain*, a range of highlands which many have crossed, in going by the Morris and Essex Railroad, between Dover and Stanhope. Since the days of the ghost, Schooley's mountain has become a favorite watering-place. Where, in that mountain-range, the treasure was hid, no one knew; only it was believed to be—somewhere. Gradually, popular superstition grafted this opinion on the old stock, which was the opinion that im-

mense buried treasures were guarded by mighty spirits. As I have heard aged people say, these buried and ghostly-guarded treasures, in School-ey's-mountain, formed the theme of many a conversation around the cheery firesides of Morris-county; and, no doubt, the hard cider and pure apple-jack, which belonged to the refinements of social life, in that day, did not a little to quicken the imaginations and the desires of the conversers, themselves.

Such was the strange tradition which was believed, by not a few people, in Morris-county; and these facts show the point, in a slightly mischievous paragraph in the original edition of *The Morristown Ghost delineated*. "It is very conspicuous," says the writer, "that many of the people, in that County, are much attached to machinations and will spend much time in investigating curiosities. I don't say whether such a turn of mind is to be imputed to indigence or owing to the operation of the climate! this I submit to the candor of every person to determine within himself. It is obvious, to all who are acquainted with the County of Morris, that the phenomena and capricious notions of witchcraft have engaged the attention of many of its inhabitants, for a number of years; and the existence of witches is adopted by the generality of the people." The author then proceeds to relate several amusing facts, to show the truth of his assertion; for instance, he was told "that an old lady was churning; and, being much fatigued and unable to obtain butter, she, at last, concluded that the witches were in the churn, and immediately had recourse to experiments, which were that of heating several horse-shoes and putting them into the churn, alternately—she burnt the devil out and immediately obtained butter!"

To this funny thing, let me add another, belonging to the same period, which I had from the lips of a very intelligent man who described what he saw. When a young man, he was, one cold day, at the house of Deacon ———, in the vicinity of Morristown. The Deacon's wife was churning; but the butter would not come. "The witches are busy," said the good man: "bring me the iron wedge!" He put that useful instrument into the fire and, having heated it, thoroughly, he told him to take off the churn-lid, and he would fix the witches. In went the hot wedge, causing the refractory cream to boil and bubble, furiously. "That will bring her out," said the old man, complacently. Hardly had this ceremony been finished, when his own niece, a girl of sixteen, came in; and the Deacon addressed her, in a very stern manner: "I thought I would bring you out, quick! You have taken up the trade early; but I will follow you till you have got enough of it! I guess

"you have got the mark of the hot wedge on you. I warrant you have!" The poor girl was greatly frightened; and her aunt took her out of the sight of her indignant kinsman. As soon as she left the room, the Deacon said to my informant: "The wedge did the thing for her; and if you could only examine, you would find where it burnt her!"

At this point, I may relate a fact which I had from another informant, still living. Joseph Rogers, (a brother of Ransford Rogers, the hero of the "Morristown Ghost") married the sister of one, "Dan Howard," in after days, a noted pauper, more dreaded by children than any hobgoblin. Howard's father lived at Longwood, a secluded place, some five miles North-west from Rockaway. Like most people of their class, the whole family were very superstitious. One afternoon, toward sundown, Dan's mother told him to go and bring the cow. Knowing that his father and brother would be coming home, about dark, Dan took a bed-sheet under his arm, and, on reaching a lonely place in the road, he wrapt the sheet about him, and hid himself in a large hollow tree. When the old man and his son came opposite him, Dan gave a solemn groan, to arrest attention, which it did, effectually. Then he moved, slowly, out of his hiding-place. No sooner did they see the spectre than both gave a scream of terror, and ran for the house. Dan now wanted to stop the fun; and he accordingly gave chase, the white sheet fluttering and flying in the most spectral manner. He ran and screamed to his father, to stop; but this only added to the fright of the fugitives. After an exciting race, they reached home; and the old man fell, swooning, in at his own door, because he had seen and had been chased by a ghost! Dan made a clean breast of his share in the matter; and yet it showed what a grip this ghost-belief had on the convictions and imaginations of multitudes.

Not long since, the late Jacob Losey told me that, long after "The Morristown Ghost" was exposed, one of the principal actors in that affair was building a dam for the Dover Iron Works; and that, whilst thus engaged, he had the mystic horseshoes nailed up, in such positions, as not merely kept the witches from the persons of the workmen but, also, from disturbing and retarding their work! As for his house, which was in the vicinity of Morristown, the man would as soon have thought of doing without a fire-place or a roof, as without the well-tested means of safety from the mischievous sprites in whom he was so confident a believer.

Previous to the Revolutionary War, the search after iron-mines was extensively prosecuted. Robert Erskine, at Ringwood, the Manager of the extensive iron-works of "The

"London Company," as it was generally called, and John Jacob Faesch, of Mount Hope, near Rockaway, both paid liberal rewards for the discovery of new iron deposits. As in the history of modern gold-digging, several very fortunate hits were made; and this was the means of starting many in the search. Very naturally, the belief in witchcraft led some to wish they could secure this agency in their search after mines. Two men of this kind once happened at "Smith's Clove," in the vicinity of "Suffern's," on the Erie Railroad. They were "in pursuit of a man that could 'work miracles'—a peculiar art in leger-de-main, by which to dispel the hobgoblins and apparitions" which had charge of the hidden mines and buried treasures. At Smith's Clove, they "accidentally found" a schoolmaster, a native of Connecticut, whose name was RANSFORD ROGERS. He was a shrewd, artful man, whose smooth face and pious carriage were calculated to deceive others. He was "very fond of giving hints of his extensive knowledge in every art and science. * * *

"He had a pretended copious knowledge in Chemistry, and could raise or dispel good or evil spirits." It is not known whether he practised any ghostly evolutions for the benefit of his two dupes, at the Clove, as nothing is said on the point. Convinced that he was the man they wanted, these gentlemen "solicited" him to remove to Morristown," which he did, as soon as possible. About three miles West of Morristown, on the main road to Mendham, was a school-house, in which Rogers taught, several months, greatly to the satisfaction of his patrons. He was very enterprising; and had the faculty of keeping his scholars excited in their studies. As an old gentleman told me, "Rogers frequently held exhibitions of his school, in the barn of a Mr. Hedges. Declarations and dialogues formed the entertainment; and these were of a kind so rude that 'it was a wonder that they did not make the horses break their halters!'" He began his school "in August, 1788. This was a place very suitable for one of his profession. The people were predisposed for his reception; and fond of marvellous exhibitions, which he was able to perform with surprising dexterity." The secret reason of his removal to Morris-county was confided to only a few persons; but he soon found himself compelled to go forward, in the fulfillment of his promises. In order to do this, advantageously, he returned to Connecticut, ostensibly to get his family, but, really, to find an accomplice "in order to carry on nocturnal performances, with the greatest secrecy." This accomplice he found in another Yankee schoolmaster, named GOODENOUGH.

As you go westward, a little beyond the school-house in which Rogers taught, you see a road which leads from the main road, in a North-east direction, along the foot of the mountain. It passed through a region so lonely and out of the way, that it was called "*Solitude*," a name by which it is known to this day. In that region, lived a carpenter and farmer, a very worthy man, but of limited intelligence and a profound believer in witchcraft. "*Solitude*" was destined to be famous, as a favorite resort of "The Morristown Ghost."

As you leave Morristown, by the Bridge-street-road, northward, just in the edge of the town, a few rods East of the main-road, on the side-hill, you see the residence of Colonel B—H—, who was a conspicuous character, in Morris-county, during the Revolutionary War. His father, B—H—, and his brother, J—, were both physicians—not very learned ones, but having considerable practice. The brother resided about four miles North of Morristown, at Littleton, where a Mr. Elmer lived, until recently. Colonel H— was an enthusiastic patriot; and fought like a lion at the second Battle of Springfield. He once had charge of the Magazine, in Morristown, and prepared cartridges for the Army. He was a tanner and currier; and, by dint of industry and economy, had secured a valuable farm, which was on either side of the road, leaving from Morristown to Speedwell. He was greatly esteemed in the community, for his generosity, public spirit, and good character; but he had this one weakness, the result rather of education and bad associations than of natural superstition—from infancy, he had been trained to believe in all the fooleries of witchcraft. In this respect, his brother J— was like him. But for this folly, both were strong men; and, in spite of this, they wielded a strong influence in the community. These brothers were among the earliest dupes of Rogers; and the Colonel, the one first-mentioned, not merely became the Treasurer of the Association, but one of the heaviest losers by the fraud.

South-east from Morristown, was another very excellent man, one B—L—, a Justice of the Peace, but trained to the weakness which betrayed so many worthy persons into the power of designing rogues. About half way from Morristown to Speedwell, on the stream, was another dupe, one D—C—, the owner of a grist-mill. In Hanover township, one S—, a man of some means, bore a leading part in the ridiculous affair. He once spent a whole evening with Aaron Kitchel, one of the strongest men in the County—a member of Congress, afterward—endeavoring to get him to join "The Spirit Batch," as it was pop-

ularly called. With the greatest secrecy, he talked; but Kitchel was not to be duped. Colonel H—— tried to convert Abraham Kitchel, a brother of Aaron; but he "gave H—— a book, telling him to read that, and it would "convince him that it was all a hoax"! In the vicinity of Dover, was Squire B—— L——, a son-in-law of Doctor J—— H——, who came into the measure quite reluctantly and with no faith, whatever; but, tradition says, he had shrewdness enough to come out of it richer than he went in.

In September, 1788, Rogers was ready for operations; and his first attempt was "to exhibit his art in raising and expelling apparitions, as he had engaged," the final result of which was "to obtain a supposed hidden treasure, that lies dormant in the earth at School-ey's-mountain. This capricious notion had been of long standing, and was, then, the predominant opinion among the greatest part of Morristown, as they said there had been repeated efforts made to obtain the treasure, but all had proved abortive; for whenever they attempted to break ground, there would many hobgoblins and apparitions appear, which, in a short time, obliged them to evacuate the place."

The first meeting of "The Spirit Batch," is said to have been held at L——'s house, in Solitude; and eight men were present. The whole affair was conducted with "the greatest secrecy." Roger impressed the whole party with a sense of his piety by having the meeting conducted on religious principles. Several prayers were offered; and then he "communicated to them the solemnity of the business and the intricacy of the undertaking, informing them there was an immense sum deposited somewhere on School-ey's-mountain; that there had been several persons murdered and buried with the money, in order to retain it in the earth; that those spirits must be raised and conversed with, before the money could be obtained; and that he could, by his art and power, raise these apparitions, and the whole company might hear him converse with them, and satisfy themselves that there was no deception." My smoke-colored pamphlet does not say that these eight worthy men "saw the elephant," that night; but, from other sources, I learn they *heard* him, for, whilst they were listening to Rogers, suddenly, there was a loud thumping noise, on the roof and sides of the house, and an unearthly voice spoke out, by the window, and said, "PRESS FORWARD." The listeners felt themselves to be on "enchanted ground;" and, with terror not unmingled with satisfaction, they yielded their full confidence to Rogers. To help the matter, some one of the company, supposed to be L——, one dark

night, soon afterward, was terrified by seeing "a sheeted ghost" gliding along, without touching the earth. There was no mistake in the matter; and, half dead with fright, he fled to the house, and, at the earliest moment, confirmed the faith of his companions by telling them what he had seen. And so the fraud was fairly begun.

Meetings were occasionally held, with the utmost secrecy; and "Rogers informed them that he should have interviews with the spirits; and, as the apparitions knew all things, they must be careful to walk circumspectly and refrain from all immorality, or they would stimulate the spirits to withhold, from them, the treasures." The unwritten tradition is that these counsels were emphasized by furious rappings on the house and, occasionally, by the sudden appearance of the ghost, in some lonely spot, on some dark night. "These gentlemen," says my old pamphleteer, "now, under apprehension of vast riches, began to propagate their intentions to particular friends; and there was such a prospect of being rich, that many were anxious to become members; and additions were made to it, daily, of such as expected great riches." The company convened almost every evening, "until their number increased to about fifty." These meetings were religious—as one of my informants expressed it, "as religious as the Old Boy himself"—and one significant fact I have, from good authority, that the best *apple whiskey* was provided before the services began, which, no doubt, aided the dupes to see sights and to be overcome with *spiritual* manifestations. In fact, there is a story about this, too good to be omitted. At the earnest solicitation of Colonel H——, A—— K—— was induced to attend one of these mysterious prayer-meetings, when he would see enough to give him faith; but the dull-headed spectator, when his friend, B——, produced a paper, on which was the figure of "a hand drawn by the ghost himself," declared that "any boy, of ordinary parts, or any old woman, could draw one as good!" After the meeting, Rogers, who was not present, asked whether this man, K——, had joined them; and, when told that he had not, he asked "Did you treat him?" "Yes, before he left." "There's the mistake," said Rogers, "you ought to have treated him when he first came! so that, whilst the prayers were going on, the spirits might have been at work in him, to raise his ideas!" A—— K—— never got into "The Spirit Batch."

From all I can learn, it is evident that Rogers was compelled to have more than one assistant; and tradition says he found these in the persons of two Yankee school-masters, one of them called Goodenough, the other's name I have never heard. The ancient chronicler says that "Rogers

"and his connections had recourse to several experiments, in compounding various substances, that, being thrown into the air, would break with such appearances as to indicate to the beholders the result of supernatural power. He had compositions of various kinds: some, by being buried in the earth, for so many hours, would break and cause a great explosion, which appeared dismal, in the night, and would cause great timidity. The company were all anxious to proceed, and were much elevated with such uncommon curiosities. A night was appointed for the whole company to convene; and it happened to be a most severe stormy night; but every man was punctual in his attendance. Some rode eight, some twelve, miles, when the inclemency of the weather was sufficient to extinguish health. At this interview, they were all much astonished with an unexpected interview with the spirit," who made them be very regular and moral, and very submissive to Rogers, "and then be careful to keep within the circles previously drawn by him, or they would provoke the spirits to that degree that they would finally extirpate them from the place."

At this time, their ghostly visitant told them to meet "such a night, at a certain place, about half a mile from any house, in a field, retired from traveling and noise." This was in Solitude; and there is a very curious tradition, which has not been recorded before. It is said, by persons recently living, that the field in which "The Spirit Batch" were directed to meet, was a buckwheat lot; and that, one morning, before the great meeting was to take place, "the owner found his buckwheat stubble shaped into a great variety of paths, circular, elliptical, square, serpentine, and other fanciful shapes. It had all been done in one night; and, when the dupes saw it, as they soon did, it was their opinion that a thousand men could not have done that work, in one night. Nothing was more certain than that the spirits had done it! So ready were they to attribute to supernatural agency, some rude work which Rogers and his smart Yankees had done with no other inconvenience than a little fatigue!" I have no doubt this was the manner in which the circles were drawn for the night interviews with the Ghosts.

My old pamphlet must be allowed to tell the story of that night. "The night being now come, they all, with joy, fear, and trembling, convened at the appointed house, about half a mile from the field. This was environed, on the North and West, by a thick wood. The circles and angles being drawn the preceding day, they all proceeded from the house, about ten o'clock in the evening, with peculiar

"silence and decorum, and entered the circles, with the greatest solemnity, being fully sensible that they were surrounded by apparitions and hobgoblins. Upon one part of the circle, were erected four posts, in order to spread a cloth and form a tent, where Rogers could preside, as governor of the ghostly procession. The number that entered these circles was about forty. This number was walking, alternately, during the whole procession. It is not to be wondered at, if people were timorous in this place; for the candles, illumining one part of the circle, caused a ghastly, melancholy, direful gloom, towards the woods, for it was a dark night. Every person must suppose that this is a suitable place for the pretended ghosts to make their appearance and establish the faith of their disciples, in hobgoblins, apparitions, witchcraft, and the devil. After they had been rotating, within the circles, for a considerable time, with great decorum, they were instantaneously shocked with the most impetuous explosion from the earth, at a small distance from them. This substance was previously compounded, and secreted in that place, a few hours before. The flames, rising to a considerable height, illuminated the circumambient atmosphere, and presented many dreadful objects from the supposed haunted grove, which was instantaneously involved in obscurity. Immediately after, the pretended ghosts made their appearance, with a *hellish* groan. They remained invisible to the company, but conversed with Rogers. This was in November, 1788. The spirits informed them that they had possession of vast treasure, and could not give them up, unless they proceeded regularly and without variance; and, as fortune had discriminated them to receive the treasure, each of them must deliver to the spirits twelve pounds, for the money could not be given up, by the spirits, until that sum was given to them. They must also acknowledge Rogers as their conductor, and adhere to his precepts; and, as they knew all things, they would detect the man that attempted to defraud his neighbor."

The ghosts wore masks, which disguised both their faces and voices, effectually; and, during their conversation with Rogers, the credulous "forty" were on their knees. Several times, the spirits seemed raging to destroy them; but the incantations of Rogers quieted them. That interview lasted until three o'clock in the morning, when the ghosts and the men slunk away, to uneasy slumber, both parties stimulated by "the love of money."

My old pamphlet says that the ghosts required the money to be "silver and gold," as the paper currency was not worth much; but, I find a well-authenticated tradition, which properly belongs

here. When Rogers was arrested, Moses Tuttle, of Mount Pleasant, a very shrewd magistrate, assisted to examine some witnesses; and the fact was proved, that "The Morristown Ghost" obtained a considerable amount of paper-money, in this way. Rogers told his followers they must collect and burn their paper-money, in return for which sacrifice they should receive a hundred fold, in precious metals. The business was conducted, in this way: the whole company kneeled within the mystic circle, and engaged in prayer. Then, each one took from his pocket the bills he had, and gave them to Rogers, who, with due incantations, proceeded to deposit the sum (which was quite large) at the foot of a tree, whence it was taken by the sheeted ghost, whose presence was evident from the sulphurous smell which pervaded the air.

The display made in the open field, at night, as already related, left a great impression on the minds of the witnesses, "who all returned from the field, wondering at the miraculous things that happened, being fully persuaded of the existence of hobgoblins and apparitions. "By this time, they could revere Rogers, and thought him something more than human." The feelings of some of them were well described by one of them, when asked, by a Justice of the Peace, what he prayed for, during those meetings. He replied, "I was so scared, that I prayed the "Lord to kill the Devil!"

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

HI.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

[The document here published contains the Minutes of the Vestry of Trinity Church, for the first twenty years after its incorporation—from the twenty-eighth of June 1697, to the first of July, 1717. It is evidently the original draught of records designed to be engrossed.

Whether they are extant and complete in any other shape, the writer is not informed. He discovered these Minutes amongst a mass of papers kindly placed in his hands by Dr. JOHN CLARKSON JAY, of Rye, N. Y., by whose kind permission, they are communicated for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

The manuscript, when collated, was found to cover one hundred and sixty-five pages of foolscap paper; not numbered, but consecutive, and almost without a break. Some of the sheets are stitched together in thin books, whilst others are detached. The numerous erasures, and insertions of words and sentences, as well as the orders taken for the transcription of the Minutes, show that this was the rough draught of proceedings, to be copied into the Vestry Register. As such, it doubtless remained in the hands of the Clerk, as a paper of no particular value.

The manuscripts among which these Minutes were found

have descended to their present owner from his illustrious grandfather, JOHN JAY; but nothing more is known of their history. They are now given to the public, as a curious relic of the past, preserving the names of many of the ancient inhabitants of New York, and supplying some interesting details, relative to the city, as well as to the venerable Corporation whose early transactions are narrated.

RYE, N. Y.

CHARLES W. BATES

[MINUTES.]

June y^e 28th 1697

at a meeting of y^e manag^r & members of Trinity Church in y^e City of New York present

W^m Merritt
Cap^t W^m Morris
John Crooke
Tho Burroughs
Capt Lawrance Reed
Nathaniell Maston
Tho: Clarke

Maj^r W^m Merritt [and] M^r Thomas Clarke Cap^t W^m Morris make return y^e according to ord^r they have spent a day in getting Subscription & in collecting mony for use of Trinitie church— Cap^t Tudor absent in the service—

Overseers for y^e Present Week

June y ^e 28 th	Cap ^t Will Morris
Tuesday 29 th	Cap ^t Thomas Clarke
Wednesday 30 th	Cap ^t Eben: Willson
Thursday Ju: 1 st	M ^r Sam ^l Burte
Fryday— 2 ^d	M ^r James Evetts
Saturday 3 ^d	M ^r Nath Marston
Munday 4 th	M ^r Mich Hawdon
Tuesday 5 th	M ^r John Crooke

Ordered that Capt. Lawrence Reade M^r Sam^l Burte M^r John Crooke & M^r Thomas Burroughs doe Collect the Arrearages of Subscriptions for the Carrying on of Trinity Church & make their Return on Munday Next.

Order'd that a Place be Cutt in the wall of the Church to [putt] Place his Excell^y Arms in behind the Place where they Now Stand. & that Cap^t Clarke Cap^t Morris & the Mayor doe take Care to See the Same Effectuated.

City of New Yorke { Att A Meeting of y^e [Managers of ye Church build] Church Wardens & Vestry men of y^e: English Protestant Church for building of Trinitiy Church on Wensday the 30th day of June 1697

Present
Will Merrett Esq^r
M^r James [Evetts] Emott
Cap^t Will Morris
M^r David Jameson
Cap^t John Merrett
M^r Sam^l Burte
M^r W^m Huddleston
M^r Gab^l Ludlow

Mr Thomas Burroughs
[Capt Thomas Clarke]
 Mr Nath : Morston
 Mr Mich Howdon
 Will Sharpas
 Thomas Wenham
 Rob^t Lurting
 W^m Janeway

Resolved that the Minutes of the *[future]* this board for the future be Entered In the Name of the Church Wardens & Vestry men of the English Protestant Church Incorporated by the Name of Trinity Church Parish of the City of New Yorke in America & that y^e: Address *[Ordered to be drawn ye 2 to be]* Ordered to be drawn y^e 21st Instant to Return his Excell^y the due Acknowledgm^t of this board for his Excell^y Many Generous Gifts &c : doe Run in the same Stile

The following Address was Read & Approved & Ordered to be Signed by the whole board.

[Blank in these Minutes.]

Ordered that this board doe meet to morrow morning att 8 A Clock *[in the foren Morning]* att Cap^t Thomas Wenham's house in Order to waite on his Excell^y with the following Address

[Blank in these Minutes.]

[Citty of N. Yorke] ss Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men on Saturday the 17th day of July 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
 Will Merrett Esqr
 James Emott
 Ebner Willson
 Will Morris
 Thomas Clarke
 Sam^{ll} Burte
 John Crooke
 David Jameson
 Wm Huddleston
 Mich : Howdon
 Thomas Burroughs
 Gab Ludlow
 Will Sharpas

Vestry men

Vestry men

To his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher.

[Blank page and a half.]

[Citty of N. Yorke] ss Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men on Saturday the 17th day of July 1697

Present Mr Thomas Wenham Church Warden
 Will Merrett Esqr
 James Emott
 Eben : Willson
 Will Morris

Vestry men

Thomas Clarke
 Sam^{ll} Burte
 John Crooke
 David Jameson
 Will Huddleston
 Mich : Howdon
 Thomas Burroughs
 Gab : Ludlow
 Will Sharpas
 John Tuder

Vestry men

It is ordered Mr Crook & Mr Burrows & Mr Burt Shall pay fourteene pounds fiveteene Shillings & Ninepence wth they have gathered in of Subscriptions to Mr Wilson in order to pay for Stones & workemen &c

Ordered Mr Torthill pay Eleaven pounds fiveteen Shillings *[& Six pence]* to Mr Wilson aforesaid for y^e use aforesaid

Ordered y^e all persons y^e have any mony in their hands Shall pay y^e Same to Mr Wilson
 Ordered y^e Mr Mayor Mr Burt Mr Lurting Mr Ludlow. Mr Clark . . Mr Morris. . doe call in all papers, relateing to the Church. and doe. Settle. the acco^{ts} that they. meett. on monday. nextt. att three the Clock. . and. from time to time untill the. acco^{ts} be finished. . to. meett att the house of Mr Mayor.

Ordered Mr Tuder. Mr Hudlestone Mr Willson *[Capt]* Michall Harding. doe. goe a boutt. to gett in what. Subscription^t the can; and to. . gett whatt Subscriptiones mony. they can; and doe make return to this board. .

ordered Mr Clark doe give them a Liatt. . .

Ordered thatt Captt Tuder. & Mr Willson. . doe. receive the. Collectiones. in Church. . for the nextt month

Ordered Mr Mayor. Mr Totthill doe. provid. an Engine to. . gett up Stones. . to the Steple to take Mr Evertt to Assistt them

[Citty of N. Yorke] ss Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry Men on Saturday the 31th day of July 1697

Present *[Will Merrett Esqrs]*

Cap^t Thomas Wenham
 Rob^t Lurting

Church Wardens

Will Merrett Esqr
 Cap^t Eben Willson
 Mr James Evetts
 Thomas Burroughs
 Will Huddleston
 Gab^{ll} Ludlow
 Will Sharpas

Vestry men

Overseers Appointed for y^e days following

July y^e 31th

Aug^t y^e 2^d
 Munday-

Thomas Burroughs

Tuesday	3 ^d	William Huddleston
Wednesday	4 th	John Merrett
Thursday	5 th	Will Janeway
Friday	6 th	Rob ^t Lurting
Saturday	7	Thomas Wenham

Munday	9 th	Coll Caleb Heathcote
Tuesday	10 th	Will Merrett Esq ^r
Wednesday	11 th	John Tudor
Thursday	12 th	James Emott
Friday	13 th	Will Morris
Saturday	14 th	Thomas Clarke [ab]

Munday Aug ^r	15 th	Eben: Willson
Tuesday	16 th	Sam ^l Burte
Wednesday	17	James Evetts
Thursday	18	Nath Marston
Friday	19	Mich Hawdon
Saturday	20	John Crooke

Munday	22 ^d	Will Sharpas
Tuesday	23 ^d	Gab ^l Ludlow

Ordered y^r M^r James Evetts take care to Speake for timeber for y^r Second floure of y^r Steeple
Ordered y^r 2 Church-wardens take care for Scaffold poles

Ordered y^r noe Caremen Shall [not] after notice given Digg or Carry away any ground or Earth from behind y^r English Church & burying ground

City of New Yorke } s^r Att A Meeting of y^r Church Wardens & Vestry men on Munday the 16th day of Aug^r 1697

Present

Cap ^t Thomas Wenham	{ Church Wardens
M ^r Rob ^t Lurting	
Will Merrett Esq ^r	Mich Hawdon
Eben Willson	Thomas Burroughs
James Emott	Nath Marston
James Evetts	Will Morris
John Crooke	Will Janeway
	Will Sharpas

New Subscriptions for y^r: Carrying on of Trinity Church

M^r James Emott four Pistolls A Voluntary Gift
M^r Benjamin Aske 1^l-19^s-0 free Gift discount
Cap^t Thomas Wenham five pounds free Gift
M^r Robt Lurting—three pounds free Gift
Will Merrett Esq^r five pounds free Gift
M^r James Evetts one pound free Gift
M^r Michael Hawdon three pounds free Gift
M^r Nathaniel Marston one pound free Gift
M^r Thomas Burroughs—two pounds free Gift
M^r William Janeway three pounds free Gift
Capt William Morris two pounds free Gift
M^r William Huddleston two pounds tenn Shilings
M^r Gabriell Ludlow two pounds free Gift

M^r John Crooke two pounds free Gift
Cap^t Ebenezer Willson two pounds free Gift
William Sharpas one pound free Gift
Cap^t Jeremiah Tothill

1697 Overseers for y^r: week Ensueing
August 16th Mun : Nath Marston

17 Tues : Mich: Hawdon

18 Wens : John Crooke

19 Thurs: Rob^t Lurting for Will Sharpas

20 fry : Gab^l Ludlow

21th - Sam^l Burte

23^d - Thomas Burroughs

Ordered that Capt Tothill & M^r Crooke doe take Care to gett a Kill of Stone Lime & thirty Carte loade of Oyster Shell Lime with all Expedition

Ordered that Capt W^m Morris M^r Mayor Mr Burroughs & M^r Ludlow doe goe About with the list to gett what New Subscriptions they Can for the better Carrying on of y^r [Church] steeple for the week Ensueing & also to Collect what Subscriptions they Can that are in Arrears.

Order'd that what New Subscriptions are Given for y^r: Carrying on of Trinity Church Steeple be paid by the Severall Collectors thereof Appointed by this board to Cap^t Ebenezer Willson & that he Acc^t for the Same

Coll Peter Schuyler having Subscribed [Six] five pounds to the Church to be paid in boards itt is Ordered that Cap^t Thomas Wenham doe write to him to Send the Same in Such boards as M^r Evetts Shall Direct

M^r Thomas Burroughs & M^r W^m Janeway are Appointed to Collect y^r: Contributions of y^r: Church Congregation for y^r: fourth Sabbath days following

Order'd that y^r: Wall of the Steeple be Raised twenty foot from y^r: first floor before the beams of the Second floor be laid

City of New Yorke } s^r Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men on Munday y^r: 23^d day of Aug^r. Anno Dom 1697

Present	Thomas Wenham	{ Church Wardens
	Robert Lurting	
	Will Merrett Esq ^r	{
	Thomas Clarke	
	Gab ^l Ludlow	
	Sam ^l Burte	
	Mich Hawdon	
	Ornelius Lodge]	{
	Will Morris	

Will Sharpas } Vestrymen
 Thomas Burroughs }
 Will Janeway }
 John Crooke }
 Nath: Marston }
 Eoen: Willson }

Overseers of y^e: Church building Appointed for the week following.

Tuesday 24th W^m Huddleston
 W 25th John Merrett
 Th: 26th W^m Janeway
 Fry: 27th Rob^t Lurting
 Sat: 28th Thomas Wenham
 Munday 30th Coll Heathcote

Order'd that M^r Sam^l Burte doe goe Down to Huntington wth all Convenient Expedition & Purchase all the Oyster Shell Lime that he Can gett there, att not to Exceed the Rate of 8 or 9^s ^p Loade [*or Cheaper*] for the use of the Church & that his Expences in travelling & horse hire be defrayed out of the Publick Stock he desiring Nothing for his time or trouble

Order'd that Capt Thomas Clarke Capt John Tudor M^r Michael Hawdon & M^r Nath Marston doe goe about with the List the following week to gett what New Subscriptions they Can for y^e: better Carrying on of Trinity Church Steeple & also to Collect the Arrearages of y^e: former Subscriptions

Order'd that Every Munday Night be Paid Night & that y^e: Church Wardens & Vestry men doe meet Every Munday att five A Clock in the Afternoon to pay of the Workemen & Other things that may be Convenient for y^e: well Carrying on of the Church building &c:

At a meeting of y^e Church wardens & vestry men on munday Aug^r y^e 6th 1697

W^m Merritt }
 Cap^t Willson }
 M^r Jamison }
 James Evetts }
 Tho: Clarke }
 Nath: Maaston }

Order'd y^e there bee a petition drawn ffor y^e mony y^e was collected for y^e Slaues in Sally and in case it was nott disposed for y^e use then to bee disposed ffor other pious uses as his Exelencies & counsell should think fitt and y^e same to be deliv'd to his Exelencie by m^r May^r & Cap^t Tho: Winham

Ordered y^e Cap^t Thomas Winham m^r Crook Cap^t John Tudor Mici^l Hardon Sam Burt be a Com-

mitte to gett Subscriptions & to collect what remain uncollected for use of Trinitie Church

Att A meeting of the Church wardens and vestry men on Munday the 14th of Sep^r 97

Present Tho Wenham } Church warden's
 Rob^t Lurting }

W^m Merrit Esq^r } W^m Huddlestone
 Tho Clarke } Jn^o Tudor
 Ebenezer Willson } Mich Howden
 Tho Burrows } Nath Marston
 James Evetts } W^m Janeway

Order'd

That Upon M^r John Hutchins Application to this Board that his Daughter Elizabeth may be Inter'd in y^e Church; that y^e ground in ye [*Middle*] North Jale be Broke for y^e Same;

Order'd That M^r Rob^t Lurting & M^r Mich Howdan doe Collect y^e Contribution money in y^e Church for y^e Ensueing Month

Order'd; That M^r Tho Wenham Jn^o Tudor Jn^o Crooke Mich Howdan & Sam^l Burt doe gather in y^e Subscription money y^e following Weeke & gett what New Subscriptions they Cann.

Munday
 Sep^r: 20th: 97

At A meeting of y^e Churchwarden's & Vestrymen of Trinity Church y^e 20th 7^{br} 97

Present M^r Tho Wenham } Churchwarden's
 M^r Rob^t Lurting }
 W^m Merrit Esq^r }
 Cap^t W^m Morris }
 M^r Sam Burt }
 M^r Tho Burrows }
 M^r W^m Sharpas } Vestry Men
 Cap^t Ebenezer Willson }
 M^r Nath Maaston }
 M^r James Evetts }
 W^m Janeway }
 M^r Tho Clarke }

Order'd

That M^r Thomas Wenham Pay into Cap^t Willson twenty Five pound's w^{ch} was Sent by his Excellency the Governoure. to y^e Church—

That M^r Tho Clarke M^r Rob^t Lurting M^r Tho: Wenham & W^m Janeway doe Call upon Coll Bayard Coll [*Cortland*] Heathcote, Cap^t Brant Schuyler & M^r Miles Forster for y^e money [*given*] Lent by Severall off y^e Vestry Menn till y^e ffund off Money Came in Granted by y^e Assembly for M^r W^m Nicholls going to England it be the desire of this Board that y^e Same [*be*] be order'd for y^e Use of Trinity Church

Order'd y^e Person und^rmentiond doe Attend y^e Church worke this Week as followeth

Wensday 7^{br} 22^d Cap^t Tho Clarke

ord

that y^e former
Collector's be Con-
tinued for y^e getting
in y^e Contributions

{ Thirsday Eben Willson
Fryday Sam Burt
Saturday [James Boett]
Mich^l Harding
Munday Nath Marston

Att A Meeting of the [Mans]
Church Wardens & Vestry
men on Munday the 27th
day of Sept^r 1697

Present Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens

Will Merrett Esq
James Evetts
Nathaniel Marston
Thomas Burroughs

Will Morris
Will Janeway
Will Sharpas

Overseers of the worke for y^e : week following

Tuesday Sep^r 28th Gab^l Ludlow
Wensday — 29th Thomas Burroughs
Thursday — 30th Will Huddleston
Fryday October 1st John Merrett
Saturday — 2^d [John Tuder] Will Janeway
Munday — 4th Robert Lurting

Ordered that M^r Mayor M^r Burroughs Cap^t
Willson and M^r Ludlow doe goe
About this following week to Gett
what New Subscriptions they Can
for the better Carrying on of Trin-
ity Church building & also to Col-
lect the Arrearages of the former
Subscriptions.

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e : Man-
N: Yorke } agers of the Church build-
ing on Munday the 4th day
of Octob^r 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
William Merrett Esq^r
William Morris
Ebenezer Willson
Michael Hawdon
William Janeway
Will Sharpas
Thomas Clarke
Mich Howdon

Order'd the Persons hereafter
Named be Overseers of the Church
building for y^e [Year] Week En-
sueing (Vizt

Octob^r 4th Munday Thomas Wenham
5th Tuesday Ebenezer Willson Coll
Heathcote

6th Wensday]
Octob^r 5th Tuesday Thomas Wenham
6th Wensday Coll Heathcote
7th Thursday W^m Merrett
8th Fryday John Tuder Sen^r
9th Saturday James Emott

11th Munday W^m Morris

Ordered. the. Persones. hereafter.
named. . . be. Overseers. of the
Church Building for the Church
building—for the week Ensueing
Octob^r. 12. . . 97

12 Tuesday . . . Thomas Clark . . .

13 Wensday . . . Cap^t Willson . . .

Thursday . . . Nath Maston

ffryday . . . Sam: Burt . . .

Satterday . . . Mich Hawdon

Munday . . . John Crooke . . .

Octob^r 12th . . .

Ordered. . . thatt. . . Cap^t. W^m . . . Morris. and
Thomas Wenham. doe Collectt. in the
Church. . the Ensueing month—

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—TOBACCO AND THE CLERGY, IN VIRGINIA COLONY.

By REV. E. H. GILLETT, D.D., PROFESSOR IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

In the large quarto volume of *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia*, edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D., 1870, will be found several letters of a correspondence between Virginia Clergymen and the Bishop of London. The leading topic in this correspondence is the course pursued by the legislature of the Colony, in determining the amount, in money, which should be paid in commutation for the Tobacco in which the salaries of the Clergy had, for some time previous, been paid. Of this enforced commutation, the Clergy complained; and their complaint was forwarded to the Bishop of London, through the Lords Commissioners, who, in their Report on the subject, condemned, as unjust, the obnoxious legislation of the Colony, and advised its disallowance by the King.

The Bishop of London, in his letter of reply to the Lords Commissioners, took the same ground, substantially, with them. He contended that legal provision for the support of the Clergy had been made by the Act of 1749, by which they were to be paid in Tobacco. This Act had been ratified by the King; and the attempt to set it aside was evidently unjust, as well as illegal, since it was virtually a repeal, by Colonial authority, of what had been done by the Colony, before, and been sanctioned by the King.

This letter of the Bishop of London found its way across the ocean, and created an excitement in Virginia. The letter of the Rev. Mr. Robinson, given in the *Papers*, indicates the

opposition which it had to encounter. Mr. Robinson, himself, is severe in his condemnation of the Act for commutation. "By this Act," he says, "the condition of the Clergy is rendered most distressful, various, and uncertain, and deprives us of that maintenance which was enacted for us by his Majesty in the year 1748."

In the same letter, Mr. Robinson states that he forwards to his Lordship "two pamphlets, both printed here, which sufficiently show to what a pitch of insolence many are arrived at, not only against our most worthy Diocesan and the Clergy, but likewise against his Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council."

One of these pamphlets, from which Mr. Robinson makes several extracts, was *A Letter from Hon. Richard Bland*, a patriotic Virginian; for several years, a leading member of the House of Burgesses; and, in 1768, a member of the Committee appointed to remonstrate with Parliament on the subject of taxation. Mr. Wirt speaks of him as "one of the most enlightened men in the Colony: a man of finished education, and of the most unbending habits of application." He mentions the fact that he was known as the Virginia antiquary, so familiar was he with what pertained to the history of the Colony.

The author of the other pamphlet is not named in the correspondence, nor are any extracts given from it in the *Papers*. It would seem to be unknown to the Editor of the *Papers*, at least there is no notice of it nor any account of its scope, except the general mention in Robinson's letters, etc.

The pamphlet in question is entitled a *LETTER to the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord-B— —p of L— —n. Occasioned by a Letter of his Lordship to the Lords of Trade, on the Subject of the Act of Assembly passed in the year 1758, entitled, An Act to enable the Inhabitants of this Colony to discharge their public dues &c. in money for the ensuing year. From VIRGINIA*. It gives neither name of writer, nor printer, nor date. The letter merely indicates "Virginia, December — 1759;" and, in connection with errata, the author speaks of his "great distance from the Press." Internal evidence and facts of contemporaneous history would seem to indicate that the pamphlet was from the pen of Hon. Peyton Randolph, as early as 1756, Attorney-general of the Colony, to whom it would naturally fall to defend the policy to which the Governor and the House of Burgesses alike stood committed. Whether this surmise is well-founded or not, it is evident that the author of the pamphlet was likeable and fearless; and the applause, with

which we are told it was received, will scarcely surprise us.

The pamphlet takes up the Letter of the Bishop of London, paragraph by paragraph, and deals with his Lordship very unceremoniously. With a full knowledge of all the facts, and with the patriotic zeal of a true Virginian, the author has evidently little respect for a Clergy who seemed to him more anxious to secure their Tobacco than to promote the spiritual well-being of their Parishes. The pamphlet is an octavo of fifty-six pages; and we must content ourselves with extracts illustrative of its spirit.

The author, in the following passage, first quotes the introductory paragraph of the Bishop of London's letter.

"FULHAM, June 14th, 1759.

"MY LORDS,

"I have considered the Act from *Virginia*, referred to me: It seems to be the Work of Men, conscious to themselves that they were doing wrong; for, though it is well known that the Intention of the Act is to Abridge the Maintenance of the Clergy, yet the Framers of the Act have studiously avoided naming them, or properly describing them, throughout the Act; so that it may be doubted, in a legal Construction, whether they are included or not. But, to take the Act as they meant it, and as every Body understands it."

Upon this, addressing himself directly to the Bishop, he says:

"By this, which I call your Lordship's first Paragraph, you have given a pretty good Specimen of the Temper with which you were disposed to treat the Act under Consideration, and I am much mistaken, if it will not appear, that your Passion for Abuse, through the whole, has greatly exceeded the Bounds of your Reason; as your Lordship admits, that the Framers of the Act meant to include the Clergy, and that every Body understands that they are included; such a general Consent in Opinion can only arise from the Propriety of the Words that do include them: How then can it be a doubt that they are included in a legal Construction, because not named, or properly described? Can the legal Construction of any words whatever, differ from the universal Construction of these Words? Where then is the *Charity* of the *Christian*, or the *Caution* of the *Bishop*, in that malevolent reflexion, which your Lordship has thrown out? A Reflexion, that even common Sense cannot admit of; I mean the Consciousness of doing

"wrong in the Framers of the Act, which made them studious to avoid naming the Clergy in it. Instead of the *Art*, with which you would insinuate they had proceeded, it would have been much more just, to have charged them with gross Stupidity, for if it is necessary that the Clergy should be named, or particularly described, to subject them to the purposes of any Act: Not to name them, &c. unless by accidental omission, must needs be egregiously weak, and foolish, in those who intended to include them within the Designs of such Act. But, my Lord, it is just as you, and every body, understands it; they are included, and the Words that take them in must necessarily be a very proper Description of them, or it would be impossible that every Body should agree that they are included; and indeed not a little unreasonable that they should complain, and your Lordship espouse their murmurs."—*Pages 4, 5.*

With the assertion of the Bishop that the later Act was virtually a repeal of that which the King had sanctioned, the writer of the pamphlet takes issue:

"But now, my Lord, what if I assert that this Act of Assembly does not suspend the Operation of the former, which had the Royal Assent? And it will require no very logical Turn to prove it, but, on the contrary that it was the only rational Method that could be fallen upon, to make the Royal Act of any Effect, as to its evident Purposes: Led by the fair Hand of Truth, we may suppose that the Act which settled the Clergymen's Salaries (which is that you have all along contended for, as having received the Royal Assent) had in View, as well the possibility of *paying* those Salaries, as the *establishing* them, from their being settled in Tobacco, the Staple of the Country; now, as the Growth of this Commodity depends on the Seasonableness of Weather, and as it is known to be subject to as many destructive Insects, perhaps, as ever *Aegypt* complained of; whenever, from a general Calamity, the Crop is universally short (as it was when the Act under your consideration was passed) can the Payment of these Salaries be made in Tobacco, according to the Direction of the Royal Act? Is it not rather impossible that they should be so paid? Must there not, therefore, to preserve the Intention of *paying* the Salaries, be some Compensation settled in Lieu thereof? And what more proper than that of money? Is it not necessary that the Rate of this Compensation should be fixed, by some kind of publick Authority? Or would it be more

"just that the Collectors of the Taxce, or that even the Clergy themselves, should be left to their own pleasure of exacting over the whole Community? Would not this have introduced a vast Multiplicity of Lawsuits, or Distresses of Goods? But where would have been the Buyers, but amongst the very few lucky ones? And would not these have bid sparingly, for the Sake of great Bargains, as they are called? Where then would the Evil have ended, but in the ruin of Thousands? For whatever Method the Clergy should have fallen upon, that must have been a good direction to all other publick and private Creditors: If then *Reason* points out that the Rate of Compensation should be settled, what Authority can there be so effectual, or more probably just, than the whole *legislative Body of the Country*? But this your Lordship has been pleased to cast a Flear at, in another part of your Letter; however, I believe, when it comes in its turn, I shall be able to make it very difficult for any but the partial Reasoner to join with you. Thus, my Lord, though you may dispute the Conclusion, drawn from the above State of Things, viz. that this Act does not suspend the Operation of the Royal Act, I am persuaded the unbiassed will think that it does not, as it was the only Aid that could be given to it, to have effected any tolerable Maintenance for the Clergy; for, let their Right be whatever your Lordship shall think proper to declare it, where it was not to be had, Extremities, be they ever so legal or justifiable, could never have procured the End proposed; and it is undeniable that the Situation of the Country was such."—*Pages 10, 11.*

The Bishop had evidently attempted to identify the recent notorious spread of "dissent," in Virginia, with the obnoxious legislation respecting the amount of commutation for Tobacco. On this point, the author says, "Now, my Lord, since you have taken Notice of some Dissentions from the Church of *England* in this Colony, I will endeavour to assign a more plausible Reason for them than what you seem to point generally at: By hinting at some Disrespect, and ill Usage to the Clergy, immediately after you had observed that within a few years past the Country were all members of the Church of *England*, you not only leave Room for every Body to conclude that there were now dissenters amongst us, but also that the Disrespect to the Clergy, is to be imputed to that Dissension; but, my Lord, I am very

"unlucky in my Observations, for I am so far from thinking that the Disrespect to the Clergy proceeded from Dissention in Religion, that I cannot avoid saying that it was the Disrespect to some few of the Clergy that occasioned the Dis-sention; and really this seems to be the general Complexion of most Dissentions, in the first Stages of them: The Ministers of Religion beget Divisions, either by leaving the first Purposes of it in their Lives and Practice, or by clouding it over with mysterious Interpretations; but this is not the Point I now propose to Reason upon.

"It was much about the year 1748 when these Dissentions began to gain Ground, and it was near the same time that the Country lost the Rev. Mr. James Blair, who had for a long While exercised the Office of Commissary amongst us; now, although I would be always cautious of Panegyrick, for fear of rising too high, I must say that that Gentleman discovered, by his Behaviour, that he was the best qualified for the true Intention of that Office of any that have, or perhaps will, succeed him. He knew the Necessity of Connection between the Religious and the Civil Society, and, by being a perfect Master of the true Principles of both, it may be concluded from his particular Conduct, that he always foresaw that the Civil would never withdraw from the Influence of the Religious (whose connecting purpose seems to be that of remedying the imperfections of the Civil) unless compelled to it, by Steps that would introduce unequal distributions of Justice, according to the common Notions of it; for, my Lord, although he cannot but be acquainted that it was usual for Ecclesiastical Courts at Home to take Cognizance of the Misconduct of the Clergy, yet he chose rather to suffer the Method of such Enquiries to remain as (perhaps the Infancy of the Country had at first settled it) with the Governour and Council: So that, on due Proof of *Immorality* or *Irreligion*, in any of the Order, it was always recommended to him, by that Board, to require the Removal of such Minister out of the Parish; which, in effect, amounted to a Deprivation, though perhaps not according to the Forms of Law. This, naturally, produced these two good Effects: Those of the Clergy who had fled to the Calling, as the dernier resort for a Livelihood (and some such will creep in, in Spight of the utmost Episcopal Caution) finding that their Behaviour would be subject to an Enquiry, according to the common Rules of Justice, and that their Judges could

"not, from any kind of *functional* Convention, willingly resolve Acts of *Lewdness* and *Debauchery* into Flights of innocent *Gallantry*; either accommodated their Behaviour to the known Practice of Morality, and Decency in Office, or became really men of pious Dispositions, embracing the Opportunities that offered of doing Good in their Parishes; the People who are ever strongly acted on by Example, observing such a strict Harmony between Life and Doctrine, from the Amiability of the one, were satisfied of the Truth of the other. In these Days, my Lord, which I had almost said are now over, Sectaries made some Efforts; but, like Exotics in an improper Clime, they withered as soon as the first Motions of *Curiosity* in the Hearers were satisfied.

"But the Gentleman who succeeded Mr. Blair did not reason thus, and erected a kind of Spiritual Court. Now, my Lord, although I do not dispute the Legality of such a Court, and allow that it has something in its institution of the true *British* Principle, that of trying every Man by his Peers; yet if we consider how unwilling Men of the same function are to condemn one another, and, on the contrary, what Lengths they will run, and what Hazards they will encounter, to support each other, (of which your Lordship's Letter is a very signal Proof, if *Reputation* is any thing, in the composition of so great a Character) we cannot but own that it is a Court the most improper of any to determine with regard to the Conduct of a Minister, and one instance of such affectionate Lenity is enough to destroy both the good purposes above mentioned; for Men of a depraved Turn will, depending on the Tenderness of such Judges, presently shake off every Restraint: And when the People once discover, that he who preaches *Thou shalt not, &c.*, is himself a Violator of those very Commands uncensured, they then grow indifferent as to the Mode of his Religion, and are easily led away by any Wind of Doctrine that shall occasionally start up, and blow; and this, my Lord, will be found to be the real Cause of the present Growth of Dissention amongst us; and I cannot help observing, that whilst *Faith* and *Works* went Hand in Hand, in Instances of pastoral Care, even *Whitfield* did but hum, buzz, and die away like the Insect of the Day; but, when these separated, and Faith had nothing to distinguish it from the *Emptiness of Sound* in the Preacher, a *Davies* was then able to collect his Admirers."—Pages 16, 19.

The controversy between the Clergy and the

Colonial authorities and patriots, with reference to the mode of paying the salaries of the Clergy, continued for several years. Lawsuit followed lawsuit, each Clergyman, for himself, endeavoring to secure, from Courts and Juries, what he considered his rights. The question was, by no means, settled when the Stamp Act of the British Parliament was made a new grievance; and those patriots who had once only the Clergy to denounce or oppose, now found themselves confronted by what they regarded as still more obnoxious and tyrannical than merely clerical claims.

In illustration of this, we cite from the *Papers*, a passage which has the merit of sketching the course of the celebrated Patrick Henry, almost at the outset of his career as a lawyer. It is in immediate connection with the case of a Clergyman claiming his Tobacco, reported under date 1765: "Mr. Maury brought his cause in a County Court. The Court adjudged the Act in question to be no law, but an ignorant Jury were afterwards, in opposition to the best evidence that Mr. Maury ought to have received about three times as much in value as the Act granted him, and without any counter evidence, persuaded to give him one penny damages. The method taken to bring over a weak jury thus to sap the foundations of property was as extraordinary as the property itself. The advocate advanced for this purpose that the Clergy were of no use but to promote what he called duties of imperfect obligation, that for their audacious behaviour in contesting at law the Act of a Governor and Assembly they deserved to be severely punished instead of receiving damages, that the King by disallowance of the Act had forfeited the allegiance of the people of Virginia, and that the jury were not obliged nor ought to give more than one penny damages. After the trial was over this Lawyer excused himself to the plaintiff by telling him that he had no ill will against him or wished to hurt him but that he had said what he did to make himself popular. He has succeeded in making himself popular in that part of the country where he lives. He has since been chosen a representative for one of the counties, in which character he has lately distinguished himself in the House of Burgesses on occasion of the arrival of an Act of Parliament for Stamp duties while the Assembly was sitting. He blazed out in a violent speech against the authority of Parliament and the King, comparing his Majesty to a Tarquin, a Cesar and a Charles the First, and not sparing insinuations that he wished another Cromwell would arise. He made a motion for several outrageous resolves, some

"of which passed and were again erased as soon as his back was turned. Such was the behaviour in the lower House of Assembly that the Governor could not save appearances without dissolving them. They were accordingly dissolved and Mr. Henry, the hero of whom I have been writing, is gone quietly into the upper parts of the country to recommend himself to his constituents by spreading treason and enforcing firm resolutions against the authority of the British Parliament. This is at least the common report, the concluding resolve which he offered to the House and fell among the rejected ones, was that any person who should write or speak in favor of the Act of Parliament for laying on Stamp duties should be deemed an enemy to the Colony of Virginia, such notions have of liberty and property, as well as of authority, and such indeed have too many, of his party, which on occasion of the present Act of Parliament, have met an opportunity of breaking out too conspicuously to be any longer suppressed or denied."

It will thus be seen, in part, why it was that Virginia—from the outset, an Episcopalian Colony, in which the Church was united with the State, and supported by law—yet took a decided and leading part in resistance to the claims of the English Parliament. She had gone through a previous and preparatory agitation, which had brought questions of foreign dictation and royal sanction home to every fireside in the land; and it was in the Civil Courts that men like Henry were trained, by arguing against the injustice of the Church and the claims of the Clergy, to argue against the intolerance of the King and the Parliament.

HARLEM, N. Y.

E. H. G.

V.—JACOB LEISLER.

COMMUNICATED BY COLONEL T. BAILEY MYERS.

The following copy of a *Translate out of a Letter sent from New York to Amsterdam*, may be of interest, at this time, when attention has been recalled to the subject by the recent able discourse of the Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead, before the Historical Society. It is unfortunate that the paper carries with it no evidence of authenticity in the names of the writer or of the party to whom it was addressed. It is, however, evidently genuine so far as relates to its date; and as it was written in troubled times, by the wife of one of the adherents of a man who had recently suffered as an outlaw, the suppression of the names may be attributed to prudence and a regard for personal safety. The apparent willingness of the Jacobites to leave the city and fort defenceless against the French, corresponds entirely with the supposed secret alliance between the two Crowns, at that period, and strengthens the idea, then entertained, by many, that the adherents of the fallen King

would attempt to take refuge in, and to hold, with the assistance of France, the Colonies, after losing the mother country, which, with the adjacent dominions of their ally and the protection of her fleets and Indian dependants, would not appear to have been an wholly impracticable scheme, and would have formed the germ of an Anglo-catholic Empire, in the West, far preferable to the wandering dependence which became the destiny of the Stuarts. To such a scheme Colonel Dongan (whose brother, the Earl of Limerick, was one of the few who had already shed his blood in defense of King James and who was, himself, his devoted adherent,) Sir Edmund Andros, and a large portion of the better class of people in the Colonies, long accustomed to the Jacobite rule, could not have been expected to have shown a greater opposition than the "Canon which could not be used," or "ye arms in ye fort," which looked as if they had not been handled within this hundred years."

Whether Leisler was the first republican in the history of our State, as many believe, and also her first patriot martyr, or only an ambitious adventurer and usurper, as others hold, he certainly was an earnest man, of prompt, decisive ways; and, while he held the power of the Government, the prospect of such counter-revolution was greatly lessened.

The paper which follows, belongs to a number of documents of unquestionable authenticity which recently came from England. It is but just to say that its unauthenticated position, as an authority, might lay it open to a charge, which could not now be disproved, that it had been manufactured, at the time, as an appeal for sympathy or for political effect, and as an indirect mode of bringing before the public the state of the Colony; but, even in that event, it has its value as suggesting enquiry and refutation.

The death of Governor Sloughter, as stated, is an authentic fact, which occurred fourteen days before the letter was written—according to Smith, on the twenty-third of July, 1691—but that of the member of the Council dying in Boston, probably alludes to Joseph Dudley, the senior member, who returned from Boston, after the Governor had died and Captain Ingoldsby,* who, like Leisler, was Captain of an Independent Company, had been sworn in as President of the Council and was acting in the position which Dudley was entitled to occupy, as temporary Governor of the Colony.

It is an instance of the complacency of the Judges of the day, to the Executive, that the important question on the

trial of Leisler, as to whether he had acquired any authority to act as Lieutenant-governor, by the letter he had received from the Ministry addressed "To Francis Nicholson, Esq., or, in his absence, to such as, for the time being, take Care for preserving the Peace and Administering the Laws in their Majesty's Province of New York, in America," was submitted to the Governor and Council, of which last Bayard and Nichols, recently released from a harsh confinement, in the fort, to which Leisler had subjected them, were members; and their decision that he had not, would scarcely be now considered as conclusive, where a bias against the Prisoner was so apparent. While, however, the desire of the "grantee" party, from which the Council were taken, was unanimous for the death of Leisler and Milbourne, Smith, the historian, asserts that the Governor was averse to taking their lives; and that his signature to the Warrant could only be had, at a banquet, when he was under the effects of liquor. If this were so, may it not add to the probability that they were the victims of political jealousy rather than of violated law?

NEW YORK CITY.

T. B. M.

LOVING FRIEND

After Cordial Salutation I hope you are in health wth y^r family, as for us I thank y^r great God for being in health also yett we are under a great trouble by reason of y^r present wicked governm^t for w^{ch} we may complain to God. If things go on after this rate there is no Living any Longer here for Christian Souls. I would have departed before this time but y^t they will not suffer anybody to go, wherefore my friendly desire is y^t you please to receive this money according to Letter of Attorney here Inclosed and Keep it wth you till farther order or untill we come in those parts, for as I have said already it is no Longer Living here because they endeavour to undoe all of us utterly who have sided with Leisler, it is not enough to them to have hanged Leisler and his son in Law until they were halvedead & then wickedly to have butchered them for w^{ch} y^r whole Country mourns, but our Husbands & those y^t have sided wth him have been forced to fly & seaven of them are clapt up in prison & are to be tried for their Lives. All this is only because we all have been so faithfull to King William & Queen Mary, God Knows y^r Endeavours of y^r men to Keep y^r Land and to reduce all to a good State, whereas formerly it was like unto a molehill for the peices of Canon could not be used & y^r arms in y^r fort Look'd as if

of this City, the last hereditary Proprietor. He was, therefore, acting as Governor before the publication of Colonel Sloughter's Commission, which was made, according to Smith, on the nineteenth of March, 1691, and dating from a fort, at that time, in possession of Leisler, according to the same authority; whereas in the Chronological Lists Governor Ingoldsby is put down as acting in 1692. The difference between the old and new style may throw light on the muddle.

* As an instance of the want of historical accuracy as to dates, even by writers of an early period, Smith, writing in 1734, fixes that of Captain Richard Ingoldsby being sworn into office, as President of the Council, as the twenty-sixth of July, 1693, which is evidently intended for 1691; but "Major Richard Ingoldsby, Commander in Chief of the Provinces of New York and the Territories thereon depending in America," as he describes himself, dating at "Fort William Henry, on the 17 of February 1691," executed a certificate that Lewis Morris, as Administrator of his father, Colonel Lewis Morris, his predecessor in the Manor of Morrisania, had made oath before him to the inventory, as appears by the paper, very clearly written and twice dated, in the possession of Henry W. Morris, Esq.,

they had not been handled within this hundred years, & y^e gunpowder was wett Insomuch that all was out of order just as if there was no Enemy to be Expected tho' Every day we heard of y^e damage y^e french did, and when y^e news came here y^e prince William was arrived in England, to maintaine y^e Protestant Religion the dutchman who brought it was threatened by y^e then governo^r who put his sword upon his breast to run him through if he would not be silent of it. Hence you may guess what they intended for us; since our dear Leisler wth his Son (& all who mourne yett in sorrow) have done Such a notable Service for y^e country and y^e King for I dont belief y^e he had a more faithfull people in England, as we have been here, tho we are so sadly rewarded But it is for o^r Sins Sake y^e God inflicts this upon us, but of y^e King & Queen we have not deserved that such wicked Judges should be sent over to us, who hear y^e one and put y^e other to death without having heard his defense, nay tho Leislars wife & children in the most abject posture did prostrate themselves at y^e governors feet & begg^d of him y^e he would hear their Husband & father but half an hour speak since he had heard none but his adversary's & Enemies, & if y^e time was too long y^e he might give him audience but one minute yett all this was in Vaine, he must be hurried to the Execution wth out being heard & thus they died gloriously as two Martyrs Insomuch y^e we are assured y^e their Souls rest in y^e Lord, but as for Sloughter y^e governo^r who would not hear him one minute Speak he has not had one moment of time to Confess his Sins for that great Judge when death approached for he fell headlong & died and we hear also of another of y^e Bloody Councill who went for Boston where he died suddenly, tho of this last we have no full certainty. It is impossible to relate Every thing for y^e sad Condicion we are in would require a whole Book. But God who is a righteous Judge & to whom we committ our Cause will bring everything to Light, & may oppress us for a time but will at Length relieve us, our hope is alone groundd on him If we must have y^e name of Rebels here, & if our Dutch nation must suffer so much we muste confess before God y^e we have deserved it by our [Page 2] sins. Butt yett we will embrace him wth y^e armes of faith & pray that he will deliver us, he is a righteous god & a merciful father who after this name will give us a better name, if it be not here it will be hereafter so I recommend you to almighty God. my husband & mother Salute you.

Your heartily affectionate friend
IN NEW YORK y^e 6th of Aug 1691. N. N.

VI.—"THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS" OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

[The early history of Vermont, whether portrayed in knowledged romance or in what is claimed to be veritable "history," has been the fruitful theme of much that is fictitious and entirely repugnant to the truth; and there has been and, we regret to say, there still is, among those, in Vermont, who profess to know and write of the character and doings of those who preceded them, in the settlement of that territory and the establishment of the State thereon, a disposition to conceal, if not to positively misrepresent, the evident truth of those subjects.

It is very well known to all who pretend to know or to care for the truth, in history, that the territory of what is now the State of Vermont was, until after the establishment of the independence of the thirteen Colonies, in 1788 a portion of the territory of, successively, the Colony and State of New York: and it is also known to all such that the jurisdiction of the authorities of that Colony and State were just as well-founded and, until 1766, as little disputed as was their jurisdiction over Manhattan-Island or the Mohawk-flats. It is also known to all such, that, in conjunction with or consequent on the intrigues, usurpations, and illegal practices of some, in authority, in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, a portion of the inhabitants of that territory rose, in insurrection, against the authority of the Colony and State to which they owed obedience; and that, for a number of years, taking advantage of the troubles produced by the Revolution and the War, they openly defied the authority of New York, maltreated those of their neighbors who were law-abiding and orderly in their conduct, and assumed to exercise all the authority and claim all the privileges of an independent State.

In 1869, the Vermont Historical Society published what purported to be, *but were not*, the unpublished Minutes of the several Conventions of these insurgents; and the Committee of that Society further diminished the value of what had previously been regarded as the record of the doings of those Conventions, by *altering*, and *adding to*, and *curtailing* that supposed record, with no other warrant or authority, real or imaginary, than its own sweet will. The inaccurate record, rendered still more inaccurate through the impertinence of that Committee, which the Society thus circulated, was promptly condemned by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, in January, 1871, and as promptly "vindicated" by ex-Governor Hall, in pamphlet form and in the Magazine for July, 1871: and, although that "vindication" was duly responded to by Henry B. Dawson, over his own signature, we do not consider it to be inappropriate in us, while we expose the falsehood, also to present the truth. We have pleasure, therefore, in presenting, for the information of those who shall prefer the genuine article, a strictly accurate copy of the Minutes of the first of those Conventions whose Minutes have been preserved, as they appear on the original Manuscript; and we shall continue the series, month by month, until we shall have published the whole of them.

Historical Magazine

For January, 1872, page 20.

NOTE, BUT NOT BY THE EDITOR.

REFUTATION OF MR. DAWSON'S CHARGES IN HIS ARTICLE ENTITLED, "THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS OF VERMONT."

In the number of the "Historical Magazine" for January, 1871, page 52-54, Mr. Dawson, its editor, made a bitter attack on the Committee of Publication of the Vermont Historical Society, charging that for the purpose of making the early conduct of the Vermonters towards New York appear in a more favorable light than the truth warranted, they had published, in a volume of their Collections, a mutilated and false journal of certain conventions held by them in 1776 and 1777, calling their publication "a reconstructed record," "entirely unreliable as material for history," etc., etc. Mr. Dawson, in this attack, claimed that he had in his possession the "ORIGINAL Minutes" of the proceedings of those conventions, and specified some fourteen instances in which he alleged the copy of the Vermont Collections differed from his original minutes, and which difference he insisted was evidence of the sinister and fraudulent purpose of the Vermont Committee of Publication.

In the Introduction to the second volume of the Vermont Collections in 1871, the committee noticed the attack of Mr. Dawson on the integrity of their publication; claimed that it had been made in good faith from what they believed to be true and authentic copies of the records of the conventions; disputed the claim of Mr. Dawson that he possessed the *original minutes* of the conventions and insisted that his minutes, like those of the committee, were *only copies* and were of no more authenticity than theirs. They further called his attention to each of his fourteen specifications of error, and showed that some of the most important of his alleged variations were not variations, and that not one of the whole number was of a character to impair in any degree the integrity or historical value of the Society's publication; that they were trivial and unimportant differences, such as giving the first or second name of some unknown member of a convention—as Josiah instead of Joseph, Simon instead of Simeon, Everts instead of Evits, Hurd instead of Hard and such other trifling differences—all of which would have been readily ascribed by any impartial reader to errors of the copyist or of the type. This vindication of the Society's publication of the proceedings of their conventions, made in the second volume of their Collections, will also be found in Mr. Dawson's Magazine for July, 1871, page 49, where, in republishing it, he has attempted to smother it in a cloud of notes, in which there is no lack of misrepresentation and abuse of the Society's committee, and especially of the undersigned, but in which the careful reader will seek in vain for either facts or arguments to invalidate or discredit the vindication of the committee.

This preliminary statement is now made in order that the assumption on which Mr. Dawson founded his attack on the committee may be the more clearly seen. It rested wholly on his claim to have in his possession the original records of the conventions, by which he had tested the accuracy of the Society's publication. If his manuscript was only a *copy* of the records, it stood on the same ground as that of the committee and he had no more right to call in question the authority of their publication, than they had to question that of his manuscript. This was so understood by Mr. Dawson himself. In order to substantiate his charge of fraud against the committee he repeatedly asserted that he held the *originals* and not copies, and in his comment on the vindication of the committee, at page 50 of his magazine for July, 1871, he reiterates his previous assertion in the following language: "I know of what I write when I say, as I do say that the magazine's words meant what they clearly indicated as their legitimate meaning—its authority for condemning, as unfaithful what the Society had published, was, THE ORIGINAL MINUTES AS LEFT BY THE SECRETARY WHO WROTE THEM," and Mr. Dawson emphasizes this assertion by printing in capitals the last eleven words of this our quotation from him, in the manner here given.

And now comes the strangest and most unaccountable act of Mr. Dawson in this matter, viz : *his printing in his magazine a copy of his manuscript*. His only possible motive in doing it would seem to be to prove the truth of his previous declarations that his manuscript was the *original minutes* of the secretary who wrote them, whereas, it proves, beyond doubt or question, directly the contrary. His publication of his minutes begins with the number for January, 1872, and the whole will be found in the volume which commences with that number, and ends with June, 1873. The copy of his manuscript, as printed by him, includes the Journals of five conventions, four in 1776 and one in 1777. Of the three first conventions Jonas Fay was clerk, and Ira Allen of the two others. At the end of the Journals of the several conventions the entries are as follows : Of the first Journal, page 22, "Errors excepted True Copy, examined, Jonas Fay, Clerk;" of the second, page 81, "Copy examined pr Jonas Fay, Clerk;" third Journal, page 139, "A true copy from the original," but not signed as are the two previous entries. At the end of the last two Journals, pages 207 and 292, after the signatures of Joseph Bowker, Chairman, and Ira Allen, Clerk, the entries are in the same words, being in each, "A true copy from the original, compared by"—no name of the comparer being added, indicating that though the clerk believed it to be a true copy it was still an unfinished one, its verity being yet to be tested by a comparison with the original.

It is thus seen that Mr. Dawson in his overweening anxiety to convict his Vermont friends of historical unfaithfulness, has ended in their full and perfect vindication, and by the very document which he, himself, produced to sustain it. The downfall of his charge is so complete as to forbid further comment.

HILAND HALL.

North Bennington, Vt.

Whether Governor Hall shall unite with them or not, we are sure that honest students of Vermont's early history will thank us for thus rescuing one very important portion of the authorities on which that early history must necessarily rest, from the hands of those, in Vermont, who have been, hitherto, too willing to mutilate and corrupt them.—
Editor]

[MINUTES.]

WARRANT

Arlington 20th Dec^r 1775

Whereas there has been several Warrants, or Notifications sent up the Country for a General Meeting on the N. Hampshire Grants to be held at M^r Cephas Kent's in Dorset on the first Wednesday of Ianuary next, and as it was thought Very Necessary that Col^o Seth Warner with others should Attend the 8^d Meeting, and their business being such that they Could not attend at that time.

This is therefore to Warn the inhabitants on the said N. Hampshire Grants West of the Range of Green Mountains to Meet to gether by their Delegates from Each Town, at the House of M^r Cephas Kent's in said Dorset on the Sixteenth day of January next at Nine oClock in the Morning, then and there to Act on the Following Articles (VIZ^y)

- 1st to Choose a Moderator, or Chairman for said Meeting.
- 2^d to Choose Clerks for said Meeting.
- 3^d to see if the Law of New York shall have free Circulation where it doth not infringe on our properties, or Title of Lands, or Riots (so Called) in defence of the Same.
- 4th to see if the said Convention will Come into some proper regulations, or take some method to Surpress all Schismattick Mobbs that have, or may Arrise on Said Grants.
- 5th to See if they will Choose an Agent, or Agents to send to the Continental Congress.
- 6th to see whether the Convention will Consent to Associate with N. York, or by themselves in the Cause of America.

Moses Robinson
Samuel Robinson
Seth Warner
Jeremiah Clark
Martin Powell
Daniel Smith
Jonathan Willard

By Order of

} Committee

N. Hampshire } Dorset January 16th 1776—
Grants }

At a Meeting of the Representatives of the several Towns in the N Hampshire Grants, the West side the range of Green Mountains, held this day, at the House of M^r Cephas

Kent's Innholder in said Dorset; Proceeded as followeth viz.

- 1st Made Choice of Cap^t Joseph Woodward Chairman.
- 2^d made Choice of Doct^r Jonas Fay Clerk.
- 3^d made Choice of Col^o Moses Robinson, Mess^{rs} Samuel M^r Coon & oliver Evits, Assistant Clerks.
- 4th made Choice of Mess^{rs} Thomas Ashley, William Marsh, Heman Allen, Able Moulton, Moses Robinson, John M^r Lane, Gamaliel Painter, James Hard and Joseph Bowker a Committee to examine, and report their Opinion to the Convention, relative to the third Article in the Warrant.

Adjourned to 8 oClock P M.—Met at time and place.—Voted to make an Addition of four Persons to the Above Committee.—Voted to reconsider the two last Votes, and to discourse the matter for which they were appointed in publick Meeting.—Voted that the paper with a number of Signers exhibited to this Convention relative to Cap^t Bowker's Charecter, be ordered to lay on the Table, till further Order.

Voted that two persons from each Town in the Grants (who are present,) be Allowed to vote in this Meeting, and no more.

Adjourned to 8 oClock tomorow Morning.

January 17th 1776 Met at time and place.

Made Choice of Cap^t Heman Allen, Cap^t Joseph Bowker, Col^o Moses Robinson, Iohn M^r Lane and Col^o Timothy Brownson as a Committee to report their Opinion relative to the number of Committee men each Town in the grants Shall be Allowed

Report of the foregoing Sub-Committee
Your Committee beg leave to report as their Opinion, that the several Town's in the Grants hereafter named, be Allowed the number of Members set against the name of each Town, and that each Other inhabited Town in the said Grants be Allowed, one, or More, or less Votes in proportion to the number such Deputed Member, or Members shall represent.

Towns names	N ^o Votes Allowed
Pownall	4.
Bennington	7.
Shaftsbury	4.
Arlington	3.
Sunderland	2.
Manchester	4.
Dorset	2.
Dunbee	3.
Tinmouth	2.

Towns Names	N ^o Votes All ^d
Clarindon	4.
Rutland	3.
Pittsford	2.
Rupert	2.
Pawlet	1.
Wells	1.
Poultney	2
Castleton	2.
Neshobee	1

Joseph Bowker } Chairman of
 } Sub. Committee

a True Copy Examined
 By Jonas Fay Clerk

The Above report being Read, was Voted
 and Accepted Nem. Con.

Voted to represent the particular Case of
 the inhabitants of the N Hampshire Grants
 to the honorable the Continental Congress by
 Remonstrance and petition.

Voted that L^t James Breakenridge, Cap^t
 Heman Allen and Doct^r Jonas Fay be and
 they are hereby Appointed to prefer said
 Petition.

Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay, Col^o W^m
 Marsh & M^r Thomas Rowley be a Commit-
 tee with the Above Delegates to prepare the
 s^d Remonstrance and Petition.

Voted Nem. Con. to pay the Above agents
 their Reasonable Cost's for their Services on
 their return and exhibiting their Accounts.

Voted Mess^{rs} Simeon Hatheway, Elijah
 Dewey and James Breakenridge, or either
 two of them be, and are hereby Appointed
 a Committee with power to Warn a General
 Meeting of the Committees on the Grants,
 when they shall Judge Necessary from
 Southern intelligence.

And that Col^o John Strong, Zadock Aver-
 est and Asahel Ward be a like Committee
 with like power of Warning such General
 Meeting of Committees in the Grants, when
 they shall Judge Necessary from Northern
 intelligence.

Voted that the Several Committee's of
 Correspondence continue their Duty as Usual.

Lastly Voted to Dissolve this Meeting

Joseph Woodward Chairman

Errors excepted

True Copy examined

Jonas Fay Clerk

Cash Received for the purpose of Defrey-
 ing the Charges of the Delegates Appointed
 to Attend Congress

L M
 Poultney 0..6..4

Pittsford 0.. 6..0
 Rupert 0..10..1

£1.. 2..5

receiv'd by

Jonas Fay Clerk

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—LETTER FROM JOHN GOOCH, 1776.

COMMUNICATED BY JEREMIAH COLBURN, Esq.

NEW JERSEY, FORT CONSTITUTION,
 Sept. 23, 1776.

SIR,

the many favors Recived from you will
 ever hold a gratfull plase in my heart, and I flat-
 ter myself a Letter will not prove disagreeable,
 as I look on myself obliged in gratitude to let
 you hear from me, as I know you must be anx-
 ious for the certainty of events of which you can
 have at that distance but a confused account, as
 I was on the Spot will indeaver to give you as
 concise and lust account as possible; on the 15th
 Inst^t. we evacuated New York & took all Stores
 of every kind out of the City, and took Posses-
 sion of a hight on our Right Flank ab^t half a
 mile Distance with about 8000 men, a Party
 from our Brigade of 150 men who turnd out as
 Volanteers under the command of Lieut. Col^o
 Crary of the Regmt. I belong to—were ordered
 out if possible to disposess them, in about 20
 minits the Engagement began with as terrible a
 fire as ever I heard, when orders came for the
 whole Brigade imediately to march to support
 the first detachment; the Brigade consisted of
 ab^t. 900 men, we immediately form'd in front of
 the Enimy and march'd up in good order
 through their fire, which was incessant till within
 70 yards, when we Engaged them in that Situa-
 tion, we Engaged them for one hour & eight min-
 its, when the Enimy Broke & Ran, we persued
 them to the next hights, when we were ordered to
 Retreat, Our lose does not exceed in kill'd and
 wounded twenty five men, the lose of the Enimy
 was very considerable but cannot be ascertained,
 as we observed them to carry off their dead and
 wounded the whole time of the Engagement,
 they left a Number of kill'd and wounded on
 the Field of Battle & a great number of small
 armes, the greates superiority of numbers and
 every other advantage the Enemy had, when con-
 sidered, makes the Victory Glorious, and tho'
 but over a part of their Army, yet the conse-
 quences of it are attended with advantages very
 great, as they imediately quited the hights all
 round us and have not been troublesome since,
 our people behaved with the greatest Spirit, and
 the New England men have gained the first Law-

rells, I received a Slight wound in the Anckle at the first of the Engagement but never quited the Field during the Engagement, I'm now Ready to give them the Second part whenever they have an appetite, as I'm convinced whenever [they] Stir from their Ships we shall drubb them.

Every thing here is very dear Rum 16¹/₂ m^y p^r Gall! and every thing in proportion. I expect to see you in Jan^y: if heaven spares me when perhaps may fall on a Sceme that you may think advantageous as it will be impossible for me to stay in the Army for eight pounds per month. Should esteem myself very [happy] in having a line, My best Respects to your Lady & Family.

I am, with a due sense of obligations, Your Oblig'd & most Obedt. Servant. JOHN GOOCH.

To THOMAS FAYERWEATHER Esq^r
Mercht.

In BOSTON.

VIII.—STEAM NAVIGATION, IN 1798.

ROOSEVELDT: LIVINGSTON: FULTON.

COMMUNICATED BY THOMPSON WESTCOTT, ESQ.,
OF PHILADELPHIA.

[HARRY B. DAWSON, Esq.: I send you, herewith, a copy of an affidavit made by James Smallman, in relation to steamboat experiments, made in 1798, by Nicholas I. Roosevelt, upon the Passaic-river, N. J., under the direction of Robert R. Livingston.

The original was placed in my hands, by a daughter of James Smallman.

From the date when this deposition was made, I surmise that it was prepared for use before the Legislature of New Jersey, to resist an attempt, made in 1814-15, to obtain a repeal of laws passed by that State, to retaliate against the law of the State of New York, passed in 1798, which repealed the Act of the nineteenth of March 1787, conferring upon John Fitch the special right to propel boats by fire and steam in the waters of New York, and conferred them upon Robert R. Livingston. It was under patronage of this law, that Robert Fulton built and navigated the *Clermont*, for Chancellor Livingston, in 1807. Under that law, New Jersey was prohibited from navigating steamboats, except under the Livingston-Fulton license, on the Hudson one of her own boundaries. New Jersey then retaliated by the passage of a law forbidding any New York steamboat to navigate New Jersey waters. Livingston attempted to get this law repealed, in the Session of 1815; and this affidavit, I conjecture, was prepared to resist the effort.

Rooseveldt built the first steam-engine for the use of the Philadelphia Water Works, 1798-1800. James Smallman and Nicholas I. Roosevelt obtained a Patent from the United States for a steam-engine, on the thirty-first of May, 1798. Rooseveltdt obtained a Patent for propelling boats by steam, on the first of December, 1814. He built the first steamboat which navigated the Ohio and Mississippi—the *New Orleans*—which was finished at Pittsburg, in 1811. See *The Rambler in North America*, by Charles

J. Latrobe, for an account of the building and first voyage of that boat.

The name of "James Smallman, Engineer, Walnut St. 'near Schuylkill and,'" first appears in the Philadelphia Directory for the year 1808, and is continued, annually, in the Directories, until 1822, after which it is omitted.

Yours truly,
THOMPSON WESTCOTT.

[AFFIDAVIT OF JAMES SMALLMAN]

STATE OF NEW JERSEY, S^t
TOWNSHIP OF NEWTON
&
COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER } to witt

Before me one of the Justices of the Peace for the County aforesaid Personally appeared the subscriber James Smallman, of the City of Philadelphia, Engineer, who being duly sworn on the holy Evangelist of the Almighty God, deposeth and saith,

That in the year 1797, this deponent being concerned with a certain Nicholas J. Roseveldt, a Citizen of the State of New Jersey aforesaid, and others, in a foundry and in Smiths Shops, of which this deponent was Conductor and Chief Engineer, the building of a Boat to be propelled by a Steam Engine was commenced on Passaic River, above Newark in the State of New Jersey, where the said works were located and carried on, under the immediate superintendence of the aforesaid Nicholas J. Roseveldt, in which Boat a certain Robert R. Livingston of the State of New York, generally called "Chancellor Livingston," had a share or part interest with said Nicholas; That the making fitting and erecting of the Steam Engine in, and to propell said Boat, was confided to this Deponent, and that said Engine though upon a small scale, was of the best and most perfect kind, and effectual in its force and operation, and was put in said Boat, which was built and finished agreeably to the express instructions, plan and personal directions of the said Chancellor Livingston, who possessing great local influence and respectability, dictated the mode of combining the parts of the machinery to apply the Power of the Steam Engine to the propelling said Boat, to said application and Combination which was obviously absurd and uniformly inveighed against, and objected to, by the aforesaid Nicholas, by this Deponent, and by several other Mechanicks and Artisans then engaged in and about said Boat works, in so much that the misapplication of the Power of the Engine, and the Combination of the parts of the Machinery, were so ignorantly arranged, and so absurd, that a term frequently applied by the said Chancellor Livingston to a certain wheel in said Boat, to witt "Centry fugal motion" was in ridicule

called by this Deponent and others about said works "The Chancellor's Centre of Foolish Notion." That the aforesaid Nicholas J. Roosevelt did from the commencement of this Building of said Boat express his decided disapprobation of the mode of Combination proposed by the said Chancellor, and did suggest, propose, and repeatedly solicit, the said Chancellor Livingston, to permit them to place wheels over the sides of said Boat, in a manner precisely similar to the Steamboats now in general use and operation, and that this deponent did frequently urge and request the said Chancellor Livingston to adopt the mode proposed and suggested by the said Nicholas as aforesaid, all which the said Chancellor to the said Nicholas, to this Deponent and others did absolutely, obstinately and pertinaciously refuse, asserting positively, that he would adhere to his own proposed mode of combination, and would not alter it, although the proportions and size of Engine necessary to insure success in propelling said Boat with a Steam Engine, by adopting vertical wheels (or in other words putting wheels over the sides of said Boat) were stated to him, which said size and proportions, as so stated, were the same, as well with, as without, the position of the wheels over the sides that was used in the first Boat navigated with success for Livingston and Fulton on the North River, and that it was owing to the positive and obstinate refusal of the said Chancellor Livingston to permit wheels to be put over the sides to propel the boat by, that Steamboats were not put in as perfect and complete operation at that time; to wit, in the year 1798, on the Passaic River aforesaid, as they have at any time since in the United States, either by the aforesaid Chancellor Livingston, by Robert Fulton, or by any other person whatsoever; That notwithstanding the said absurd pertinacity of the said Chancellor Livingston as aforesaid, The Boat was propelled through the water by the Steam Engine at a velocity with and against the ordinary current of the River, of four miles an hour, and that had the Combination so strongly recommended of putting the wheels over the sides been adopted this Deponent is convinced that the same Engine would have propelled said Boat with, and against the ordinary current of said River an average velocity of seven miles an hour. That this Deponent after leaving the Passaic aforesaid, having set up and established the making of Steam Engines of all sizes and varieties, In the City of Philadelphia he was applied to by a certain Robert Fulton to make a Steam Engine of which the said Robert did to this Deponent give a plan or drawing. That this De-

ponent made said Engine agreeably to the order and plan of the said Robert as aforesaid and that said plan and the conversations of this Deponent had with the said Robert Fulton convinced this Deponent, that the said Robert Fulton at the time knew but little about Steam Engines, and was wholly or almost wholly ignorant of the true principles and proportions necessary to make them good and efficient, and that the Deponent did before the said Robert Fulton began to build the first Steamboat on the North River, generally called the North River Steamboat, inform him the said Robert of the plan proposed of putting the wheels over the sides, stated to him the total inefficiency of the Councilors former plan, and strongly recommended to the said Robert to adopt the plan of vertical wheels, which he the said Robert again agreed to do, and by doing produced useful Steamboats.

The Original signed	} Dated Nov. 24th
Witness WM. D. DELONT Justice	
	1814.

IX.—"VERMONT CONTROVERSY."

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTSE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[There is, in the office of the Secretary of State of New Hampshire, at Concord, a volume of manuscripts, bearing the title *Vermont Controversy*, which contains papers, illustrative of the early history of Vermont, of the highest importance to those who shall endeavor to ascertain the exact truth of the beginnings of that Commonwealth.

The publication of the contents of that volume has been frequently urged on the authorities of New Hampshire, but without success; and our valued friend, Captain W. F. Goodwin, U. S. A., a resident of Concord, more than two years ago, attempted to arouse the attention of those, in Vermont, who profess to be interested in the early history of that State, to the hidden treasures contained in that old volume. For that purpose, he communicated an elaborate description of the contents of the volume, to two of the leading journals of that State; and he also copied, with his own hand, the entire series of papers which compose the collection referred to, and communicated them to *The [Burlington] Daily Free Press*, for publication in that justly influential paper.

For reasons which were undoubtedly satisfactory to the Editors of the *Free Press*, however, only a very small portion of the series was allowed to see daylight, through the columns of that paper; and from these, because of the difficulty in procuring copies of the papers containing them, little advantage is to be expected, by those who prefer to read, for themselves, the authorities on which History necessarily rests. We have concluded, therefore, with Captain Goodwin's assistance—and he is always ready to extend that assistance to every one who honestly seeks

Historical Magazine

For January, 1872, page 24.

NOTE, BUT NOT BY THE EDITOR.

MR. DAWSON'S CHARGE AGAINST VERMONTERS UNDER THE HEAD OF "THE VERMONT CONTROVERSY."

The bitter and unaccountable hostility of Mr. Dawson, editor of the Historical Magazine, towards Vermont and Vermonters, seems to impel him to make charges of misconduct against them with little or no thought whether they are well founded or not. The absurdity of one of his charges thus thoughtlessly made, at page 20 of this number for January, 1872, in relation to certain early Vermont Conventions, has just been shown in a brief note that should be placed at that page, and here in the same number at 4 pages later we have now, under the head of the "Vermont Controversy," another of his charges of like unfounded character. In this charge he says there is a volume of manuscripts in the office of the Secretary of State of New Hampshire at Concord, entitled the "Vermont Controversy," and he complains of the Vermonters for not publishing it. Some persons might suppose that the publication of these manuscripts would more properly devolve on the authorities of New Hampshire, among whose archives they are found. But Mr. Dawson thinks otherwise, and he manifests his indignation against the Vermonters for not publishing them, by denouncing, in coarse and vulgar language, their supposed design thus to keep them concealed from the knowledge of historical students. But that the world might not remain in the dark about their contents, Mr. Dawson himself commences their publication in his magazine and continues to print them in their proper chronological order down to the date of October 27, 1781.

There was nothing whatever in these New Hampshire documents which any Vermonter might wish to conceal. In point of fact many of the most important of them had been published in Mr. Slade's Vermont State Papers as long ago as 1823, and in 1870 before Mr. Dawson began printing them, their whole series from 1750 down to January, 1782, had been published in the Burlington, Vermont, Free Press, as Mr. Dawson might have easily known if he had so desired. The Vermont publication in the Free Press and Times comes down to a later period than Mr. Dawson's and contains some twenty more documents than are found in his magazine.

I write understandingly in this matter. I approved of the publication of the documents in the Free Press at the time, was a subscriber to the paper, cut the slips from its columns as they were published, and have now before me the scrap book in which they were preserved, as well as a full copy of Mr. Dawson's magazine.

It is thus seen that this charge of alleged misconduct of the Vermonters in not publishing these New Hampshire documents, like all other charges Mr. Dawson had previously brought against them, had their common important defect, that of being wholly unfounded on fact.

It may be now added that these valuable historical papers have recently, in 1877, been published in permanent form under the direction of the legislature of New Hampshire, and will be found in Volume X of N. H. Colonial and State Documents, edited by the late venerable and lamented Nathaniel Bouton, D. D.

HILAND HALL.

North Bennington, Vt., September, 1881.

to be present. In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the entire contents of that very important volume; and we assure ourselves that we shall share with Captain Goodwin, the thanks of honest students of the history of Vermont, everywhere, for thus raising another fold of the veil which, hitherto, has concealed from the wide world too much of the nastiness from which arose, originally, what, in its greater comeliness, is now "The State of Vermont." We shall so dispose of the material thus communicated by Captain Goodwin, that portions of it will appear in each succeeding number of the Magazine, during the present year: we shall also so arrange it that we shall complete the series with the December number.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

[I.—Governor Wentworth's Proclamation, defining his pretensions to occupy lands Westward of the Connecticut river.]

By His Excellency

BENNING: WENTWORTH, Esq;'

Captain-General, Governour and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Province in New Hampshire, in New-England, &c.

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS His Honor CADWALLADER COLDEX, Esq; Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief of His MAJESTY's Province of New-York, hath lately issued a Proclamation, of a very extraordinary Nature, setting forth, that King CHARLES the Second, on the 12th Day of March, 1663-4, and the 29th June 1674, did by his several Letters Patent of those Dates, grant in Fee to His Brother the Duke of York, among other Things, all the Land from the West Side of Connecticut River to the East Side of Delaware Bay: And therein also sets forth, or describes the Bounds of New-Hampshire; in which Description there is a very material Mistake—besides there is omitted the Fact, on which the Description of New-Hampshire depended, viz. His Majesty's Determination of the Northern, and Western Boundaries of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in 1739: And Nothing can be more evident, than that New-Hampshire may legally extend her Western Boundary as far as the Massachusetts Claim reaches, and she claims no more;—But New-York pretends to claim even to the Banks of Connecticut River, although she never laid out and settled one Town in that Part of His Majesty's Lands, since she existed as a Government.

When New-York Government extends her Eastern Boundary, to the Banks of Connecticut River, between New-York and the Colony of Connecticut; and to the Banks of said River, between New-York and the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, it would have been full early for New-York to declare that the Govern-

ment of New-Hampshire was fully apprized of the Right of New-York, under the before recited Letters Patent to the Duke of York.

In Virtue of the final Determination of the Boundary Lines settled by His late Majesty between this Government, and the Massachusetts-Bay, all the Lands capable of Settlements, have been erected into Townships, agreeable to His Majesty's Commands, and a considerable Revenue is daily arising to the Crown, unless interrupted and impaired by His Honor's Proclamation, which New-Hampshire will not be answerable for.

At present the Boundaries of New-York, to the Northward, are unknown, and as soon as it shall be His Majesty's Pleasure to determine them, New-Hampshire will pay a ready and cheerful Obedience thereunto; not doubting but that all Grants made by New-Hampshire, that are fulfilled by the Grantees, will be confirmed to them, if it should be His Majesty's Pleasure to alter the Jurisdiction.

For Political Reasons, the Claim to Jurisdiction by New-York, might have been deferred, as well as the strict Injunction on the civil Power, to exercise Jurisdiction in their respective Functions, as far as the Eastern Banks of Connecticut River.

The said Proclamation carrying an Air of Government in it, may possibly affect and retard the Settlement of His Majesty's Lands, granted by this Government; For preventing an Injury to the Crown of this Kind, and to remove all Doubts that may arise to Persons holding the King's Grants, they may be assured that the Patent to the Duke of York is obsolete, and cannot convey any certain Boundary to New-York, that can be claimed as a Boundary, as plainly appears by the several boundary Lines of the Jerseys, on the West, and the Colony of Connecticut on the East, which are set forth in the Proclamation, as Part only of the Land included in the said Patent to the Duke of York.

To the End therefore, that the Grantees now settled, and settling on those Lands, under his late, and present Majesty's Charters, may not be intimidated, or any Way hindered or obstructed in the Improvement of the Lands so granted; as well as to ascertain the Right, and maintain the Jurisdiction of His Majesty's Government of New-Hampshire, as far Westward as to include the Grants made; I have thought fit, by and with the Advice of His Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby encouraging the general Grantees, claiming under this Government, to be industrious in clearing and cultivating their Lands, agreeable to their respective Grants.

And I do hereby require and command all

civil Officers, within this Province, of what Quality soever, as well those that are not, as those that are Inhabitants on the said Lands, to continue and be diligent in exercising Jurisdiction in their respective Offices, as far Westward as Grants of Land have been made by this Government; and to deal with any Person or Persons, that may presume to interrupt the Inhabitants or Settlers on said Lands, as to Law and Justice doth appertain, the pretended Right of Jurisdiction mentioned in the aforesaid Proclamation, notwithstanding.

GIVEN at the Council-Chamber in Portsmouth, the 13th, Day of March, 1764, and in the fourth Year of His MAJESTY'S Reign.

B. WENTWORTH.

By His EXCELLENCY'S Command,
with Advice of COUNCIL.

T. ATKINSON jun. Secretary,

GOD save the King.

PORTSMOUTH: Printed by DANIEL FOWLE.
Printer to His Excellency the GOVERNOUR
and COUNCIL.

[2.—Letter from Lieutenant-governor Colden, advising the Governor of New Hampshire of the suspension of prosecutions of trespassers, on lands within Vermont, by the authorities in New York.]

NEW YORK May 13th 1765

S^r

I have the Favour of yours of the 26th of last month soon after I received his Majestys order in Council for determining the Boundary between this Province & new Hampshire

I gave Direction to the attorney General to forbear any farther Prosecutions you mentioned in Your Letter of which I doubt not you have rec^d an ans^r from them before this Time — It gives me Pleasure to have done a thing so agreeable to you before your Desire was made known to me

I am with great Truth & regard

Your most obedient humble Serv^t
CADWALLADER COLDEN

His Excellency

BENNING WENTWORTH Esq

Copy

rec^d 22^d May 1765.

[3.—Memorial of John Wendell, in behalf of Grantees of Governor Wentworth, in Vermont praying the assistance of the Colonial authorities of New Hampshire, in their efforts to secure a reversal of the King's Order, confining New Hampshire to the Eastward of Connecticut-river.]

Province of

New Hamps^r } To His Excellency John Went-

worth Esq^r Captain General, Governor & Commander in Chief in and over His Majestys Province of New Hampshire & Vice Admiral of y^e Same,

To the Hon^{ble} His Majesty's Council and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened this 18th day of Oct^r 1768 by Adjournment,

The Memorial of John Wendell of Portsmouth in the Province aforesaid Esq^r unto your Excellency & Honours humbly Shews:—

That your memorialist being appointed the Agent of a Committee, chosen by the Voices of more than one Thousand Grantees, claiming Lands on the western Side of Connecticut River, under the Grants of Benning Wentworth Esq^r late Governour of this Province, which have since been taken away, and annexed to the Province of New York: by Virtue of which Appointment, he is impow^{er}ed to Act, Transact and do, any Thing whereby the Interest of his Constituents and their Principals may be advanced, as also to correspond with their other Agents Mess^{rs} Sam^l Johnston & Sam^l Robinson Esquires who have preferred a Petition to his Majesty in Council in Behalf of the said Grantees, praying to be reannexed to this Government, and to set forth other heavy Grievances, under which the s^d Grantees then laboured, and which still continue:—

During a Correspondence which y^r memorialist has had with the said Johnston, some Anecdotes have dropt from his Pen, which Your memorialist is desir^d to communicate, as worthy the Notice and Attention of the whole Legislature of this Prov^{ce} but as the said Johnston has strictly enjoined it upon him, not to divulge this Intelligence he has received, or give Extracts of his Letters only to such, whose Prudence & Secrecy may be absolutely relied upon, Your memorialist has hitherto postponed this Communication; And now placing an unlimited Confidence, on the Prudence of the Hon^{ble} Court, he takes the Liberty to lay an attested Extract of said Johnstons Letter before them, from which may be deduced; that if the Legislature of this Province would join with said Grantees in their Application to his Majesty in Council, the One for the Jurisdiction and the Other for the Property of said Lands, there is a great Probability of Success to both

Your Memorialist does not presume to dictate any particular Measures whereby this valuable & much desired Acquisition may be obtained, but leaves to the Consideration of this Hon^{ble} Court, the Nature & Substance of this Memorial, as it is Y^r Memorialists only Intention & highest Ambition, that the Grantees in Particular, and the Province in General may reap an ad

vantage that may result from this Discovery and y^e Memorialist as in Duty bound shall ever pray ———

JOHN WENDELL

[*Extract of Letter from the Agent of Grantees, in London, referred to in Mr. Wendell's Memorial and appended thereto.*]

London March 31 1768 extract from Mr S: John's Eggs Letter of that Date to John Wendell.

"I am really surprised at the Supineness of the Proprietors and even of your Province in this matter; had it been pursued with Spirit immediately upon the Alteration of the Jurisdiction & before any Grants had been made by New York, it is very plain to me, that the Prop^r might very easily have secured their Lands, tho the Province had not recovered its Jurisdiction, and even the Latter I think was very probable.

"Many things which have since happened have increased the Difficulty, but I should by no means even now despair of it, if the Cause was supported as it ought to be by the joint Aid and Application of all the Proprietors and the Province the one for the Property and the other for the Jurisdiction of the Lands: the real Poverty of those who joined Cap^t Robinson (tho they did the best they could) render'd them unable to give the Cause the effectual Support which was (and is) necessary to give it proper Weight and render the Application to the Crown as regular and respectable as its Importance and the Usual Course of Proceedings in Cases of this Kind justly required: Money has in fact been wanting to do Justice to this Cause, it come here rather in Form^a Pauperis which is an Appearance seldom made or much regarded in this Country, and is by no means an Eligible Light in which to place an affair of this kind."

A true Copy taken by me

JOHN WENDELL

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

X.—LETTER OF SIR BIBYE LAKE, BART., 1738.

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN WARD DEAN, ESQ., BOSTON.

The following letter is copied from the original, in the possession of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, whose mother was a granddaughter of the person addressed.

"Sir:

"Your Favour Dated Dec^r 4th came safe to my hands, and for which I think myself

"highly obliged to you, as it gives me an account of my Relations in your parts of whose welfare I wanted much to hear.

"You mention among the rest my Aunt Mather's death, for whose loss I am much concerned; however am glad to find she has left her Representatives in so good condition.

"As to my Father's Children, we are but two remaining, myself and Sister, who is now a Widow and lives in London. She married M^r W^m Griffith of Kevenamluch in Carnarvonshire, North Wales, a Gentleman of a very plentiful fortune and dyed about 24 Years ago, leaving no Children. I have four Children living, three Sons and one Daughter, who was lately married to M^r Jones of Stepney in Middlesex, the son of Cap^t Sam^l Jones. At present no other change has happened to our Family."

"I am sorry to inform you Coln^l Quincey, soon after his arrival here in England, was taken ill of the Small Pox and dyed, which deprived me of the happiness of his acquaintance, and of being of any service to a Gentleman of whom I received so worthy a character. My Sister and Family join with me in their respects and Humble Service to Yourself and the rest of our Relations in New England.

"I give you thanks for the kind offer of your service in my Affairs, but as M^r Watts will undertake the care of them, will not trouble you.

"I am S^r

"LONDON

"Y^r most Humble Serv^t

"March 30th 1738"

"BIBYE LAKE."

Sir Bibye Lake, the writer of the above letter, was a grandson of Thomas Lake, merchant, of Boston, Massachusetts. His "Aunt Mather," whose death he mentions, died the preceding May. She was a daughter of Thomas Lake, of Boston, and sister of Thomas Lake, born on the ninth of February, 1656-7, died on the twenty-second of May, 1711—the father of Sir Bibye. She was born on the twelfth of October, 1663; married, first, Rev. John Cotton of Hampton, New Hampshire; and second, Rev. Increase Mather, D.D., of Boston; and died at Brookline, Massachusetts, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1737, aged seventy-three. By her first husband, she had a daughter, Dorothy Cotton, born on the sixteenth of July, 1693; who married Rev. Nathaniel Gookin of Hampton, and was the mother of Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, to whom the letter is addressed. The latter was born on the sixth of February, 1713; graduated at Harvard-college, 1731; was ordained at North Hampton, New Hampshire, on the thirty-first of October, 1739; and died on the twenty-second of October, 1766.

It will be seen that he was a cousin-nephew of Sir Bibye Lake, the writer.

The Colonel Quincy referred to, was Edmund Quincy, who was born in 1681; graduated at Harvard-college in 1699; Judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts; died at London, while he was Agent of the Province, in England, on the twenty-third of February, 1788; and was buried in Bunhill-Field, where the Province erected a monument to his memory.

BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

XI.—NOTABLE PLACES.

1.—THE GREEN DRAGON TAVERN, BOSTON.

By HON. NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, LATE MAYOR OF THAT CITY.*

But a few steps from Hanover-street, in that portion of Union-street which leads towards the site of the old mill-pond, in the city of Boston, formerly stood an ancient building of considerable notoriety, known in the olden time as THE GREEN DRAGON-TAVERN, and even until quite recently retaining this distinctive name. It was early a noted landmark, even in the first century of Boston's history; and, as time wore on, it became as famous as any private edifice—if such it could be called, considering the public uses to which it was frequently put—that could be found upon the peninsula. If its early occupancy and use brought it into notice, so also was new fame added to that which it had already acquired by the patriotic gatherings held within its sombre walls during the darkest days of the American Revolution, when Samuel Adams, James Otis, James Warren, Paul Revere, and other true Sons of Liberty, in their secret councils, planned the deliverance of their country from thralldom and the grievous oppressions of Great Britain.

This old relic of ancient times disappeared from its lot, near the close of the last year of the mayoralty of the elder Quincy; and its appearance is fast fading out of the remembrance of those who, in their early years, were well-acquainted with its most hidden recesses. The estate on which it stood now belongs to St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons; and its history can be traced back to the first settlement of the town. It is a portion of the three-quarters of an acre of marsh and upland, originally granted to James Johnson, a glover, who settled in Boston as early

as the year 1685, and who was distinguished, among his contemporary townsmen, as a Deacon of the Church and as Captain of the Artillery Company, in 1656—a Company which, by its age and ancient renown, has acquired the designation "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." The property is first mentioned, in 1648, in the *Book of Possessions* of the first settlers of the town, on the twentieth page, and is there described as "three-quarters of an acre of marsh & upland, bounded with the Cove on the North & the East, John Smith West, & John Davies South." "The Cove" is, elsewhere, in the volume quoted, called "The Cove or Mill-pond;" and the contiguous estate, on the South, which separated Mr. Johnson's estate from the street (now Hanover-street), was the original Grant made to John Davies, a joiner, consisting of a house and garden. Davies, on the twenty-eighth of June, 1645, conveyed his house and garden to John Trotman, whose wife, Katherine, as the Attorney of her husband, sold the same, on the same day, to Thomas Hawkins, of Boston, at that time a noted biscuit-baker, but subsequently an inn-holder; and on this lot was, a few years afterwards, built, "THE STAR INN," probably kept, in those early days, successively, by Mr. Hawkins and his good-wife Rebecca, John Howlet and his wife Susanna, and Andrew Neal and his wife Millicent. The Neals died in possession of the corner about 1709, having purchased of Howlet's widow, who bought it of Hawkins; and the estate passed from their heirs, by sale, to John Borland, who, in his turn, passed it down to Francis Borland, Esq.

After Mr. Hawkins had come in possession of the Davies lot, he became desirous of obtaining the Johnson lot also; and, subsequently, he purchased it of Mr. Johnson, through the intervention of his cordwainer, Thomas Marshall, on the tenth of October, 1662. Hawkins soon began keeping an inn upon his newly-acquired estate and, probably, put additional buildings on the lot, as he subsequently mortgaged it to Rev. Thomas Thacher, the future Pastor of the Old South church (just establishing), on the sixth of December, 1667; and, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1671, Thacher, who had married the widow of Jacob Sheafe, the most opulent Bostonian of his day, assigned the Mortgage to Sampson Sheafe, Esq., who had married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of his wife. Mr. Hawkins put a second Mortgage on his estate, on the fifteenth of June, 1671, to secure money borrowed of Mr. Sheafe, and died in the latter part of the year 1671; and his widow, Rebecca (his second wife) relinquished her right of dower, on the sixteenth of January, 1674, the estates having been forfeited to Mr. Sheafe for non-fulfillment of

* This article, by permission of Doctor Shurtleff, is taken from his valuable work, entitled *A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston*; and we have pleasure, also, in thankfully acknowledging the favor of the use of his plate of the old building, which was not used in the illustration of that volume.

We hope to enjoy the pleasure of presenting other papers from the Doctor's pen, in forthcoming numbers of the Magazine.—EDDOR.

the payments. Some time previous to the fifteenth of June, 1776, the Green Dragon Tavern estate passed into the possession of William Stoughton, a man having excellent traits of character, although in a judicial capacity, which he held before his appointment as Lieutenant-governor of the Province, he was most wickedly intolerant, in the trials of the mis-called Witches; for which cruelty and barbarism, his gift of Stoughton Hall to Harvard-college will not, in the slightest degree, compensate.

Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, the son of Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, was a person of considerable ability. He was educated at Harvard-college, graduating in 1680, and he passed some time in studying for the ministry, but relinquished the design of becoming a preacher, after having delivered the annual Election Sermon, in 1688, preferring the field of politics, to that of religion. In May, 1692, he entered upon the duties of Lieutenant-governor, having been appointed to the position, under the second Massachusetts Charter, establishing the Province, at the same time that Sir William Phips was commissioned as Governor. In November, 1694, on the return of Governor Phips to England, he became acting-Governor, performing the duties until the arrival of the Earl of Bellomont, in May, 1699; and succeeding him, in the same capacity, in July, 1700, and so continuing until the seventh of July, 1701, when he died at the age of about seventy years. He died possessed of a large landed property, in Boston, comprising, in part, the Green Dragon Tavern estate, the Star Inn estate, and the Old Blue Bell estate, where the father of Franklin resided, after the birth of the great Bostonian—the last-named estates being at the opposite corners of Hanover and Union-streets. He devised this property to his nieces—the Green Dragon Tavern and Franklin corners falling to Mehitable, the wife of Captain Thomas Cooper, the father of Rev. William Cooper, one of the early Pastors of Brattle-square-church. Mrs. Cooper was a very distinguished person. She was the daughter of James Minot, of Dorchester, by his wife, Hannah, the sister of Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, and was born in Dorchester, on the seventeenth of September, 1668. Captain Cooper, her husband, died at sea, in 1705; and she married, for her second husband, Peter Sargeant, Esq., he who built for his mansion-house the old Province-house. On the death of Mr. Sargeant, in 1714, she married her third husband, Simeon Stoddard, Esq., who died in 1730, leaving her, a third time, a widow, in her sixty-second year; and she died, a widow, on the twenty-third of September, 1738. At the time of Mr. Cooper's death, in 1705, the Green Dragon Tavern estate was valued at six hundred and fifty pounds.

On the eighteenth of August, 1748, about five years after the decease of Mrs. Stoddard, her son, Rev. William Cooper, sold the Green Dragon Tavern estate to Doctor William Douglass, not only a noted physician, but also the author of the very celebrated *Summary of New England history*.

Doctor William Douglass was born in Gifford, in the County of Haddington, a short distance from Edinburgh, Scotland, and died in Boston, on the twenty-first of October, 1752, aged, as nearly as can be ascertained, about sixty years. He came to Boston in 1716, but did not make a permanent settlement here until the year 1718. He first dwelt in Hanover-street, near Mr. Westead's Meeting-house; but, at his decease, the house in Green Dragon-lane was styled his mansion-house, and was the only one on the estate not let by him to tenants. His father, George, was a portioner (distributor of tithes) in Gifford, near Edinburgh, and the factor of John, Marquis of Tweeddale. His father's children were Cornelius, a surgeon and portioner, who had a son, Cornelius, a joiner, who removed to Boston, after the decease of Doctor William Douglass; Doctor William, the second child; George, who died in youth; and Catharine, who married a person named Kerr—sometimes written "Carr"—and who came to Boston with her nephew, and afterwards married a Mr. Robinson. Catharine Kerr, the sister, and Cornelius Douglass, the nephew, of Doctor William Douglass, shared his property, equally, by a division made on the twenty-seventh of September, 1754, and recorded with Suffolk Deeds, Liber 88, Folio 76. Doctor Douglass left about three thousand, one hundred, and eighty-five pounds. Over twenty dozen gloves were bought for his funeral.

In this noted old house, Doctor Douglass wrote his famous books; and in it, he died. By an agreement of his heirs, made the twenty-seventh of September, 1754, and recorded with the Suffolk Records, the old mansion-house fell to Catharine Kerr; and she, a widow, by Deed dated the thirty-first of March, 1764, conveyed it, for the consideration of four hundred and sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence to Moses Deshon and others, members of St. Andrew's Lodge of Freemasons. Since that date, the estate has been in the possession of the Lodge.

The old Tavern stood on the left side of the street, formerly called Green Dragon-lane, now the northerly portion of Union-street, leading from Hanover-street to the old Mill-pond, now filled up and built upon. It was built of brick, and, in its latter days, was painted of a dingy color. In front, it showed only two stories and an attic; but, in the rear, from the slope of the land and the peculiar shape of the roof, three

stories, with a basement, were perceptible. It covered a piece of land fifty feet in front and thirty-four in depth, and had connected with it a large stable and other out buildings. In recent times, the lower story was used as the common rooms of a tavern; while in the second, on the street front, was a large hall used for public as well as for Masonic purposes. The attic story afforded ample accommodations for sleeping apartments. The chimneys were substantially built in the side walls, and were of the style usually found in houses built at the close of the seventeenth century. The attic windows on the front part of the roof, and the walk railed in on the upper part, added much to the appearance and comfort of the building, which, in its best days, must have been commodious, and comfortably arranged.

The whole estate comprised a large lot of land, the main portion being situated back of Green Dragon lane with other estates in front, and extending, northerly, to the old Mill-pond. The extensive yard was much used by the boys who dwelt in the neighborhood, as a play ground; and here it was, undoubtedly, that the youthful Franklin first essayed his mechanical feat of building his stone wharf, alluded to, in his *Autobiography*. The old tavern-stable became, in its latter days, a well-known convenience, and served, many years, as a livery-stable, kept by men well-acquainted with their business.

In front of the building there projected from the wall an iron crane, upon which was crouched a Green Dragon. This peculiar mark of designation was very ancient, perhaps as old as the building itself. It was formed of thick sheet copper, and had a curled tail; and from its mouth projected a fearful looking tongue, the wonder of all the boys who dwelt in the neighborhood. When the building was taken down, this curious relic of the handiwork of the ancient mechanics of the town disappeared, and has never since been found, although most searching inquiries and diligent examinations for it have been made among workmen and in the collections of the dealers in old material. In 1854, a Committee of St. Andrew's Lodge was appointed to put in the new building, that stands upon the site of the old one, a memorial to commemorate the old house; and they inserted in the wall, on the first of November, 1855, a stone effigy, elaborately carved in sandstone, in a most skillful and artistic manner, by a workman in the employ of Mr. Thomas J. Bailey, of this city; and this magnificently sculptured emblem now proudly supplies the place of the old weather-beaten dragon which had, for nearly a century and a half, withstood the storms and tempests of the hard New England seasons, and outlived the violence of political mobs and the rudeness of

inimical soldiery, in the time of the war—a fit object to perpetuate, in some degree, the remembrance of the old hall in which the patriots of the American Revolution used to meet, and, also, to designate the Mason's Hall of by-gone days.

The old mansion-house must have been erected not far from the year 1680, when many substantial buildings of a similar kind were put up. In 1695, and, perhaps, earlier, it was used, as an inn, by Alexander Smith, who, and his widow, also, died as its occupants, in 1696. Hannah Biahop had a license, in October, 1696, for keeping a tavern in it; and she was succeeded by John Cary, a brewer, in October of 1697, who, certainly, was its occupant as late as 1705, although Samuel Tyley appears to have been the tenant of Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, at the time of his decease, in July, 1701. In 1734, Joseph Kidder, who came from The Three Cranes, in Charlestown, was its keeper. It would not be surprising if Thomas Milliken, a member of St. Andrew's Lodge, was, also, at some time, a landlord of the Green Dragon Tavern; for he was a victualler by occupation, and was mainly instrumental in its purchase for the Lodge, being Chairman of the Committee authorized, on the eleventh of January, 1764, to buy it. On the thirty-first of the month, of the same year, the Deed was passed by Mrs. Catherine Kerr to Moses Deshon and others; and, on the thirteenth of April, the Lodge held, for the first time, a monthly meeting in the hall. On the fourteenth of June, 1764, the hall was formally named "FREEMASON'S HALL;" and, from that time, for a long series of years, it was the regular place of meeting of the Lodge. It would be useless, were it even possible, to name the various persons who carried on this famous tavern; suffice it to say, that, at times, it was the most popular of the old houses of "entertainment for "man and beast," in the town, and was noted for being a favorite hall for festive as well as political occasions. Undoubtedly, the famous "Tea-Party" of 1773 had its origin within the walls of this old mansion; for it is known that several of the most active spirits engaged in it were members of the Masonic Lodge that held its meetings there, monthly. A Lodge meeting, called for the thirtieth of November, 1773, being St. Andrew's Day, was closed without the transaction of business, in consequence of the fewness of the brethren present; and the followings words, in a distinct hand, were entered on the page with the record: "(N. B. Consignees of Tea took up the Brethren's time)." The meeting which was to have been held on the sixteenth of December—the day of the destruction of the tea—was also given up, for the same reason.

From the following document, signed by the

Lieutenant-governor, it appears that, in the Revolutionary War, the building was sometimes used for other purposes :

“BOSTON, Feb. 24th, 1776.

“TO THE REV^d DOCT^r CANER, COL. SNELLING,
“MAJ. PADDOCK, CAP. GORE, & CAP. GAY.

“GENTLEMEN—Having occasion for a large commodious House for the Purpose of a Hospital in which the poor—Infirm and Aged can be lodged upon the Charity in which you are appointed Stewards—and having the Consent of the Proprietors in Town of the House Commonly called the Green Dragon to apply that to this Purpose, you are hereby required to take possession of said House and prepare it as a Hospital for the Reception of such objects as shall require immediate Relief, for which this shall be your authority.

“THOS. OLIVER.”

In October, 1828, as the travel from Charlestown had much increased, and as the filling up of the Mill-pond had given room for many buildings and, therefore, required the widening of Green Dragon-lane, the old building was taken down, by order of the City authorities, and a considerable part of its site taken for the proposed widening; and, then, passed almost from remembrance the appearance of one of the most noted and interesting landmarks of the early days of the town. On its site, and covering the whole estate, a large warehouse has been erected by the Lodge, which is now, in 1870, occupied as a carriage depository.

XII.—LETTER FROM MATTHEW MAYHEW, 1689.

FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES, (UNPUBLISHED) XXV., 10.

COMMUNICATED BY WM. B. TRASK, ESQ., OF BOSTON, MASS.

MART. VINEYARD Sep^r 22^d : 89.

W^{ORSHIPFUL} S

I send the bearer post, to inform that one hawkins, hath lately taken William Lord in a Barque from Jamaica, this day, following a Vesle into—this port, being the Sabbath, gave advantage, to raise such force to deter them from Coming so neer as to fetch out the Vesle : of which wee thought meet to give Speedy advice, that, at least Such as are designed, westward, might know the daing^r the sd pirates are in a sloop, belonging to M^r Peeter Coffin, & sd barge being all needf^{ul} at p^{re}sent—am

Y^r W^{orships} humble
S^{ervant}

MATT. MAYHEW.

[NOTE BY MR. TRASK.]

No family of equal note with the Mayhews are to be found in the annals of Martha's Vineyard. There was Thomas, the Governor, and his son Thomas, the first Minister there ; the three sons of Thomas the second, namely, Matthew, the writer of the preceding letter, Thomas, one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, & John, a successful preacher at the Vineyard ; Experience, the clergyman, eldest son of John ; Zechariah, the Missionary, and his brother the noted Rev. Jonathan, D.D., who settled in Boston, sons of Experience ; another John and Jeremiah, grandsons of the first John ; Joseph and Nathan ; a second Matthew, grandson of the first physician, Senator and Judge ; Doctor Allen Mayhew and William, a member of the Convention of 1789 ; besides others who have adorned the name, giving it a character in history for more than two centuries. Five successive generations of the family were preachers to the Indians.

“The family has been almost as much distinguished for longevity, as for talents. The first Thomas Mayhew died at the age of ninety ; Experience, at the age of eighty-four ; John, grandson of the first John, at the age of eighty-nine ; and his brother Jeremiah, at the age of eighty-five ; Dr. Matthew Mayhew, at the age of eighty-five ; and Zechariah, at the age of eighty-nine.” To these may be added, William, who died at the age of ninety-two.

Matthew, the eldest son of Thomas, the second, and the author of the above note, in the year 1681, on the death of his grandfather, Thomas, the Governor, succeeded him in his civil and military honors. In the year 1694, he published a small book, entitled, *A Brief Narrative of the success, &c.* Matthew, like his grandfather, was not only a Governor of Martha's Vineyard and the neighboring islands but was also a preacher to the Indians. He died in 1710. See *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, II., III., 66-71.

XIII.—GOING THE CIRCUIT, IN NEW YORK, A.D., 1700.

COMMUNICATED BY E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, LL.D.

On the fifteenth of May, 1700, an Order was made in Council, “For as much as the Judge appointed to go the Circuit is suspended, it is ordered that there may be no delay of Justice, that Coll^o Abraham Depeyster, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of Judicature for this province do go the Circuit of Ulster and Dutchess Counties, and his Charges be allowed by the Government he having no Salary.”

The following paper illustrates the result of the preceding Order and the way in which justice was administered in Colonial New York :

“Expences of the Judge in his Circuit to
“the County of Ulster the 8th Tuesday in
“May 1700.

lb s d

“To Ant Elbertson to be released
“of his boat
“Two quarter casks of Old
“Madeira

00.12.00

07.00.00

"One Gallon of Brandy & bottles of Roger Baker	01.02.06	
"6 pound of white Sugar		of Crooke
"12 pound Muscavado		
"2 Gamons Bacon		
"4 Neats Tongues		
"One Barrell Syder of Jacobus de Key	01.00.06	
"4 loaves of Bread of Wenham's baker	00.08.00	
"25 lbs White Biskett of Mrs. De Key by guess	00.06.00	
"One Cheshire Cheese	00.12.00	
"6 lbs butter of Mr. Dereymer	00.08.09	
"3 fowles of Gabriell Tompson	00.08.00	
"a Bottle Oyle	00.08.09	
" $\frac{1}{2}$ a grosse of pypes		of Michael Hawdon
"3 lbs of Tobacco	00.05.08	
"a bottle of Lime juyce		
"1 doz Glasses of Jeremiah Tothill	00.09.00	
"2 Quarters of Lamb dressed at Plaisteads	00.08.00	
" $\frac{1}{2}$ a Lamb in a pye	00.07.06	
"2 $\frac{1}{2}$ fatts beer of Coll. Cortlandt	00.15.00	
"5 empty Bottles	00.01.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	
" $\frac{1}{2}$ a Barrell of powder & one quire of Cartridge paper	02.10.09	
"More going up and coming down the River :		
"For provisions at the high Lands	00.04.06	
"To two men for carrying the Judge from Pokeepsinck to Esopus about 18 miles against wind and tyde	01.02.06	
"To severall expences at Esopus for provisions in coming down	01.18.04 $\frac{1}{2}$	
"To the Seamen	00.16.06	
"To a silver Spoon of the Captains lost overboard by accident	00.18.06	
"To the hire of a Sloop		
"10 days at 20s. $\frac{7}{8}$ diem	10.00.00	
	33.04.00	

"20 MAY 1700. Ordered a Warrant issue for payment of Thirty three pounds, four shillings to Cornelius Depeyster and Garret Banker for the Charges of the Judge that went the Circuit to Ulster and Dutchesse Counties in pursuance of an order of this Board of the fifteenth day of May instant."

The above are copied from *New York Council Minutes*, viii., 152, 154, and *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, xliii., 127. E. B. O'C.

XIV.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.

I.—WILLIAM DARLINGTON, LL.D.

BY CHARLES LANMAN, Esq.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE :

While prosecuting my labors on the *Dictionary of Congress*, during the last eight years, a very large mass of biographical information has accumulated in my hands, connected with the noted men of the United States. Much of it is autobiographic in its character, and another large proportion consists of papers written by the relatives and friends of departed statesmen. The character of my work limited me chiefly to the dry dates and facts contained in the correspondence with which I have been favored, and I propose, as time and chance may determine, to publish more elaborate biographies of some of the prominent men of the past, compiled from the records in my possession. With this explanation, I send you the subjoined sketch of William Darlington.

Yours very truly
CHARLES LANMAN.

GEORGETOWN, D. C.

He was born in the Township of Birmingham, County of Chester, Pennsylvania, on the twenty-eighth of April, 1782. His ancestors, on both sides, followed William Penn from England, and settled in Pennsylvania. He was brought up to the business of Agriculture, until the age of eighteen; and was trained in the religion of George Fox and the politics of Thomas Jefferson. His school education was a plain elementary English one; and after he was old enough to conduct a harrow or hold a plough, the tuition was limited to the Winter season.

In his eighteenth year, he commenced the study of Medicine, with Doctor John Vaughn, in Wilmington, Delaware. While a student, he took private lessons in the French language; and attended Medical Lectures in the University of Pennsylvania, from 1802 to 1804, also a course on Natural History and Botany. He graduated on the sixth of June, 1804; and, so far as known, was the first native of the ancient County of Chester, who obtained the degree of M.D.

After graduating, his leisure, for a couple of years, was employed in acquiring the rudiments of the Latin language. In 1806, he was disowned by the Society of Friends, for accepting the appointment of Surgeon to a Militia Regiment. In 1807, or about that time, he made a voyage to India, as Surgeon of a merchant-ship, spending the months of March and April, in Calcutta; in 1808, he settled in West Chester, Chester-county, as a practitioner of Physic; and, on the first of June, of that year, he married Catherine,

second daughter of General John Lacey, of Burlington-county, New Jersey.

In 1809, he commenced the study of the German language. In 1811 and 1812, he assisted in establishing the West Chester Academy, of which he was a Trustee and Secretary until the close of his life. In 1813, he commenced a *Catalogue of the Plants growing around West Chester*; and also the formation of a Herbarium. In 1814, he was a Commissioner for taking Stock and organizing the Bank of Chester-county; became a Director; and was President of the same, from February, 1830, until his death.

When Washington City was sacked by the British, in August, 1814, he went to camp, as a volunteer, under the call of the Governor of Pennsylvania, remaining in the District of Columbia until discharged, in December; and, while engaged in that duty, he was elected a Representative in the Fourteenth Congress, from Pennsylvania. In 1816, he was again a candidate, but was defeated by seven-votes in ten thousand polled. In 1818, he was again elected to Congress, and re-elected, in 1820, serving always on important Committees.

In 1823, he was elected a Member of the American Philosophical Society, and, during the same year, appointed to examine the Cadets at West Point. In 1825, he was appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania, a member of the first Board of Canal Commissioners, to inaugurate a system of Internal Improvements in the State. In the same year, Professor de Candolle, of Geneva, in Switzerland, complimented him by naming a genus of Plants, *Darlingtonia*. That genus, however, was subsequently merged in a prior one, named *Desmanthus*; and, in 1853, Professor Torrey, of New York, dedicated a new, rare, and remarkable form of Pitcher Plant, found in California, to Doctor Darlington, by the name of *Darlingtonia California*.

In March, 1826, Doctor Darlington proposed and aided in forming a Natural History Society, in West Chester, of which he was chosen President. That Society became incorporated; had a Hall built; and made a respectable collection of objects of Natural History. The Doctor had the special charge of the Herbarium, which, at one time, contained seven thousand species of Plants, duly labelled and arranged according to their natural affinities. In 1826, he published a descriptive catalogue of the native, naturalized, and useful cultivated Plants grown around West Chester, under the title of *Florula Cestrica*.

In December, 1826, he was chosen President of the Board of Canal Commissioners, to succeed John Sergeant, Esq., resigned. In 1827, he resigned his situation as President and Member of the Canal Board, having served two years, without pay, and lost nearly all his practice as a phy-

sician, so that he found this service incompatible with the claims of a large and growing family.

In August, 1827, Governor Shultz sent to Doctor Darlington the appointment of Prothonotary and Clerk of the Courts of Chester-county, which office he accepted and held until February, 1830. In 1828, he aided in organizing the Chester-county Medical Society, of which he was chosen President. In 1830, he instituted the preliminary proceedings for the West Chester Railway; was a Commissioner for taking the Stock: was elected President of the Company; superintended the construction of the road; and served the Company, in capacity of President, five years, without compensation. This road is believed to be the only railway, ever constructed, in any country, within the time contracted for, and within the estimated cost, by the Engineer.

In the Spring of 1832, at the age of fifty years, he availed himself of an opportunity to learn the Spanish language. In 1837, he published a *Flora* of his native County, under the title of *Flora Cestrica*. In 1839, he was elected a Vestryman of the Protestant Episcopal-church, then recently established in West Chester. In 1843, he edited the correspondence of his friend, Doctor William Baldwin, under the title of *Reliquiæ Baldwinianæ*. In 1844, he was one of the Commissioners appointed under an Act for the Sale of the Public Works of the State; but no sale was effected. In the Summer of 1847, he published a systematic description of those Plants, useful and pernicious, which the farmers are interested to know, under the title of *Agricultural Botany*. In 1848, the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Yale College; and he was also elected an Honorary Member of the Clissopich Society of the College of New Jersey. In 1849, he edited the *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall*. In 1851, he was elected a Corresponding Member of the Netherlands Botanical Society, at Leyden, in Holland. In 1853, he prepared a third edition of the *Flora Cestrica*, entirely re-written and arranged, according to the natural method. In 1855, he received from Dickinson College, the degree of *Doctor of Physical Science*. In addition to the complimentary elections and degrees already mentioned, it may be stated that Doctor Darlington received notice of membership by more than forty other institutions of a Literary and Scientific character, in the United States.

In 1857, he compiled a *Historical Sketch of the origin and progress of the Borough of West Chester*, for a Directory of the place, which was published during that year; and a very extended and exceedingly important series of historical papers, concerning the history of Chester-county and of Pennsylvania, from his pen, has also been printed in a local newspaper; and, in 1863

at West Chester, he died a happy death, deeply lamented by his fellow-citizens and universally respected, for his ability, by the scientific world.

XV.—THE CONFLICTS OF THE WAR OF SECESSION.

I.—THE STORY OF FORT SUMTER.

BY THE EDITOR.

[It is our purpose, as far as our impaired health will permit, to pursue our enquiries through the various conflicts of the War. The result of those enquiries will be presented to our readers, month by month, in the pages of the Magazine; and the paper which is now before the reader will indicate the spirit in which those inquiries will be made.

We shall spare no labor in our search for the exact truth: we shall summon to our assistance the best evidence of which we shall have knowledge: we shall weigh the evidence, thus obtained, in *our own* scales and test it by *our own* standard: we shall present the truth in whatever dress we shall find her: and falsehood, wherever found, will not be overlooked nor uncondemned: we shall aim to "be just;" and we shall "fear not."

We do not even hope to please everybody in this our "voluntary" undertaking: we are sure, at least, of the bitter hostility of those whose professional shortcomings and undue pretensions shall come under our notice; and we shall be disappointed if some of those who now figure before the world as "historians," shall not overwhelm us with abuse, because of the exposure of their insufficiency to occupy, with propriety, the honorable position which they have usurped, which it will become our duty to present to the world. Of this, however, our readers may be assured—there is not one of them, either soldier or historian, against whom we have, at this moment, a shade of ill-feeling; there is not one of them against whom, now, we desire to say an unkind word; there is not one of them concerning whom, at any moment, we shall hesitate to write freely, either for good or for evil, as the testimony shall require; there is not a subject on which we shall write, which will not be sustained by authorities, supposed to be reliable, cited at the foot of the page; and, having thus earnestly endeavored to discharge our duty, faithfully, we shall cheerfully leave the result, for judgment, to those, through all time, who shall honor us by becoming our readers.—EDITOR.]

The Summer and Autumn of 1860 and the Winter and Spring which succeeded them are distinguished, above all others, in the annals of the United States, for the production of a series of events which, whether considered separately or collectively, in the causes which produced them or in the results which have flowed from them, must be regarded as among the most important which have ever tested the virtues and the physical strength of a State or tried the ligaments which have bound several distinct Peoples into one Confederacy.

Eighty-four years had passed since the thir-

teen united Colonies of North America had formally severed their connection with the Mother-Country and, by their duly instructed Delegates, assembled in a "Congress," severally declared themselves to be as many "free and independent States;" nearly eighty years had elapsed since the same thirteen, then as many separate and sovereign Republics, bound together by no other tie than a common danger, had entered into a solemn compact, each with the others, and formed "a firm league of friendship," under the style of "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;" and upwards of seventy two years had elapsed since, "in order to form a more perfect Union" than that which they had already formed—but without attempting to annul all the provisions of the then existing *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States*, which had imperfectly bound them together during the preceding eight years, and, least of all, impairing that provision which had bound them, each to all the others, during that period, in "a firm league of friendship," and formed, thereby, "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA"—the same thirteen, each for itself, had severally superseded some of the provisions of that bond of union, by the enactment of others which are known to us as the originally-established *Constitution for the United States*—an instrument which, in its turn, has also been "amended," from time to time, as its weaknesses have been discovered or the States have severally considered necessary, in order to make still "more perfect" the previously imperfect "Union" which it had served, in part, to perpetuate.

From the earliest period of their history, there had been antagonistic parties in the Colonies; and the Revolution and the War of the Revolution had served to intensify the animosities which had previously prevailed, rather than to reconcile them. The Peace of 1783, therefore, while it unquestionably served to establish the political independence of the thirteen infant States, quite as certainly served to continue, in other forms and combinations, the personal animosities, and family feuds, and partisan differences of former days; and the rigid loyalist, and the "patriotic" trimmer with governmental proclivities, and the audacious and, very often, lawless "Son of Liberty," of the Colonial era, again confronted each other, in bitter hostility, in order to maintain their respective old-time dogmas and to oppose, by fair means or by foul, those of their respective opponents. It is, indeed, true that such by-gone issues as "Stamps," and a parliamentary tax on Tea, and the supremacy of the King and the Parliament of Britain had then ceased to be considered objects of the re-organized struggle; but, nevertheless, the great underlying principles which had so long and so

effectively nerved the Colonists, on either side, had again, in other forms, become bones of partisan contention; and the superior fitness of the few to govern and be paid and the unquestioning duty of the many to obey and to pay; the justification of the employment of lawless means by what, among the few, was assumed to be the desirableness of the ends to be, thereby, secured: the usurpation of powers which the several States had reserved to themselves, where the Peoples could themselves control them, and the concentration of those powers in a central "Government," more powerful than the States themselves, where the Peoples could not reach them; and the imperative duty of all, at all times, to be loyal to the governing few, no matter how corrupt, and to their edicts, no matter how antagonistic to the fundamental law, again loomed up, as offensively, and were again resisted as earnestly, from one extreme to another of the Republic, as when Lord North and the Stamp Act, and the Boston Port Bill, and the imposition of a tax on the Colonial Tea, by the sole authority of the King and the distant Parliament, aroused the indignation of the Colonists and incited insurrection, or when Gage and Howe proclaimed the majesty of the King, asserted the severity of the Colonists, and demanded obedience. From that time to that of which we write, the manhood of man, the equality of every man before the law, and the relative rights and duties of the Commonwealth and her members, on the one hand, and those of the Republic and her constituent States, on the other, continued to be subjects of angry partisan discussion and, very often, discreditable partisan action; and, sometimes under one leader and sometimes under another, with this and with that party-name and partisan slogan, the States were, thereby, periodically convulsed to their very foundations and, not unfrequently, the Republic herself seriously endangered.

It is not necessary, however, for the purpose of this paper, to trace the course of the angry current of partisan politics, during the seventy-three years which had elapsed between the adjournment of the Federal Convention of 1787 and the Autumn of 1860, as party after party had been thrown to the surface, strutted and fretted its brief hour, and disappeared; nor is it necessary, for that purpose, to define, much less to discuss, the underlying principles which, in the political history of the United States, have uniformly distinguished those, of whatever name, who have maintained, in its integrity, the sovereignty of the People, *per se*, from those, of whatever name, who have maintained, in all its varied forms, the sovereignty of what, very indefinitely, has been called "The Government." It is sufficient for us to say that the Autumn of

1860 found the inhabitants of the United States unusually excited; that the increasing demands of the Southern States for the official identification, by the Federal authorities, as a Federal "institution," of their peculiarly local "institution" of Slavery, had intensified and extended that peculiar opposition to Slavery, in the Northern States, which, previously, had been confined, mainly, to a mere handful of uninfluential theorists; that a candidate for the Presidency had been named, in the North, who was supposed to be an exponent of the progressive theory of localizing the system of Slavery, without disturbing it, however, within the States where it was, already, legally established; that the Southern States, led by able and brave, if not by judicious, leaders, had risen in their might and, both in the Congress and before the world, had arrogantly demanded an extension of the merely local rights of their slaveholding inhabitants, both to the territories of the United States and to those of the several individual States where the right to hold slaves was expressly prohibited, even to their own resident citizens; and that threats of an attempt to dissolve the Union were freely made, by the Southern States, and preparations as freely made, by their inhabitants, to maintain, by force, if necessary, the extreme measures which they had apparently determined to adopt.

Among the foremost and most uncompromising of those, in the South, who thus sought to "nationalize" Slavery, was the State of South Carolina; and, among her inhabitants, the observed of all observers, in their earnest and intelligent maintenance of what they considered to be their State's and their personal rights, were the residents of the city of Charleston, the emporium of that State. The boldness of the latter, indeed, during many years, had served to secure for Charleston, the general reputation of leading the dissension; and there seems to have been an even handed dispensation of justice, therefore, when, as we shall see, the opening scene of the terrible drama was laid in her own harbor.

The popular excitement, to which reference has been made, seemed to have culminated when, because of a fatal division of the Democratic votes, through the prevailing disaffection in the South, the "Republican" candidate, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, by a minority of the individual votes cast at the polls, was elected to the Presidency of the United States; but other events subsequently served to increase the excitement rather than to diminish it.

When, on the sixth of November, 1860, Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Presidency, the harbor of Charleston was defended, nominally, at least, on its eastern shore, by Fort Moultrie, standing on Sullivan's island; on its western

shore, by what was known as Fort Johnson, standing on James-island; at the mouth of the harbor, three and a third miles distant from the city, by Fort Sumter, standing on a shoal; and from Shute's Folly-island, at the mouth of Cooper-river, and a mile to the eastward of the city, by Castle Pinckney.

The first named of these defences, FORT MOULTRIE, occupied the site of the ancient and widely-celebrated work, on Sullivan's island, which, in June, 1776, had successfully baffled the joint attacks of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Parker; and it was a rectangular brick work, mounting one tier of guns, *en barbette*. Its armament, in the Autumn of 1860, consisted of sixteen twenty-four-pounders, fourteen thirty-two-pounders, ten eight-inch columbiads, five eight-inch sea-coast howitzers, and seven field-pieces;* and, as the seat of a permanent garrison, it seems to have been completely finished, and in fair condition.† It was occupied, as the Head quarters of the post, by Companies E and H, First Artillery, numbering, in the aggregate, sixty-six men, and the regimental Band of nine musicians, the whole under the immediate command of Brevet-colonel John L. Gardner, Lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment, who was the commander of the post; and, having been carefully strengthened, during the Summer and Autumn, under the direction of Captain J. G. Foster, of the Corps of Engineers, but very little was required, at the time of which we write—November, 1860—to make it tolerably secure against any merely irregular force which might attack it.‡

FORT JOHNSON was not habitable, in such bad order were the quarters and barracks at that work; § and it seems to have been wholly without an armament and entirely unoccupied, even by an Ordnance Sergeant, at the time of which we write. |

* General Gillmore's Report—*Professional Papers, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., No. 16*—page 9.

† A reference to the Annual Reports of the Engineer Department, November 8, 1859, and November 14, 1860, clearly indicate this important fact; and that of November 30, 1861, makes no allusion to any other labor expended on the work, subsequent to the date of Mr. Lincoln's election, than the extraordinary preparations which were made, under Captain Foster's directions, in "preparing it for a "vigorous defence."

‡ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

§ Annual Reports of the Engineer Department for 1859, 1860, and 1861.

| The unpublished Inspection Report of November 11, 1860, makes no allusion whatever to Fort Johnson; and we are informed, personally, by General Porter, that it was represented to him, while inspecting the post, that it was not only without armament but entirely unoccupied.

FORT SUMTER was a strong casemated brick-work of five faces,* designed to mount two tiers of guns, in embrasure, and one, *en barbette*. It was built on a shoal; on the South side of the ship-channel; nearly equi-distant from Sullivan's and Morris-islands, some seventeen hundred yards distant from Fort Moultrie, and three and a third miles from the city; † and it commanded Fort Moultrie and the ship-channels; was in the hands of the Engineer Department, and not yet completed; and was occupied, beside the Engineer working-party of one hundred and nine men, under Lieutenant Snyder, by a solitary Ordnance Sergeant, who had in his possession three ten-inch and ten eight-inch columbiads, eight eight inch sea-coast howitzers, ten forty-two-pounders, forty-one thirty-two-pounders, and six twenty-four pounders, together with an ample supply of gunpowder.‡ Although, in November, 1860, the fort was far from complete, in all its parts, it could, at short notice, have mounted seventy per cent of its entire armament, and, to that extent, was effective as an obstacle to an enemy's passage up the ship-channel; § and, at any time, even in its imperfect condition, a few men, under a competent and faithful officer, could have held it against any party which could have been organized and sent to take it by surprise. |

CASTLE PINCKNEY, on Shute's Folly-island, commanded the city and all the channels of approach.¶ It was an old-fashioned brick-work, having a complete armament, mounted, of fourteen twenty-four pounders, four forty-two pounders, four eight-inch sea-coast howitzers, one ten-inch and one eight-inch mortar, four light pieces for flank defences,** and a large supply of ammunition of all kinds; †† and it was occupied, at the time of which we write, by a solitary enlisted man, an Ordnance Sergeant, in whose posses-

* In his *History of the Civil War in America*, i., 59, Mr. John S. C. Abbott says Fort Sumter was octagonal in form.

† Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.; General Gillmore's Report—*Professional Papers, No. 16*—page 8.

‡ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

§ Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 8, 1859, compared with the Annual Report of the same Department, November 14, 1860.

| Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

¶ Ibid.

Mr. Squier (*Frank Leslie's Pictorial History*, i., xv) says this work is "on the mainland."

** General Gillmore's Report—*Professional Papers, No. 16*—page 2.

†† Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

sion was all the property to which reference has been made.* Every portion of the work, except one of the cisterns, was in excellent condition; † and thirty men, under a competent officer, could have maintained possession, until reinforced, against a mob or any force which could, at that time, have been brought against it. ‡

The garrison of the post was commanded by an officer whose advanced age was an obstacle, at that critical period, in the proper command of that important position. Complaints had been already made of his indifference to the efficiency of his command as well as to the safety of his post; and from such sources and so frequently had these complaints been transmitted, that suspicions were incited, both at Charleston and at Washington, that he was in sympathy with the disaffected inhabitants of South Carolina. § For that cause, the Secretary of War, himself a Southern man, had already determined to relieve him; ||

* Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

† Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 30, 1861.

‡ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.—Supplement I.

§ The very minute Report, by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter, of the indifference of Lieutenant-colonel Gardner, and of the consequent inefficiency of the garrison, forms one of the most interesting chapters of the military history of that period.

|| In his *History of the Civil War*, I., 118, Mr. Lossing erroneously makes the Secretary supersede Lieutenant-colonel Gardner in October, 1860, instead of November, 1860, and that "for attempting to increase his supply of ammunition," instead of for causes set forth in several complaints from the post and in the hitherto unpublished Inspection Report, made by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter, on the eleventh of November, 1860, and now forming Supplement I. to this paper.

It is proper to remark, in this place, that, at the period referred to in the text—November, 1860—the Secretary of War, Mr. Floyd, manifested no disposition, whatever, to favor the disaffected in the South; and that he not only concurred in the recommendation, at that time, by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter, while that officer was verbally reporting the condition of the post and garrison, at Charleston, to fill up the Companies composing the garrison, with recruits; to throw into Fort Sumter and Castle Pinckney, from Fort Moultrie, enough troops to secure both those works; and to throw a plentiful supply of provisions into Fort Sumter, by means which had been already suggested by Captain Foster, through the Engineer Department; but, because of complaints which had been made by other arms of the service, of Lieutenant-colonel Gardner's unsuitableness for the command, in addition to his indifference reported by the Assistant Adjutant-general, he said he would have no one there who was inefficient or who could be suspected as untrue to the Government; he accepted the Assistant Adjutant-general's recommendation of Major An-

derson and the Secretary and the President subsequently concurred in the informal recommendation, by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter,* of Major Robert Anderson, of the same Regiment—the First Artillery—for that important command, and ordered him to report, in person, to the Secretary of War, at Washington, for instructions, as such commander. †

The officer who was thus selected for the important command of the military defences in Charleston harbor, at that critical moment, was a native of Kentucky; a graduate of the Military Academy at West Point; a citizen of Georgia, where he is said to have owned a plantation; and widely and favorably known, throughout the Army, as "a high-toned and honorable gentleman and thoroughly competent soldier." He graduated and was assigned to the Second Regiment of Artillery, as a Second Lieutenant, in July, 1825, and, soon after, was transferred to the Third Regiment, in the same arm of the service. He acted as Inspector-general of the Illinois Volunteers, in the Black-hawk War, in 1832; was commissioned a First Lieutenant, in 1833, and Assistant Instructor of Artillery practice, in the Military Academy, in 1835; and, subsequently, he was promoted, successively, to be Instructor of the same branch, and Aide to General Scott. He received a Captain's brevet, "for gallant and successful conduct in the War against the Florida Indians," on the second of April, 1838; and, on the seventh of July, following, was made Assistant Adjutant-general. He received his Commission as Captain, in October, 1841; and, a few weeks after, he relinquish-

derson for the command; and, with the President's approval, he immediately ordered the Major to report, in person, to himself, for instructions, therefor.—*MS. letter from General Porter to the writer. February 13, 1871.*

* We are not insensible of the fact that William Cullen Bryant, Esq., of the city of New York, is said to have claimed that he had caused Major Anderson to be sent to Charleston; and we are not inclined to disbelieve that the relations of that distinguished journalist with Secretary Floyd and President Buchanan, at that time, were sufficiently intimate to have effected such an assignment of the Major, had he really undertaken to do so. But the known reasons which controlled the selection of the Major, and the written testimony, which is now before us, of one of those who were best acquainted with all the facts relative to that subject, have controlled us in assigning to Assistant Adjutant-general Fitz John Porter, rather than to Mr. Bryant, the selection of Major Anderson for the command at Charleston, as well as the delivery, to the latter and to General Scott, both then in the city of New York, of the official papers which promptly silenced the objections of both those officers and, subsequently, elevated the former to a position, before the world and in history, which he could not otherwise have attained.

† General Fitz John Porter to the writer, January 18 and February 13, 1871.

ed his Staff appointment and resumed his place in the line. He was brevetted Major, on the eighth of September, 1847, "for gallant and meritorious conduct in the Battle of Molino "del Rey," in which he was severely wounded; he was commissioned Major, in July, 1848; and, when selected for the command at Charleston, he was in the city of New York, without a command.*

It was known, among those who were intimate with Major Anderson, at the time of which we write, that he was not anxious to go into active service, either in garrison or in the field—indeed, he is said to have declined a proffered post of honor and usefulness, a short time before †—and from causes which were as honorable to him, as a man, as they were evidently destructive of his usefulness, as an officer, he was prudently led to prefer retirement, in the bosom of his little family, to the honors and emoluments to which his high character, as a man, and his professional attainments justly entitled him. It was supposed, however, both by the intelligent officer who had suggested the transfer, to him, of the command at Charleston, and by the Secretary of War and the President, that the command of what was, then, so important a post, garrisoned by portions of his own Regiment, would be agreeable to him; and, because he was of Southern birth, a citizen of a Southern State, and had not, either personally or professionally, offended the prejudices of either the North or the South, it was also supposed that he, of all others, could supersede the possibly disaffected Lieutenant-colonel of his Regiment, as commander of the post, with the least objection from those, in Charleston or elsewhere, who were most likely to object to any change in the *personnel* of the garrison, at that peculiarly critical period.

The Order to Major Anderson, to report, in person, to the Secretary of War, at Washington, for instructions, was delivered to him, at New York, by Assistant Adjutant-general Porter, on the thirteenth of November; and, on the same day, that officer accompanied the Major, when the latter called on General Scott, then at the Head quarters of the Army, in that city, for the purpose of reporting to the venerable General-in-chief the Order which he had received, direct, from Washington, and of consulting him concerning the conduct of what, very soon, was to become his new command. The General had not

been consulted, however, concerning either an inspection of the post which the Assistant Adjutant-general had recently made, under the personal Order of the Secretary of War, or the assignment of Major Anderson to the command of it; and he consequently declined to interfere in the premises—he said, indeed, that he had no right even to offer a suggestion, as the affairs of the Army were being carried on without consultation with him and by Orders direct from the Department—although he subsequently alluded, incidentally, in his conversation with his visitors, to the necessity which would probably arise of occupying Fort Sumter, for the purpose of securing it, and, in case no reinforcements should be thrown into Fort Moultrie, of going there, for safety, with all the troops then composing the garrison of the post.*

In accordance with the directions of the Secretary of War, to which reference has been made, Major Anderson left New York for Washington on the thirteenth of November; † and, on the fifteenth of the same month, the official Order, directing him to proceed to Fort Moultrie and take command of the post, was issued, at New York, by General Scott.‡ It is not now known, exactly, when the Major received that Order; but, as he returned to New York, where his little family was, after his interview with the Secretary of War, it is very probable that it was not until his arrival in the latter city, where the head-quarters of the Army then were, that it was placed in his hands.§

* My authority for this portion of the text is my valued friend, General Fitz John Porter, in person; and as that gentleman was personally acquainted with the circumstances which he described and has read and approved the language employed in the text, descriptive of them, no further evidence is necessary.

† General Porter has designated this as the date when he Major left New York for Washington.

‡ The Adjutant-general of the Army to Henry B. Dawson, November 3, 1871.

§ General Porter informs me that the Major returned to New York, before proceeding to take command of the post at Charleston; and as it is said, in Mr. Victor's *Southern Rebellion*, (I, 79) and in some of the newspapers of the day, that the latter received his orders on the *eighteenth* of November*—on which day, Sunday, the Major was a visitor at the residence of the venerable General-in-chief, in company with Assistant Adjutant-general Porter—I have considered that the Order was probably withheld by General Scott until the Major's return from Washington, as intimated in the text.

* In the preparation of this sketch of Major Anderson's life and services, the Dictionary of the Army by Colonel Gardner has been principally depended on.

† The command of the Artillery School, at Fortress Monroe, is understood to have been offered to Major Anderson and declined by him, a short time before he was ordered to Charleston.

* "He was ordered to the Charleston defences Nov. 18th, at the earnest wish of Gen. Scott, who reposed great reliance on the Major's discretion and loyalty."—Victor's *Southern Rebellion*, I, 79.

The reader will perceive how inaccurately Mr. Victor has presented some portions of this subject.

It would add, very greatly, to the interest of this narrative if the words of the Instructions which the Major received from the Secretary of War, on the occasion of his visit to Washington, could have been presented in this place; and it would serve an useful purpose, also, in ascertaining, more certainly than can now be done, just what the temper of those in authority then was, and where the responsibility should rest, for much that Major Anderson has been censured for, by those who are best acquainted with the shortcomings of his command. But it has pleased the Honorable Secretary of War, now in authority, to refuse to allow a copy to be made of any of the correspondence between the Department and Major Anderson, in 1860-1; and he has also refused to allow the privilege of a reading of it, to any one who is not attached to that office—a determination, on his part, which, as will be seen, hereafter, has not always been enforced—and the world must content itself, awhile longer, without knowing, officially, what Mr. Floyd's policy was, in November, 1860; whether or not Major Anderson was responsible for what has been considered neglect of duty and favor to the insurgents; and what the temper was, among the disaffected, as the Major found and reported it. Had copies of similar papers been desired from the archives of Great Britain or Prussia they would have been furnished, on such an application as was made to the War Department, in this case: we need feel no surprise at the low standing of the history of our own country, among scholars, since some of those who desire to study it from the best authorities are not permitted to look at the archives of the Republic, even when nice questions can be determined by no other evidence.

From what we have said of it, it will be seen that the command to which Major Anderson was thus ordered by the highest military authority in the Republic, both from its political and its military associations and requirements, was already one of peculiar importance; and it has been the good-fortune of few officers, as low in rank as he was, to be placed, officially, in positions from which a world-wide reputation could be so speedily and so certainly secured, for all time, as that, in Charleston harbor, which had thus been thrust on the unwilling Major of the First Artillery. With only general Instructions, from the President himself, to control him;* without accountability to any of his superior officers in the Army, except to the constitutional Commander-

* It is evident that the Instructions which the Major originally received, like those which were subsequently sent to him, were only general in their character; and that the details of the service were left entirely to his own judgment.

in-chief; † and dependant, wholly, in any emergency which might suddenly arise and disturb him, on his own professional resources and those of the gallant subordinates in his little command—unless those shall also be referred to, which were to be found in the superior scientific attainments of the accomplished young Engineer under whose personal superintendence the works were being rapidly perfected and made ready for a vigorous defence, should one become necessary—on the twenty-first of November, 1860, Major Anderson assumed the command to which he had been ordered.†

The attention of the entire civilized world was directed, at once and, until the end, without relief, to that notable little garrison. Surrounded, as it was, on every hand, by a population which was decidedly disaffected, and which impatiently awaited only the signal for up-rising from its near-by leaders; ‡ quartered, as it was, in a work which would have been capable of little more than a moderate defence against such an assailant as, probably, would have invested it, had the popular leaders then appealed to arms; § and charged, as it was, with the defence of works which it could not occupy with more than formality, and of military stores, of great value and importance, which it could not possibly protect, ¶ the soldierly qualities and the powers of physical endurance of that handful of Regulars were liable to be tested, at any moment, as those of few others had ever been tested; while the circumstances which influenced its amiable commander, with their unwelcome effects on his health and constitution, were elements in the estimate of his fitness for a command which evidently required a more rugged, if not a better, soldier,

* Professor Draper—who has evidently been favored with the use of official papers which other students of the history of the recent War are not permitted to use, nor even to look at—in his *Civil War in America* (l., 542) has stated this feature of the Major's original Instructions; and, with remarkable misunderstanding of the propriety of that particular portion of those Instructions, both because of the peculiar character of the Major's command and of the peculiar uncertainty of General Scott's sympathies and associations, at that time, the Professor has made sad havoc of the truth, in his comments on that subject, notwithstanding the superior advantages he evidently possessed to ascertain and to publish it.

† The Adjutant-general of the Army to Henry B. Dawson, November 2, 1871.

In his *History of the Civil War*, l., 118, Mr. Lossing erroneously states that the Major assumed the command of the post on the *twentieth* of November.

‡ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860—Supplement I.

§ Vide Note *, Column I., Page 46., post.

¶ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11 1860—Supplement I.

which were not overlooked by those who were best acquainted with that excellent officer. A single injudicious action, or one which might possibly be construed as inimical to South Carolina's supposed interests, might have furnished the spark to set the Continent—possibly, the world—ablaze; while everything which could possibly be done, no matter how discreet nor how self-sacrificing, would be insufficient to quiet, ever so little, the rising spirit of insurrection which, everywhere, in “the South,” was intelligently marshalling the disaffected and sternly preparing for the inevitable struggle.

As we have said, Major Anderson assumed the command of the garrison on the twenty-first of November; and he found in the Quarter-master's hands, of flour, bacon, and small stores, less than two month's supply for his little command, and these were stored outside the walls of the fort, in wooden buildings, and without a sentry to protect them from those, in the immediate vicinity, who might be disposed to pilfer or destroy them. For beef, the garrison was wholly dependent on the near-by village butcher; Charleston, as usual, afforded an uncertain market for the purchase of any article of provision; and the only funds which the Quarter-master possessed, for the purchase of any necessary article, were deposited with the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, whose office was in the city. The field-battery, which formed a portion of the reported armament of the fort, was parked at a distance from it, outside its walls, and entirely uncared for—not even the watchful eye of a sentinel was detailed to afford an apology for its exposure—while a very important portion of the cartridges for small-arms were for a larger calibre than that of the muskets they were designed to serve, and the friction-tubes, which were as necessary, whenever the armament of the fort was employed, for any purpose, as percussion-caps were in the use of small-arms, were reported as absolutely worthless.*

There can be no doubt that Major Anderson promptly corrected the greater part of that looseness of discipline and most of those irregularities in the garrison which, hitherto, had rendered the latter so uncertain, for defensive purposes;† and it is evident that his personal relations with leading men in the popular party, in Charleston,

also secured, for the garrison as well as for the workmen constituting the Engineer force, various indulgences, in supplies and intercourse, which a more vigorous commander would not have obtained for them*—it is not improbable, also, that the Major's personal associations and openly-expressed sympathy with the South secured for the garrison a less rigid oversight of its doings and greater security from assault than it would have been favored with, under other circumstances.

During all these changes in the garrison, and in the face of the deep-seated disaffection in the vicinity, Captain Foster steadily pushed forward the improvements which were considered to be necessary in the works; and, in order to render the forts as capable of defence as possible, at the earliest possible moment, he employed a large number of workmen, taking many of them from Baltimore and the others from the vicinity of

* We are not insensible of the importance of this portion of our subject, in more respects than one; nor are we unprepared with evidence to sustain this portion of our narrative. Let a portion of it suffice.

“While the North gave him credit for an anxious desire to receive reinforcements, his real wish was to avoid a battle. He was strongly in favor of giving up all the Southern Forts to the South. He hoped, by delaying the combat, that Congress would make a new compromise giving fresh guarantees to Slavery. He was indignant when I called Jeff Davis a traitor, and spoke of him as a true Christian gentleman.”

“Mr. Gourdin, of Charleston, was one of the great leaders of the Secession movement.” He had been plotting it for years. He was, also, an old and intimate friend of Major Anderson. He came over to Fort Sumter about twice a week; and was closeted with Anderson all the time, in close consultation, about our affairs. Of course, he knew all the weakness and all the defects of the garrison. *It was his influence which procured us a daily supply of provisions and a daily mail.*—Letter from General Abner Doubleday to the Editor, October, 1870.

“We shall strive to do our duty, though I frankly say that my heart is not in this War, which I see is to be thus commenced. That God will still overt it, and cause us to resort to pacific means to maintain our rights, is my ardent prayer.”—Letter from Major Anderson to the Adjutant-general of the Army, protesting against Captain Fox's “scheme” for relieving the Garrison, April 8, 1861.

“I know the fact that Mr. Fox, of the United States Navy, after obtaining permission from me, upon the express guarantee of a former gallant associate in the

* Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860—Supplement I.

† The Secretary of War having declined either to furnish copies of Major Anderson's correspondence with the Department or to allow us to read it without taking a copy of it, our readers must await the advent of some more favored writer of history than we are, if the details of the Major's observations and doings, in his new command, shall be desired by them.

* He was Chairman of the Executive Committee of the “1860 Association;” and it is said (*Lossing's History of the Civil War*, I., 95) that one of the most violent of the pamphlets which, in November, 1860, was scattered, broadcast, over the South, in order to promote insurrection, was printed over his signature.

Charleston.* Castle Pinckney, as has been said, needed no material attention, although, as we shall see, hereafter, a small working-party, under Lieutenant Davis, was subsequently sent there; and Fort Moultrie was only to be "prepared for "a vigorous defence," should such a defence unfortunately become necessary: a greater amount of labor was necessary, however, in order to place Fort Sumter in a good defensive condition; and the greater number of the workmen, under Lieutenant Snyder, were consequently employed on that work: although a hundred and twenty, under Captain Foster's personal command, were employed on Fort Moultrie; † and, day by day, the little garrison became better prepared to meet the momentous issue which, evidently, awaited it and was not distant.

In the meantime, the leaders of the disaffected Carolinians were neither disinterested nor idle spectators of the changes which had been effected in the garrison. Calmly and, apparently, without passion, they steadily prepared for the conflict which they invited; but, quite as calmly and dispassionately, they studiously avoided every action which might possibly be construed as overt insurrection. They very properly considered the defences of Charleston-harbor as

"Navy, to visit Major Anderson, 'for pacific purposes,' planned the pretended attempt to relieve and reinforce the garrison by a fleet; and that Major Anderson protested against it."—Governor Pickens's *Secret Cabinet History in reference to Fort Sumter*, August 3, 1861.

* My authority for this statement is General Foster, himself, in a conversation on this subject, in the City of New York, a few months since. Were any further evidence necessary, we should find it in a letter, now before us, from General Abner Doubleday, dated October 31, 1870.

In his *History of the Civil War*, i., 118, Mr. Loosing erroneously assigns the employment of this Engineer working-party to Colonel John L. Gardner, instead of to Captain Foster of the Engineers, *First*: In the rank assigned to the commander of the garrison, who was a *Lieutenant-colonel* only—Colonel John Irving commanding the Regiment—and, *Second*: In attributing to an officer in the Artillery such a manifestly illegal interference with the rights and duties of the Engineer Department and of the Engineer "in charge of" the works.

† According to the latest Report of the Engineer officer having charge of the construction of the defences of the harbor of Charleston, everything practicable had been done to place Fort Moultrie in an efficient condition, and with a proper garrison it was deemed susceptible of an energetic defence. *There were then employed at that work one officer and one hundred and twenty workmen, independent of the regular garrison.*"—Secretary of War, *ad interim*, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, January 3, 1861.

In his *History of the Civil War*, i., 117, Mr. Loosing erroneously assigns "about one hundred and seventy men" to Fort Moultrie.

necessary to ensure their projected independence; * and they earnestly deprecated the purposes of those who sought to reinforce the garrison; † but they neither disturbed the little garrison and the workmen who were daily strengthening the works; ‡ nor attempted to seize any of the property of the United States, until, as we shall see, hereafter, the Governor of the State officially assumed the responsibility and, as far as he could give such authority, authorized them to do so §—even the seven field pieces which formed an important portion of the armament of Fort Moultrie, were undisturbed by those among whom they stood, unprotected and even

* *Charleston Mercury*, December 13, quoted in *The New York Tribune*, December 14, 1860.

† On the twenty-eighth of November, it was reported, in Charleston, that the *James Adgar* was carrying six hundred men to strengthen the garrison; and the intelligence created an intense excitement—*The New York Tribune*, November 29, 1860. On the seventh of December, 1860, the North was warned that, "should the Government send more troops to strengthen the forts, on the fact becoming known, the catastrophe would be precipitated, for the forts would be assailed before the troops arrived."—*Letter from Charleston*, in *The New York Tribune*, December 13, 1860. On the following day [December 8] the *Charleston Courier* announced that a reinforcement of the garrison would be considered a declaration of hostilities—*Letter from Charleston*, in *The New York Tribune*, December 14, 1860. On the thirteenth of December, 1860, the *Charleston Mercury* declared that, while the Carolinians were not unfriendly with the Federal officers who were stationed there, they considered the forts were necessary to secure their projected independence; and that they would, therefore, consider any attempt to strengthen the garrison as a hostile demonstration on the part of the Federal authorities, and just cause for war.—*The New York Tribune*, December 14, 1860. On the ninth of January 1861, Governor Pickens, addressing Major Anderson, officially, said: "In anticipation of the Ordinance of Secession, of which the President of the United States had received official notification, it was understood by him that sending any reinforcements of the troops of the United States, in the harbor of Charleston, would be regarded by the constituted authorities of the State of South Carolina as an act of hostility; and, at the same time, it was understood by him that any change in the occupation of the forts in the harbor of Charleston would, in like manner, be regarded as an act of hostility. Either or both of these events occurring during the period in which the State of South Carolina constituted a part of the United States, was then distinctly notified to the President of the United States as an act or acts of hostility;" etc.—*Letter of the Governor to Major Anderson*, January 9, 1861.

‡ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 179.

§ Governor Pickens to Colonel Pettigrew, December 37, 1860; the same to Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, December 37, 1860; General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

unwatched; and the wooden store-houses and their precious contents, in the absence of what was considered competent legal authority, were untouched, even by the populace among whom they stood, apparently uncared for. The Federal authorities, at Washington, having "determined, if War must come, to fix the whole responsibility for its commencement on South Carolina,"* South Carolina, in her own time and manner, did not hesitate to accept the proffered responsibility; † but, at the time of which we write, she had taken no formal action on the subject, and, consequently, those who were resident within her territory confined their action to the organization and drilling of her militia and of volunteers for her service, should such service become necessary; ‡ to the purchase of arms and military supplies; § to the appointment, by the Governor, and despatch of a mission to Washington, for the purpose of requesting the President's permission to occupy Fort Sumter with a small party of State troops—[a request which was subsequently withdrawn by its author without awaiting the President's reply; ¶—to the appointment and despatch of missions to other States; ** and to such similar matters which, as individuals, they could do without an open breach of the laws and of the public peace.††

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the eve of the Rebellion*, 162. See, also, the President's Message of December 8, 1860.

† *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina*, held in 1860-61, pages 46-49, 53-54.

‡ *Letters from Charleston*, in *The New York Tribune*, December 4, 7, and 15, 1860.

§ *Charleston Mercury*, November 29, in *The New York Tribune*, December 7, 1860.

¶ Governor Pickens to the President, December 17, 1860.

** Colonel Trescott to Governor Pickens, December 21, 1860; Major Hamilton to Governor Pickens, February 1, 1861.

†† *Letter from Charleston* in *The New York Tribune*, December 20, 1860.

†† We are not insensible of the wide difference which exists between the statements which we have made in the text and those with which other writers on this subject have been pleased to indulge their readers; but, as we have failed to find any warrant for the opposite statements we have preferred those which we have presented.

Until the Convention assembled, on the seventeenth of December, there was no body in South Carolina which pretended to possess competent authority to engage in hostilities nor even to interfere with any of the Federal officers or to touch an article of Federal property.

When that Convention assembled, although there may have been individual members who were radical enough to desire the immediate opening of hostilities, the majority was as peaceful in its demeanor as was possible for it to be; and, as the Journals of that body clearly indicate, every Resolution which was offered, tending to violent action

We have said that the President determined to fix the whole responsibility of the War, if War must come, on South Carolina; but he was not, because of that determination, either a less interested or a less active witness of the progress of events. For reasons which he has published* and which are entitled to respect, that officer dis-

was promptly overruled—even on the morning after the evacuation of Fort Moultrie, while all else, in Charleston, was boiling in excitement, the Convention, in Secret Session, promptly tabled a Resolution which had been offered "authorizing and requesting" the Governor "to take immediate possession of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney, and to make the necessary preparation for the re-capture or destruction of Fort Sumter;" (*Secret Journal*, December 27, 1860—Page 114) and, on the same day, it quite as promptly tabled a proposition to request the Governor to prevent any reinforcements from being introduced into the forts (*Journal, Special Order*, December 27, 1860—page 118.) On the following day, (December 28) it tabled, by a vote of one hundred and eleven to forty, a proposition to consider the occupation of Fort Sumter as "an act of hostility" and one to "approve the conduct of the Governor in taking immediate possession of Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie and of holding them, henceforth, in the name of the State," (*Journal, Secret Session*, December 28, 1860—pages 122-125;) and, for several succeeding days, the Convention sternly negatived every other attempt to incite or to authorize hostile action, generally by votes of nearly three to one of its members, and including in the majority such men as Calhoun, Chesnut, Gourdin, Gregg, Jamieson, Kelt, Memminger, Miles, Rhett, Spain, and others not less well-known and well-abused than they. Indeed, so decided was the action of the Convention, at that time, that, subsequently, when the Secret Journals of that body were ordered to be printed, the Committee to whom the oversight of the publication was entrusted was constrained to consider the effect, on the public, of the necessary exposure of this peaceful temper in the Convention; and a carefully-considered Report on that subject, in which the facts are re-iterated and the motives of the Convention explained—wholly adversely to the representations of the greater number of those who have written on the subject—was presented and published.—*Report of Engrossing Committee, as to publication of Secret Journal*, in the *Journal of the Convention*, 405-408.

Our reading of the testimony on this exciting subject has satisfied us that, at the time of which we write, the leaders in South Carolina neither desired to employ force nor expected to be obliged to do so, in the establishment of her projected independence; and we have reason to believe that the radical element of the South was, then, quite as little the controlling power, in that section, as it was, at that time, in the North.

* Mr. Buchanan, in his autobiographical volume entitled *Mr. Buchanan's Administration on the eve of the Rebellion*, has very fully and very forcibly presented the reasons which controlled his action, at that important period; and the careful student of the history of that period will not fail to resort to that volume, as one of the most important of the authorities on that subject.

believed that South Carolina would strike the first blow while the *status quo* of the garrison of the forts in Charleston-harbor should remain unchanged; and he hesitated, therefore, to do anything, himself, which should plunge the Republic into a Civil War without, at least, affording an opportunity to those, both within and without the Congress, who were endeavoring to reconcile the growing differences, to carry out their praiseworthy purposes.* To guard against any surprise, however, he prudently directed the Secretary of the Navy to station the *Brooklyn*, the most powerful war-steamer in the Navy, then completely ready for sea, in Hampton Roads, with instructions to take on board three hundred disciplined troops which were then stationed in the neighboring garrison of Fortress Monroe, and, with them and the necessary provisions and munitions of war, to proceed, as rapidly as possible, to the relief of the garrison of Fort Moultrie, "at the first moment of danger;"† and, soon after the Major assumed the command, a large supply of provisions is said to have been thrown into Fort Moultrie.‡ He also despatched Assistant Adjutant-general Buell to Fort Moultrie, with new Instructions for the guidance of Major Anderson; and, on the eleventh of December, 1860, those Instructions were communicated to the Major§ and, thenceforth, were the controlling authority for all that, as commander of that important post, the Major either did or failed to do. The letter of these Instructions were in the following words:

"You are aware of the great anxiety of the Secretary of War, that a collision of the troops with the people of the State shall be avoided, and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the military force and forts in this harbor which shall guard against such a collision. He has, therefore, carefully

* At the period referred to, the celebrated "Committee of thirteen," embracing the leading Senators of each of the three parties—Republicans, Secessionists, and Northern Democrats—had commenced their deliberations; and other influences and instrumentalities were also at work, earnestly endeavoring to heal the breach.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 166, 177.

‡ In his autobiographical *Memoir*, Page 614, General Scott stated that, on the fifteenth of December, 1860, during his celebrated interview with the President and Secretary of War, the latter stated that the *Brooklyn* was then ready to proceed to Charleston, with three hundred men, at a moment's notice, fully confirming the President's statement.

§ "Within a few days, the Fort has received six months' provisions, in addition to what it had before. In everything but men, the position is abundantly supplied."—*Letter from Charleston*, in *The New York Tribune*, December 14, 1860.

‡ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 166.

"abstained from increasing the force, at this point, or taking any measures which might add to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the confidence he feels that South Carolina will not attempt, by violence, to obtain possession of the public works or interfere with their occupancy. But, as the counsel and acts of rash and impulsive persons may possibly disappoint these expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you shall be prepared with instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has, therefore, directed me, verbally, to give you such instructions.

"You are carefully to avoid every act which would needlessly tend to provoke aggression, and, for that reason, you are not, without evident and imminent necessity, to take up any position which could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude; but you are to hold possession of the forts in this harbor and, if attacked, you are to defend yourself to the last extremity.

"The smallness of your force will not permit you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of the three forts; but an attack on or attempt to take possession of either one of them will be regarded as an act of hostility; and you may then put your command into either of them which you may deem most proper, to increase its power of resistance.

"You are also authorized to take similar defensive steps, whenever you shall have tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act."*

These Instructions, thus communicated to Major Anderson, were afterwards modified, by the President's direction, in which General Scott concurred, by the softening of the order to defend himself "to the last extremity," it being considered that "this extreme was not required by any principle of military honor or by any rule of War;" and that "it was sufficient for him to defend himself until no reasonable hope should remain of saving the fort."†

While the President was thus engaged, on the one hand, in guarding against a surprise by the disaffected Carolinians, and, on the other, in guarding against any injudicious action by those in authority under the United States, on the eighth of December, he was waited on by four of the Representatives in Congress from South Carolina; and a friendly conversation ensued, concerning the means which were best adapted

* This copy of the Instructions was copied from Mr. Buchanan's interesting volume, page 166. It may be found, also, in *Executive Documents, House of Representatives*, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, No. 26, page 10.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 166, 167.

for avoiding a hostile collision between the parties. Two days afterwards, [December 10, 1860] the conversation was renewed, during which the Carolinians delivered to the President, a note, signed by five of the Representatives and dated on the ninth, in which they said: "In compliance with our statement to you, yesterday, we now express to you our strong convictions that neither the constituted authorities nor any body of the People of the State of South Carolina will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of South Carolina, *previous to the action of the Convention** and, we hope and believe, not until an offer has been made, through an accredited representative, to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and the Federal Government, provided that no reinforcements be sent into those forts and their relative military status shall remain as at present." This declaration was made, expressly, however, as individuals and not officially; but the Carolinians assured the President of their firm belief that it would be recognized and sustained by both the State Government† and, when it should assemble, the State Convention which was expected to convene at Columbia, seven days afterwards. The President emphatically objected to the word "provided," in the Carolinians' note, lest, if he should accept it without remark, it might be construed into an agreement, on his part, not to re-inforce the garrison, at Charleston, no matter what the emergency might be; and the conversation closed, with mutual respect, after the Carolinians had assured the President that no such construction as he had suggested should be placed on his acceptance of their note—"that they did not so consider it" and he should not so consider it."‡

* That Convention was expected to assemble at Columbia, on the seventeenth of the same month—one week after the second interview of the Carolinians with the President.

† This "firm belief" of the five Representatives was realized when, on the twentieth of December—the day on which the Ordinance of Secession was adopted—Governor Pickens withdrew a formal request for permission to occupy Fort Sumter with State troops, which he had sent to the President, "the reason then assigned to" [his confidential agent] "for such a course was, that the delegation from South Carolina had pledged themselves that, if the status of the forts within the harbor of Charleston was not changed, South Carolina would make no attempt to take possession of any of the said forts."—Major Hamilton's letter to Governor Pickens, February 1, 1861.

‡ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 167, 168. See, also, the *Statement of Messrs. Miles and Keitt*, to the Convention of South Carolina, in which the circumstances are narrated with great particularity. (*Journal of the Convention, Secret Session*, January 4, 1861—Page 186;

It will be seen that the leaders of the popular party, in South Carolina, both those within and those without the Congress, had fully committed themselves to what they considered a pledge, on their part, that, while the garrison in Charleston-harbor should not be reinforced, it should not be disturbed nor the property of the United States interfered with, unless the "Convention of the People of the State," which was about to assemble, should otherwise direct; and, with the most praiseworthy consistency and personal honor, as lately as the seventeenth of December, 1860, notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed throughout the vicinity of Charleston,

Appendix to the Journal, 372-377.) In that *Statement*, these words are important, in connection with the narrative in the text: "The President did not like the word 'Provided,' because it looked as if we were binding him while avowing that we had no authority to commit the Convention. We told him that we did not so understand it."—*Statement*, Appendix to the Journal, 374.

Mr. Lossing, in his evident anxiety to make Mr. Buchanan as odious as possible, (*History of the Civil War*, I., 102.) has put into the mouth of William Porcher Miles, one of the five members who waited on the President, on the tenth—not on the ninth, as Mr. Lossing erroneously wrote—of December, as stated in the text, a grave misrepresentation of the truth, concerning this matter. The document which the five Representatives left with the President, on that occasion, tells its own story, as to its "admonitions" to the President; and each party has left an equally explicit record of the interview, in detail, the entire accuracy of both of which records no one of the parties to that interview has yet attempted to impeach.

As Mr. Lossing gives no authority for his statement; as the Journal and other publications of the Convention where Mr. Miles is said to have pronounced his "assurances" are quite as silent on the subject as Mr. Lossing's foot-notes are; and as the *Statement* to which we have referred, signed by Mr. Miles, expressly contradicts Mr. Lossing, we shall prefer to believe that the latter gentleman has been misled on the subject referred to, until we shall discover some more trustworthy authority to sustain the contrary opinion than his unsupported word.

Mr. Henry J. Raymond, in his *Life and Public Services of Abraham Lincoln* (Page 117) has also gravely disregarded the important disclaimer which each party made to the other, relative to the word "Provided," although he has proceeded, immediately, to comment on and denounce what, in the spirit of a mere partisan, he has unjustly considered a contract between the President and the Carolinians; and Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck, in his *History of the War of the Rebellion* (I., 87) more distinctly than most others, states that "an agreement had been made, under pretence of giving time for adjustment and reconciliation of difficulties, by which the forts were not to be attacked or molested," although both parties disclaimed any such intention, denied that they possessed any authority to make such an agreement, and entirely relieved each other of any alleged obligation arising from their personal interview.

neither the forts in her harbor nor the public property in the city were disturbed; and Major Anderson, and the garrison, and the Engineers' working-party, within and without the forts, were kindly treated, even by those who were most disaffected. It will be seen, too, that the President—notwithstanding General Scott, with grave inconsistency,* had urged him to send two hundred men, as a reinforcement to the garrison, to Forts Moultrie and Sumter†—sturdily relied on his own convictions and the assurances of the Carolinians, and declined to do anything which should tend to increase the disaffection in the South and, prematurely, lead to hostilities; although, at the same time, he quite as sturdily denounced the disaffection which prevailed and the proposed secession of that State as unconstitutional and revolutionary; provided for the prompt and efficient relief of the garrison, at the first moment of threatened danger; authorized the concentration of the scattered portions of the garrison and of the working parties within either of the forts in the harbor, should such a

step appear advisable; and instructed Major Anderson to return blow for blow, if he should be attacked in his position. Major Anderson, also, from behind his defences, sent up his earnest prayers for peace and hesitated to go to the extent of his instructions, as long as a ray of hope remained that hostilities might be averted.

On the seventeenth of December, the Convention of the People of South Carolina, which had been called for the purpose of withdrawing that State from the Union, assembled at Columbia; * and, on the same day, because of the prevailing small-pox, it adjourned to meet at Charleston, on the afternoon of the next day.† On the twentieth, notwithstanding the ubiquitous Caleb Cushing had been despatched to South Carolina, in behalf of the President, for the purpose of endeavoring to change or modify the contemplated action of the Convention,‡ that body adopted an *Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled The Constitution of the United States of America*; § and, from that moment, as far as South Carolina was concerned, the relations of that State and of those who sojourned within her territory with every other portion of the human family were radically changed. There does not, however, seem to have been any movement, either in the Convention or among the inhabitants, against either of the forts, nor does either the garrison or the working-party seem to have been even threatened; but it was evident to Major Anderson that his command was occupying an untenable position against such a force as, very probably, would be brought

* On the twenty-ninth of October, 1860, the General ostentatiously expressed an opinion that all the Southern forts should be so completely occupied "as to make any attempt to take any one of them by surprise or coup de main, ridiculous."—*Views, in Harpers' Pictorial History of the Great Rebellion*, I., 84—and, on the next day, he exposed the impossibility to do so, in any event, in his declaration that "there is . . . in all, *five Companies*, only, "within reach, to garrison or reinforce the forts mentioned in the *Views*."—*Supplementary Views, in Harpers' Pictorial History*, I., 84. See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 98-104.

Having, meanwhile, added six hundred raw recruits to the five Companies already referred to, on the fifteenth of December, the General renewed his recommendation; and when the Secretary of War reminded him of the readiness of the *Brooklyn* to proceed to Charleston with three hundred men—a hundred more than the General proposed to send there—the latter objected to that proposition and insisted that the reinforcement must be raw recruits, from the depot at New York.—Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 175-178. Yet, a few days afterwards, while the necessity for strengthening Fort Sumter was no less than it had been, a fortnight before, a proposition was made in behalf of Messrs. James A. Hamilton, Moses H. Grinnell, and J. E. Williams, three distinguished citizens of New York, to send to Major Anderson, at their own expense, four hundred picked artillerymen, from among the citizen soldiery of New York; and it was promptly rejected by the General—his views had evidently met with a sudden change: he fully "coincided" [with the President] "in the opinion that the immediate military needs of the country require no appeal to Militia or Volunteers in aid of the regular force," and so he coldly rejected the proffered reinforcement.—*Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*, 400-403.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 168-180.

* *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, held in 1860-61*, 2.

† *Ibid*, 12, 16.

‡ Letter from the President of the United States to the Governor of South Carolina, December 18, 1860, introducing General Cushing and defining the purpose of his mission.

True to his general mission, as a mere partisan seeking nothing more than the justification of his own party and the degradation of all who differ from it, Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, I., 409, says of Mr. Cushing—one of his former Whig co-partisans—and of this exceedingly important undertaking: "His errand was a secret one. But, 'so far as its object was allowed to transpire, he was understood to be the bearer of a proffer from Mr. Buchanan' as that he would not reinforce Major Anderson, nor 'initiate any hostilities against the Secessionists, provided they would evince a like pacific spirit, by respecting 'the Federal authorities down to the close of his Administration—now but a few weeks distant.'"

Victor's *Southern Rebellion*, I., 105, repeats the story in other words.

§ *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, held in 1860-61*, 48-49, 52-54.

against it, by the insurgents, at an early day,* and he is said to have determined, late in the

* There is, probably, no more interesting subject than this, in the story of Fort Sumter; and we shall be pardoned for a careful presentation of the authorities concerning it.

On the twenty-fourth of December, an officer, evidently the Major himself, wrote a letter in which were the following words: "When I inform you that my garrison consists of only sixty effective men and that we are in a very different work, the walls of which are only about fourteen feet high, and that we have, within a hundred and sixty yards of our walls, sandhills which command our works and which afford admirable sites for batteries and the finest covers for sharp-shooters, and that, besides this, there are numerous houses, some of them within pistol-shot, you will, at once, see that if attacked in force, headed by any one but a simpleton, there is scarce a possibility of our being able to hold out long enough to enable our friends to come to our succor."—*Letter from Fort Moultrie, S. C., December 24, 1860, in The Boston Journal, January 8, 1861.* It may be found, also, in *Frank Leslie's Pictorial History of the American Civil War*, I., xv.; and in *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia for 1861*, 815.

Two days afterward, an officer of the garrison, in a letter to his father, said: "At Fort Moultrie, we could not fail to have succumbed before the large force that was, probably, on the point of being launched against us. Between batteries, a close fire of riflemen, and a few columns of assault, we must have been forced to have yielded, although it would not have been without the loss, perhaps, of every man there."—*Letter from Fort Sumter, December 26, 1860, in The Troy [N. Y.] Times, copied by The Richmond [Va.] Whig, Vol. xxxviii, No. iv., January 11, 1861.*

General Simons of the South Carolina Militia, unto whom, on the thirty-first of December, Governor Pickens had sent "the plan of military operations and line of defence" which the Carolinians proposed to adopt, on the first of January, 1861, reported thereon, to the Governor, as follows:

"SECOND.—*Fort Moultrie.*

"This post is wholly untenable. Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, a brave officer, gave you prompt notice of this fact on the morning after his occupation." His Report, this morning, shows you the irrefragable proof of "his first Report, after nearly a week's occupation of the post."—*General Simon's Report to Governor Pickens, Charleston, January 1, 1861.*

The Secretary of War, *ad interim*, in an official letter to be Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, in the House of Representatives, dated January 8, 1861, said that Major Anderson, "apprehensive of the safety of his command, from the insecurity of the fort, and having

evening of Christmas-day,† to occupy Fort Sumter, with his entire command, as soon as the necessary means for so doing could be obtained without, thereby, exciting the suspicion of the Carolinians.

It was, indeed, true that Fort Moultrie was considered as completely finished, more than a year before,‡ and that, subsequently, it was kept in fair condition; § and it was not less true that,

"reason to believe that the South Carolinians contemplated or were preparing to proceed to a hostile act against him, and desiring to prevent a collision and the effusion of blood, evacuated Fort Moultrie, after leaving orders for spiking the cannon and disabling some of the carriages, and removed his forces to Fort Sumter, where they now are."—*Secretary of War, ad interim, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, January 8, 1861, in House Miscellaneous Document, No. 12, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session.*

On the sixth of January, 1861, Captain Doubleday, who was of the garrison, in a private letter, used these words: "At Fort Moultrie, everything had been prepared for a desperate stand; but we could have done little against the powerful batteries of this fort, which would have been turned against us. In addition to an army of at least ten thousand men who would have assailed us on the land side. Our own lives were of little consequence; but our defeat would have involved the loss of this harbor to the United States, a loss that would have been irreparable."—*Letter, in The Auburn [N. Y.] Union, copied into The Richmond [Va.] Whig of January 8, and into The New York Tribune of January 16, 1861.—see Supplement II.*

On the evening after the surrender of Fort Sumter to the Carolinians and Confederates, April 14, 1861, Governor Pickens addressed the assembled multitude, at Charleston as follows: "They have surrendered; and this proud fortress that was attempted to be a fortress for despotism, has now become, as its name indicates, a fortress for our independence. Besides, one of their most scientific officers, on the twenty-sixth of last December, escaped from what he called a weak and untenable fort, and went over to this strong and powerful position, because he could maintain himself, and because it was pronounced the key of the harbor. He left Fort Moultrie because it was untenable and at the mercy of Sumter. He chose Sumter as his fortress. We took the one he deserted and with it whipped him to his heart's content."—*The Governor's Speech, in The Record of Fort Sumter, 48.* Victor's *Southern Rebellion*, I., 135, describes it as an "untenable post;" although, on page 79 of the same volume it was said that "two hundred men could have defended it against ten thousand;" and Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict* (I., 407), also states that "it could not have been held a day against a serious assault."

* I have the authority of General Jefferson C. Davis—the Lieutenant Davis of the garrison of Fort Sumter—for this statement.

† Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 8, 1859.

‡ Compare Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 14, 1860, and that of November 30, 1861.

* Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, with one hundred and seventy men from a Regiment of Artillery and thirty Riflemen occupied Fort Moultrie on the evening after the fact that Major Anderson had retired from it became known to the Governor—on the evening of the twenty-seventh of December, 1860.—*Editor.*

in view of the possibility that a vigorous defense might be required of its garrison, from the insurgent Carolinians, Captain Foster, during the Summer and Autumn of 1860, had removed the large accumulations of sand which had overtopped the scarp-wall on the sea-front,* removing it to the front and forming a glacis;† dug a wet-ditch, fifteen feet wide, around the fort;‡ built two flanking caponieres of brick, to flank, with their fire, the three water-fronts of the work; constructed a bastionet, for musketry, at its north-western angle; built a picket-fence around the fort, bordering the ditch, and protected by a small glacis;§ constructed merlons on the whole of the eastern front; opened communications through the quarters; built a bridge to connect the quarters with the guard-house; loop-holed the latter for musketry, so as to allow it to be used as a citadel;|| etc.¶ But, notwithstanding all these precautions, the fort was completely at the mercy of Fort Sumter, if that work should be properly manned, in addition to which it was slightly commanded by a sand-hill, on Sullivan's-island, which afforded admirable sites for batteries and complete cover for sharp-shooters within a hundred and sixty yards of its walls; and these, and other causes which the Major readily detected,** taken in connection with what he evidently conceived to be the immediate danger of attack, prompted him to retire, with his command, to Fort Sumter, in order, as his Instructions expressed it, that the garrison might "increase its power of resistance."

It has been made a subject of doubt and bitter controversy, whether or not the Major

really had "tangible evidence of a design" [among the Carolinians] "to proceed to a hostile act," before he resolved to retire from Fort Moultrie; and the determination of the question involved in that controversy will determine, also, the other question which has also arisen, in various quarters, whether or not the Major's removal of the garrison was authorized by the Instructions from the President, which controlled him, as the commander of the post. On this subject, if evidence were ever wanting, it is wanting no longer; and whoever shall honestly examine the annals of that period, as they are now presented to us, will find the most unequivocal testimony of the "design to proceed to an hostile act,"—unless, as they hoped to do, they could accomplish their purposes by more peaceful means—which was entertained, long before the date of the removal, by both the masses of the insurgents and those who led them. The press teemed with military notices; "believing that they were threatened by Fort Sumter especially, the people were, with difficulty, restrained from securing, without blood, the possession of this important fortress;"* and South Carolina, from one extreme to the other, was little else than a vast camp. For what purpose all these military preparations were made, and why "the people" were so eager, is not apparent, if it was not, in a known and recognized contingency, for the purpose of investing and occupying the forts; and, with these facts before us, stubbornly affording the most "tangible evidence of the design" referred to in the Instructions, although that "design" was contingent on something which was not yet determined, any other course than that which the Major pursued, in his evacuation of the untenable and occupation of the tenable position, would have subjected him, in the evidently approaching crisis, not only to the condemnation of his professional peers but to that of the wide world, for all time to come.

If it was necessary, of course, in order to effect the purposed removal of the garrison to Fort Sumter without interference from the Carolinians, to observe the utmost secrecy, even within the lines of Fort Moultrie; and whatever preparations were made for that purpose were nominally and, generally, ostentatiously directed for other purposes.† The Major's agreeable relations with

* Second Letter of the Commissioners of South Carolina to the President, January 1, 1861.

† We have the authority of General Jefferson C. Davis for this statement. He tells us that only the officers were made acquainted with the project; and the garrison, generally, was misled, in its surmises as to the reasons for the preparations which were being made, by representations that a body of Carolinians had landed on Sullivan's-island, and was preparing to move on the fort. This report

* Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860—Supplement I.

† "On the South side, or front, a glacis has been commenced and prosecuted nearly to completion, with a rampart of sand-bags, barrels, etc."—*Charleston Courier*, December 26, 1860.

‡ "A ditch some fifteen feet wide and about the same in depth, surrounds the entire wall, on three sides."—*Ibid.*

§ "On one side of the fort, a palisade of palmetto logs is extended around the ramparts as a complete defence against an escalading party."—*Ibid.*

|| "A greater portion of the labor expended was spent upon the citadel or center of the West point of the position. This he had caused to be strengthened in every way; loop-holes were cut and everything was so arranged that, in case a well-concerted attack was made, he would have retired from the outer bastions to the citadel, and afterwards blown up the other portions of the post."—*Ibid.*

¶ Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 30, 1861.

** Secretary of War, *ad interim*, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, January 3, 1861.

the leaders of the insurgents, to which we have already alluded,* were very well calculated to check any rising distrust, on the part of those who were less influential but more inclined to hostile action, which his necessary preparations for the removal might suddenly arouse; and, on the evening of Christmas-day, with the families of some of those leaders, from Charleston, he was present at a party given by the lady of Captain Foster, at her residence in the neighboring village of Moultrieville,† which would reasonably indicate that, to some extent, at least, he was supposed to be, if he was not, in harmony with those leaders, on the controlling questions of the day. Not the least suspicion was created, therefore, on the day after Christmas, by any of his preparations for removing the garrison; and, when the Major let it be known and reported that he expected an attack on the fort, very shortly, and that, consequently, he designed to remove the women and children who were in the fort, to a place of safety, neither in the garrison nor without the works was there the least manifestation of surprise or uneasiness.‡

and the subsequent removal of the non-combatants, nominally, for prudential reasons, disarmed the suspicious, both those in the garrison and those among the inhabitants of the vicinity.

* Vide Note *, Column 2., Page 40., ante.

† We have the authority of General Jefferson C. Davis for this statement.

The General also informs us that Major Anderson left the party when the children were taken home, say about nine o'clock, and returned to his Quarters in Fort Moultrie; and that the Major subsequently informed him that it was only after his return from that party, while within his own Quarters, that he determined to abandon Fort Moultrie, at the earliest possible moment. As that gallant young officer, then a bachelor, was present and, after the children and Major Anderson had retired, had a pleasant time with those of the company who were no longer children—bringing away with him, a gift from Mrs. Foster's sister, a pocket flask of brandy, of which we shall have a word to say, hereafter—no other testimony is necessary, to sustain this portion of the text.

It has been said the Major dined in Charleston, on Christmas-day, and returned to Fort Moultrie, late in the evening: we have the authority of General Davis for saying that, on Christmas-night, Major Anderson "had not been in the city for several days previous, to attend "dinner parties or any other purposes." "I am quite certain," General Davis continues, "he never visited the city after the Ordinance of Secession was passed by "South Carolina"—December 20. 1860.

‡ That fact is evident in the entire ignorance of the Carolinians, until the morning of the twenty-seventh of December, that Major Anderson intended to occupy Fort Sumter and in their astonishment, at that time, when the news of that occupation reached them. Indeed, so well was the secret kept, that it is perfectly evident that the Charlestonians did not know whence the garrison of

In this emergency, however, Major Anderson necessarily extended his confidence and intimacy beyond the little circle within whose limited bounds that confidence and intimacy had been previously confined; and Captain Foster, whose duties were legitimately confined to the "charge of" the working-parties who were repairing and strengthening the three works composing the post, was necessarily admitted within the limits of the Major's intimacy*—there were no

Fort Sumter had come—from Fort Moultrie or from reinforcements pushed in, by sea—until some stragglers of Captain Foster's working-party reached the city and explained the mystery.

* In his *History of the Civil War*, i., 129, Mr. Loessing, while speaking of the Major's general relations with his command, says the former "revealed his secret intentions "only to Captain (afterwards Major-general) John G. Foster, his second in command, and two or three other "officers." If Mr. Loessing supposes and means to convey the impression, in this paragraph, that Captain Foster was generally admitted to the intimacy of Major Anderson, we have excellent authority for saying that he is sadly in error. The Major, on the contrary, confined his intimacy to a portion of the officers of the Artillery composing the garrison; and, outside of that little circle, his intercourse was only official and formal, both with officers and men.

There is excellent reason, however, for believing that, notwithstanding his general reserve, Major Anderson was obliged to communicate to Captain Foster the purpose he entertained of retiring to Fort Sumter. The Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, November 30, 1861, states that, among the services of the Corps at Fort Moultrie, during 1860-1, "means were also furnished to transport Major Anderson's command and such public property as could be removed before the occupation of Fort Moultrie by the rebels to Fort Sumter." This very important record is sustained by other authorities. Southern as well as Northern; and, with the stern fact thus thrust before us that, but for Captain Foster's assistance, the garrison would have been compelled to remain at Fort Moultrie, there is no room for wonder that, to the extent, at least, of the matter of the removal of the garrison, Captain Foster was admitted to the councils and confidence of Major Anderson.

Mr. Loessing certainly erred, also, in his designation of the Major's "second in command"—a mistake which he has shared with Mr. Squier—*Frank Leslie's Pictorial History*, i., xvi—Captain Foster, unto whom that authority is given by Mr. Loessing, was of the Corps of Engineers, and he held no command whatever in the Artillery, of which the garrison was wholly composed: on the contrary, his duties began and ended with the general "charge of" the three Engineer working-parties who, independently of the commander of the post, were engaged in repairing and strengthening the defences of Charleston harbor.

The "second in command," in the garrison, was, unquestionably, Captain Abner Doubleday of the First Artillery, now our respected friend, Major-general Doubleday, U. S. A.

other means for transporting the garrison from Fort Moultrie than those which Captain Foster controlled; and there were, comparatively, no provisions for its use, after it should reach Fort Sumter, than those which belonged to the Engineers.* The accession of the Captain to the councils of Major Anderson was speedily and effectively utilized by the employment of three schooners and several barges, which the Engineer working-parties used in their work, for the purpose of transporting the garrison and the public property to Fort Sumter; and the workmen themselves were also employed in assisting in the transfer of the latter.†

The necessary preparations having been made for the removal of the garrison, in the afternoon of the twenty-sixth of December, 1860, while most of the Carolinians were absorbed in their devotion to the holiday season, the women and children, with the exception of the families of the officers and Mrs. Rippit—the faithful house-keeper of the unmarried officers' mess—were openly embarked, under the direction of Lieutenant Hall, on one of the schooners‡ which Captain

* General Foster is our authority for this statement, at recent interviews, in the city of New York.

† Annual Report of Engineer Department, November 19, 1861; General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872; General J. G. Foster to Henry B. Dawson, February 8, 1873.

‡ It has been a question, among the distinguished survivors of the officers who were then in Fort Moultrie, concerning the number of schooners which were employed on this particular service; and the attempts which we have made to solve that question, have been among the most tedious of the many perplexing labors we have bestowed on the preparation of this paper.

General Jefferson C. Davis, in a detailed written description of the events of that eventful afternoon and evening and in repeated conversations, has insisted that only one schooner was thus employed, under Lieutenant Hall, to remove the women, children, etc.; and, through his kind attention, we were enabled, also, to meet and converse with Sergeant Smith, one of the men who, with his wife and two children, accompanied Lieutenant Hall, and was a personal participant in all that was done by that portion of the garrison. The Sergeant, also, says, positively, that only one schooner was thus employed.

In an elaborate and most important letter to us, from General Truman Seymour, dated "Fort Preble, February 29, 1872," that distinguished officer says, speaking of a pamphlet, supposed to have been written by Lieutenant Hall, "It says 'three little schooners, with four or five 'barges,' meaning three in all. My wife says there were 'three.' My impression has been that Lieut. Hall hired 'one of these three for the women and children, of whom there are 45 (30 women 25 children: but with their property, 'two schooners would have been better than one, and I may be wrong. There are private soldiers whose testimony, on this point, if desired, could be obtained—and they are accessible to me by mail.'"

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Foster had provided; and, with them, were also sent, what, outside the works, were understood to be only the furniture, and bedding, and necessary supplies for the departing non-combatants, although some provisions and commissary-stores, the silver plate belonging to the mess, several canary-birds, and a great variety of objects possessing particular interest to the refugees, were also carried away by them.*

The schooner, with its precious freight, immediately headed from Fort Moultrie for Fort Johnson, within whose deserted lines and untenable barracks it was gravely insinuated these non-combatant refugees were about to find a dreary winter-night's shelter; † but orders had been given to Lieutenant Hall, to stand off and on, to the windward of Fort Sumter, ‡ until darkness should

Finally, after a careful review of the circumstances—although he had previously inclined, in a most important letter which he addressed to us on the third of February, 1872, to believe that two schooners were thus employed—General Foster, in a personal interview, has subsequently determined that Lieutenant Hall only employed one of the three schooners in this particular service, and, greatly to our relief, confirmed the recollections, on that subject, of Generals Seymour and Davis and that of Sergeant Smith.

General Crawford, whose forethought, even at that critical and exciting period, led him to make, at that time, elaborate notes of all which then occurred, says, in a valued and extended letter of the fourth of March, 1873, addressed to us, "Lt. Hall employed both the schooners."

We have surrendered to the stronger party; and, both because of the greater number and the equally high character of those who declare that only one schooner was thus employed, we have considered that as the most correct statement.

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis, Samuel W. Crawford, and John G. Foster are our authorities for this statement.

† *Charleston News*, December 27, 1860; *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860; *Lossing's History of the Civil War*, I., 139.

Generals Davis, Crawford, and Foster, also, fully confirm our statement; and, as they have personal knowledge of the fact, we need no better authority to sustain it.

‡ Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford are our authorities for this statement. See, also, *Charleston News*, December 27, 1860.

We are not insensible, in this connection, that Mr. Lossing has said of the instructions which were given, on the occasion under consideration, "the commandant there" [*Fort Johnson*] "had been instructed to detain them" [*the women and children*] "on board, until evening, under a pretext of a difficulty in finding quarters for them"—*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, I., 139;—but, *First*, because Fort Johnson was entirely unoccupied, at that time, and there was not, therefore, any "commandant there," to be thus "instructed;" *Second*, because Lieutenant Hall, who accompanied the refugees, had the entire control of the schooner, subject to the Major's orders, and directed her movements; and, *Third*, because the schooner

shelter the movement, when, the designated signal of the garrison's readiness to receive them having been given,* he was to run the vessel to the wharf, at the gorge of Fort Sumter, and land her passengers and the property which had been sent with her.†

About the same time, Lieutenant Davis was detached from his Company and ordered to take command of the rear-guard of the garrison, in the projected movement; and, with the assistance of some prisoners who were released from the guard-house, he immediately ran several of the guns into battery, loaded and ranged them so as to command the channel between the two forts, in order to cover the movement of the main body of the garrison and, if needed, to repel any attempt, on the part of the Carolinians, to interfere with it, in its passage to Fort Sumter.‡ During the afternoon, Captain Foster, who, with his brother-in-law, Mr. Edward Moale, had determined to remain in Fort Moultrie, until the next day, was ordered to take command of the relief which would be on post, when the Fort should be evacuated; to cover the barge on which the rear guard was to embark, while crossing to Fort Sumter, and, if it should be attacked by the Carolinians, to open fire on the assailants; to take measures for the removal, to Fort Sumter, of as much of the public property as could be removed from Fort Moultrie; to

was not intended to come to, at Fort Johnson, but to lay on and off, to the windward of Fort Sumter, so as to run to the wharf, at the gorge of that work, with a free sheet, when the signal was given—for these reasons, we say, in addition to the positive authorities referred to, above, we venture to differ from our excellent friend, the author of the *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, in the instance before us.

* Just what that signal was, is not yet clearly settled by those whose testimony is most authoritative.

General John G. Foster says it was a signal gun fired from Fort Moultrie; General Crawford says "two signal guns were fired from Fort Moultrie. The Ordnance-sergeant fired one, and I, myself, fired the other, taking the lanyard, which is now in my possession;" General Jefferson C. Davis says it was a musket fired from Fort Sumter; and Sergeant Smith, who was with Lieutenant Hall, on the schooner, says it was a swinging light from the second embrasure from the sally-port, in the gorge of Fort Sumter.

In this case, where each is an authority, independent of all others, we incline to leave the subject, undetermined, with this record of the several testimonies concerning it, for adjustment by those who shall, hereafter, examine the important story of Fort Sumter, in 1860-1, with more patience than we have been able to give to it.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1873. Generals John G. Foster and Samuel W. Crawford confirmed the statement, in recent interviews.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, Janu-

spike all the guns on the abandoned work; and to destroy the carriages of such of them as bore on Fort Sumter.*

The main body of the garrison, not yet informed of the proposed withdrawal to Fort Sumter, and supposing that it was preparing to repel a movement against the fort, by the Carolinians, was ordered to pack knapsacks; and, when the sun went down, it was reviewed on the parade, and—with the exception of the rear-guard and the men relieved from arrest, all commanded by Lieutenant Davis, a Corporal and three enlisted men of the guard, then on post, the Chaplain of the post (Rev. Matthias Harris), Assistant-surgeon Simons, an Ordnance-sergeant, a Hospital-steward and a nurse, Captain Foster and his brother-in-law, Mr. Edward Moale, Surgeon Crawford, and Mrs. Rippit, all of whom were left in Fort Moultrie or at the neighboring village,†—as soon as the

ary 19, 1873. General Davis has, subsequently, read this paragraph, in the proofs, and pronounced it perfectly accurate.

* General John G. Foster is our authority for this statement.

During extended conversations with that distinguished officer, in the city of New York, on the twelfth and thirteenth of March, 1873, he dictated to us the following description of the verbal orders which he received from Major Anderson, on the occasion referred to in the text: "These orders were as follows: 'to have two guns loaded' and 'shotted, and to fire on either of the guard-boats' who might interfere with the passage: as soon as all the boats and garrison were safely in Fort Sumter, of which I should have notice by the firing of two muskets from the South-east angle of that fort, to fire one gun, as a signal to Lieutenant Hall that the garrison was in Fort Sumter and that he' [*Lieutenant Hall*] 'was then to carry his schooner to that point: to spike all the guns of the Fort: to destroy all the ammunition which could not be sent over in the two remaining schooners; and to destroy the carriages of the guns which bore on Fort Sumter.' These orders were carried out, during the night and the next day." He has subsequently read this paragraph, together with this note, in the proofs, and pronounced them perfectly accurate. It is proper to state, however, that two of General Foster's surviving associates—Generals Davis and Crawford—do not concur with General Foster in this statement.

† We are not insensible that Mr. Lossing—*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, I., 180—says, "At eight o'clock the same evening" [*December 26, 1860*] "Major Anderson wrote to the Adjutant-general, from his snug quarters, nearly over the sally-port: 'I have the honor to report that I have just completed, by the blessing of God, the removal to this fort, of all my garrison except the Surgeon, four North Carolina officers, and seven men.'" We say we are not insensible that Mr. Lossing has thus differently recorded the facts which we have presented in the text; but, *First*, Because, although the Major left "the Surgeon," Doctor Crawford, in Fort Moul-

shades of evening sufficiently concealed the movement,* under the personal command of Major Anderson, was moved, rapidly, to some barges † which Captain Foster had also provided for that

trie, when the main body of the garrison was carried into Fort Sumter, that officer, as he, himself, tells us, in person, followed the Major, very soon afterwards—having been “the last officer to cross to Sumter, that night,” are his words—and spent the night with the garrison, in its new quarters; *Second*, Because there were no “North Carolina officers” either in the garrison or in charge of the working-party, and, therefore, none could have been left in Fort Moultrie; and, *Third*, Because it is very evident that what the Major probably wrote as “N. C. officers” has been mistaken, by Mr. Lossing, for “North Carolina Officers” instead of “Non Commissioned Officers,” of which four—the Chaplain, the Ordnance-sergeant, the Hospital-steward, and the Corporal of the Guard—are known to have been left in Fort Moultrie or its immediate vicinity—for these reasons, to say nothing of others which can be adduced, we prefer to disbelieve the narrative of Mr. Lossing, in the form in which he has presented it, although it purports to be in the words of the Major’s letter-book.

Appleton’s Annual Encyclopedia for 1861, page 816, says Captain Foster was left behind, with eight men, to hold possession of the work; and *Frank Leslie’s Pictorial History*, I., xv., *Victor’s History of the Southern Rebellion*, I., 126, Mrs. J. B. Frost’s *Rebellion in the United States*, 35, etc. repeat the story.

This mistake probably originated in a misunderstanding of the despatch which was sent to the Southern Commissioners, on the day after the evacuation, which stated that Captain Foster, with a party of men, was, at that time, engaged in spiking the guns, burning the carriages, etc., all of which was perfectly true.

* “All his arrangements being completed, the men under arms, with loaded muskets, and the boats, at the beach, awaiting him, the Major took command and “marched rapidly out of the fort at twilight.”—General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

Mr. Greeley erroneously states—*American Conflict*, I., 47—that Fort Moultrie was evacuated “during the night” of the 26th; and Doctor Draper—*Civil War in America*, I., 543—uses the same words. Mr. Abbott—*History of Civil War*, I., 59—says the garrison embarked “at midnight;” and Mr. Faulkner—*History of the Revolution*, it concurs in the statement. *The Charleston News*, December 27, 1860, says it was “about half past nine o’clock” when the garrison embarked. *Harper’s Pictorial History*, I., 27, says it was “about nine o’clock in the evening” when the garrison was ordered to hold itself in readiness, after which time, it says, it was paraded, inspected, and embarked; but it does not state at what hour the embarkation was effected.

† Mr. Greeley—*American Conflict*, I., 407—says “two ‘schooners’ were thus employed, and that they “made several trips, during the night,” in order to remove the handful of men from Fort Moultrie; but, *First*, Because, with secrecy sternly enforced by the necessity of the case, these “two schooners” could not have been thus engaged, making “several trips,” in a bright moonlight night and

purpose and placed under the command of his Assistants, Lieutenants Snyder and Meade of the Engineers,* and rapidly carried to Fort Sumter†—the command of Captain Doubleday (Company E.) first entering the barges, and then, on their return that of Captain Seymour (Company H).‡ It was a very simple operation; managed with great tact; and effected with perfect success. The movement was, necessarily, as hasty as it was secret; and, as necessarily, it involved the abandonment of the greater portion of the garrison’s military supplies,§ much of the clothing and private property of the soldiers,|| a number of musical instruments, belonging to the members of the band,¶ and a considerable quantity of engineer implements and materials.** The Engineer working-party, in Fort Moultrie, as we have said, was left behind, together with several others, officers and enlisted men, and Mrs. Rippit, the last-named of whom patiently awaited the appearance of the officers for tea, which she had prepared for them; and, before eight o’clock in the evening ††

with two guard-boats at anchor, in the channel, immediately opposite Fort Moultrie, without exposing the secret to the Carolinians and defeating the project; and, *Second*, Because we have the better evidence of those who were present and participated in the movement, that the garrison was transported in the barges employed on the works by the Engineer working-parties, we prefer to disbelieve the narrative of our distinguished neighbor.

It is proper to remark, in this connection, that Mr. Moore (*Rebellion Record*, I., 6) the *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860, and *Appleton’s Annual Encyclopedia for 1861*, 816, agree with Mr. Greeley in assigning “two ‘schooners’” to the work of transporting the garrison to Fort Sumter, and in making them run several times, during the night, between the two forts; while *Harper’s Pictorial History*, I., 27, *Frank Leslie’s Pictorial History*, I., xvi., and *Victor’s History of the Southern Rebellion*, I., 126, increase the number to “three schooners.”

It will be seen that only ordinary “Government barges,” moved with oars, were employed in that portion of the movement.

* Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 30, 1861; Information personally communicated to us, by Generals Foster, Crawford, and Davis.

† General Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

‡ General Seymour to Henry B. Dawson, February 29, 1872.

§ The greater portion of these, as will be seen, hereafter, were recovered on the following day.

|| Petition of Captains Doubleday and Seymour and Doctor Crawford, January 17, 1861—Report No. 70, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session.

¶ Ibid.

** Annual Report of the Engineer Department, November 30, 1861. General Foster has confirmed the statement at a recent interview.

†† Major Anderson’s despatch to the Adjutant-general 8 P.M., December 26, 1860, in *Lossing’s Pictorial History* I., 180. General Davis concurs in that testimony.

—just after the guard-boats *Nina* and *General Clinch*, which the Carolinians were wont to post in the vicinity, to watch and report to the leaders of the insurgents whatever might be considered note-worthy,* had taken their position for the night †—the schooner, meanwhile, having also discharged her freight and passengers, Lieutenant Davis, accompanied by the rear-guard of the garrison, embarked in a small boat, and, a few minutes after, all were securely quartered within the towering walls of Fort Sumter. The Major earnestly congratulated the Lieutenant on the success with which he had brought his little party from the abandoned work, even in the teeth of the insurgents' guard-boats, and pleasantly bespoke his service, as Counsel, in case the President should disapprove the occupation of Fort Sumter and order a Court-martial to adjudicate the offense; and then, from the contents of the pocket-flask which Mrs. Foster's sister had given to the Lieutenant, on the preceding evening, the assembled officers sipped rather than drank to the success of the garrison in its newly-occupied quarters.‡

The sudden appearance, at Fort Sumter, of the garrison of the post, naturally excited the alarm

of the Engineer working-party, under Lieutenant Snyder, who were quartered within that work. They were civilians, employed by the officer in charge only for the purpose of completing the defences of the fort, and, very often, in entire sympathy with the South; * and the greater number shrunk from the inevitable conflict, the rapid approach of which was clearly indicated by the abrupt occupation of that work by the garrison of the post—the uneasiness of these workmen was so great, indeed, that all except about seventy of them immediately requested to be sent ashore. The Major, after hearing their request, promptly ordered all who had thus asked to leave the work, to embark, with their baggage, the same evening, on the schooner which had brought the women and children from Fort Moultrie; and, without any unnecessary delay, their request to be taken from the fort was complied with †—they were, however, kept on the schooner, without landing, until morning, when they returned to Fort Sumter.‡

During the evening, after the garrison had been thus transferred to Fort Sumter, Lieutenant Davis entertained a project to return to Fort Moultrie, for Mrs. Rippit, who had been left, as we have said, awaiting the officers' appearance, at quarters, for tea, and in blissful ignorance of the stirring events of the evening; and Major Anderson permitted the attempt, if volunteers for the service could be obtained. The volunteers were promptly forthcoming; and the Lieutenant, by skilful management, avoided the insurgents' guard-boats; astonished the old lady, by informing her of the transfer of the garrison; and safely transferred her, and her baskets and bundles, to her new mess-room, in Fort Sumter.§

The Surgeon, Doctor Crawford, who had remained behind, in Fort Moultrie, when the main body of the garrison crossed the channel, was the last officer to cross to "Fort Sumter that night;" and he appears to have made the passage in a private boat.||

Thus ended the labors of that eventful day. There had been intense anxiety, among some: on others, the exciting scenes of the drama had had no visible effect. The plans had been laid in secret: the movement had been enshrouded in secrecy: the evacuation of Fort Moultrie was

* Report of the Secretary of the Interior [of South Carolina] March 26, 1861.

† The proofs of this paragraph were read by Generals Davis and Foster and returned with their approval, as it stands; but General Crawford says of this particular portion of it, "These boats were not on guard at the time the crossing was effected. The *Nina* did not leave her wharf at Charleston until nine o'clock: the *Clinch* was engaged in towing a vessel to the Bar, when it passed quite near one of the boats containing some of the garrison. Captain Foster called to me to come on; and we sprang to a gun—a thirty-two pounder—that was loaded. Had the steamer interfered with the boat, we should have fired upon her. But it was seen that she was towing a vessel;" [and, therefore, she was not interfered with.] "I had a glass bearing upon her, and could see with great distinctness."—*MS. Memorandum attached to proof of this paragraph.* If Generals Doubleday and Seymour, to whom copies of this part of the paper have been sent, shall add any comments on this portion of our subject, they will be presented in a supplementary note, meanwhile, as each of the three distinguished officers had equal opportunities for knowing the truth of the subject, we must defer to the authority of the greater number.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis is our authority for this portion of our narrative.

For all that we have stated in this paragraph, except wherein we have cited special authorities for particular portions of it, we have the express authority of Generals Davis and Foster, who have read it in the proofs, and assured us of its entire accuracy. Although we have other authorities to support some portions of the paragraph, we have not considered it necessary, in view of this unquestionable evidence, to encumber our pages with references to them.

* General Doubleday to Henry B. Dawson, October 31, 1870.

† Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford are our authorities for this statement.

‡ General John G. Foster is our authority for this statement.

§ Our authority for this statement is General Davis, who personally commanded the party who thus went ashore for the old lady.

|| *MS. Memorandum, by General Samuel W. Crawford, April 24, 1872.*

yet unknown beyond the lines of that work and those of Fort Sumter: the occupation of the latter, by any garrison whatever, was yet, as far as the outside world was concerned, among the unrevealed things of Providence. Captain Foster and his party held formal possession of Fort Moultrie: the *Nina* and the *General Clinch*, not yet informed of the transfer of the garrison, kept guard, with their wonted vigilance, over an empty casket: the sentinels, conscious of the increased security of the main body of the garrison, walked their lonely rounds, with a firmer step, on Fort Sumter: and, very soon, those of the garrison who were not on duty and the little party who remained in Fort Moultrie—unless those of the working-party, in the latter, who were employed under Captain Foster's direction, in spiking the guns and in removing the stores to the two schooners which were moored at the wharf, in the rear of the work*—sought that welcome repose which the labors and the excitements of the day entitled them to enjoy. There had been no unnecessary display, no unnecessary excitement, no unnecessary noise. There had been no destruction of property,† no

casualty involving either life or limb—even old Mrs. Rippit was taken from the midst of her tea-cups and safely transported to her newly-appointed quarters, without exciting anybody but herself and without producing an undue ripple on the waters of the harbor or an undue emotion among those, insurgent or loyal, awake or asleep, who were in the vicinity.*

[TO BE CONTINUED IN THE MARCH NUMBER.]

"ments, and other munitions of war were removed; the "flag staff was cut down." Mr. Pollard, in his *First Year of the War*, I., 86, and in his *Southern History of the War*, I., 42, Messrs. Guernsey and Alden, in *Harper's Pictorial History*, I., 28, 29, Mr. Duyckinck, in his *War for the Union*, I., 89, Mrs. J. B. Frost, in her *Rebellion in the United States*, 82, Mr. Schmucker, in his *History of the Civil War*, Part I. page 78, Mr. Abbott, in his *History of the Civil War*, I., 59, and Mr. Victor, in his *History of the Southern Rebellion*, I., 126, also, state that the public property was either removed or destroyed, as far as it was removed or destroyed at all, before the Major and the garrison evacuated Fort Moultrie. Our readers will judge between them and us.

* Generals Davis and Foster are our authorities for all the statements contained in this paragraph, except those for which other authorities are given; and as those gentlemen have read them, in the proof-sheets, and pronounced them to be entirely accurate, we consider it unnecessary to occupy our pages with other authorities.

It may not be amiss, however, for the purpose of indicating the way in which history is written, in this intelligent age, to notice, in this place, the variety of dates which have been assigned to the evacuation of Fort Moultrie which we have thus endeavored to describe.

* General Foster has informed us that, during the night, the guns were spiked and, as far as it could be done, his working-party was employed in removing the public property to the schooners, by means of which, on the following day, that property was carried to Fort Sumter.

General Crawford states, as his belief, that the guns were spiked and the flag-staff cut down on the evening of the twenty-sixth, before he left Fort Moultrie and joined the garrison in Fort Sumter; but, as Generals Davis and Foster as firmly insist that, while the guns were really spiked by Captain Foster's party, during the night of the twenty-sixth, the flag-staff was not cut down until the next morning, when it was done in their presence, we can do no less than respect the weight of numbers and, without depreciating the great weight of General Crawford's testimony, based, as it is, on memoranda made at the time, await further testimony before preferring his unsustained statement, on this subject, to the concurrent testimony of his two associates, each of whom, with himself, was present when the event referred to occurred.

† Colonel Estvān, in his *War Pictures of the South*, page 2, says Major Anderson "burned all the Government stores, spiking the guns, and destroying everything he could." Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, I., 408, after describing, among the events of the evacuation, the "several trips" of his "two schooners" "during the night of the 26th" says, "when all that could be had been removed, the remaining gun-carriages, etc., were burnt, so as to prevent their use in any future attack upon Fort Sumter." Doctor Draper, in his *Civil War in America*, I., 543, says, "the evacuation of Moultrie commenced a little after sun-down; and, in the bright moon of that night, was quickly completed. The guns were spiked, the carriages burnt; the powder, cartridges, small-arms, clothing, provisions, accoutre-

Colonel Estvān, in his *War Pictures of the South*, Page 2, says Major Anderson evacuated Fort Moultrie "on the twentieth of December;" and Mr. Pollard, in his *First Year of the War*, Page 86, and in his *Southern History of the War*, Volume I., Page 42, also describes that event as occurring on "the same day" that South Carolina adopted her Ordinance of Secession—the twentieth of December. Mr. Abbott, in his *History of the Civil War in America*, Volume I., Page 59, says it was on the night of the twenty-fifth of December, in which error Mr. Faulkner (*History of the Revolution in the Southern States*, 10), Hon. E. G. Squier (*Frank Leslie's Pictorial History of the American Civil War*, I., xl.), and Messrs. Guernsey and Alden (*Harper's Pictorial History*, I., 28) agree with him. Mr. Victor, in his *History of the Southern Rebellion*, Volume I., Page 129, says it occurred on the twenty-seventh of December. Mr. J. T. Headley, in his *Great Rebellion*, Volume I., Page 41, says it occurred on the twenty-eighth of December. Lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, in his *History of the American War*, Volume I., Page 19, says it occurred on the twenty-ninth of December.

Most surprising of all, Mr. Buchanan, who was then President of the United States, says, in his *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, Page 180, "Major Anderson had, on Christmas night, secretly dismantled Fort Moultrie," etc !

Such is American History, so called, as that History was

XVI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

EARLY STEAMBOATING.—Mr. Richard F. Stevens, of Trenton, is owner of a copy of the old *Federal Gazette and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*, which contains many curious and interesting features, as well in its advertising as in its reading columns. Among others, an advertisement, which is of local interest to the people of this country, even at the present time, as a matter of history, and was doubtless of much importance at the time of its publication, is the following:

"THE
"STEAMBOAT,

"Sets out to-morrow morning at ten o'clock,
"from Arch-street ferry, in order to take passen-
"gers for Burlington, Bristol, Bordentown, and
"Trenton, and return next day.

"PHILADELPHIA, July 26, 1790."

This boat was built and owned by John Fitch, and was the first steamboat advertised; and the advertisement, therefore, marks an era in the method of travel between Trenton and Philadelphia and intermediate places, and shows at what time steamboat communication was established between the cities on the Delaware. The paper is dated "Monday, July 26th, 1790;" is in comparatively good state of preservation; quite legible; and was published by Andrew Brown, at Washington's Head, in Chestnut-street, near Front-street.

This notice becomes of more than ordinary local interest to this country, when it is known that John Fitch lived in Warminster township, near Davisville, where he built his first steamboat, which was floated on a mill-pond, then on a farm now owned by General John Davis, a few hundred yards over the line in Southampton.—*Doylestown Democrat*.

WHO OWNS THE BANJO?—The following incident will be remembered by the members of the Fifty-first Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, who served with the Regiment during the month of April, 1862. The Fifty-first, in company

written within less than six years after the events described and while nearly all who participated in these events were living, easily accessible, and perfectly willing to afford every facility which was necessary to ascertain and to tell the exact truth!

Who will not question the accuracy of *all* History, with such instances as this before him of its entire uncertainty?

with other Regiments of the Division, marched to attack the rebels at Camden. They were in advance on the march and in the attack, and were under the command of Colonel Edwin Schall. Amongst others who accompanied the column during the terrible forced-march of forty-two miles, was Quartermaster Freedley's negro servant, a stalwart fellow of the pure Congo breed, black as the ace of spades. Actuated by kindly motives, he offered to carry the drum for a weak and tired member of the band, and hoisted it on his shoulder. Unluckily, the Regiment stumbled, unawares, upon the rebels, in the dark, who at once opened upon them with shot and shell. The negro was awfully scared; and at once stamped over stumps and roots of fallen trees. But he was in a dilemma. He wished to get rid of the drum, and dare not throw it away. So, high above the din and confused noise of the fight, was heard the frantic cry of "Where's de man dat owns dis banjo? Where's de man dat owns dis banjo?" This became a standing joke with the boys of the Fifty-first for many a day.—*Norristown Herald*.

CURIOSITIES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.—

Among the curiosities of American literature may be named the singular history which pertains to two of the compositions of our respected fellow-citizen, Charles Sprague, Esq. In the year 1825, he pronounced the usual Oration before the City Authorities of Boston. It was a performance of uncommon ability, and met with an extensive sale, when published. Extracts from it have been copied into several school books, and are favorite pieces with juvenile declaimers. We have not the means of knowing how many times the entire Oration has been stolen and delivered upon the twenty-eight anniversaries of Independence which have occurred since its production. We have seen it published, as original, by orators in the States of Ohio and New York. In the former case, the only alteration made in the Oration was to change its allusions to the Old South Church to the altered circumstances of its delivery in the open air! The guilty party, in this transaction, was afterwards elected to Congress. Had these two orators been content with the praise received for the *delivery* of their oratorical efforts, they would doubtless have escaped exposure; but their vanity tempted them to the hazard of exposure incident to furnishing a copy for the press, at the earnest solicitations of personal friends.

Mr. Sprague's splendid Poem, entitled *Curiosity*, delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, of Harvard University, in 1829, was published, as original, by a British officer stationed in India. It was merely altered for the English market by the substitution of the names of Englishmen for

those of Americans. Thus "Bowditch" was altered to "Roscoe," and "Kemble" was substituted for Cooper.

We have before us a copy of a Sermon preached in this State, by a Presbyterian clergyman, of Republican politics, during the War of 1812, a large portion of which is copied, without alteration or credit, from the political writings of Thomas Paine. We venture to say, that so many pages of Tom Paine were never before uttered in an orthodox or any other Christian pulpit.

Sometime since, a clergyman of this city exchanged pulpits with a relative, settled in a neighboring city. In a few months, the Boston Minister repeated the sermon preached by his relative at the exchange of pulpit services; and it was never ascertained, we believe, which of the two was the real author!

A friend of ours, a clergyman, settled in New York, upon a late visit to England went to hear a famous clergyman of London preach, and was gratified when he ascertained that the pastor would certainly officiate on the occasion. But when the discourse was commenced, he was utterly confounded to hear the celebrated Minister deliver a Sermon with which he was quite familiar. The London divine preached a Sermon written by the Rev. C. A. Bartol, of this city, and included in one of the volumes of his Sermons, published by Crosby, Nichols, & Co. In common with our travelling friend, we admire the taste and discrimination evinced by the English clergyman, in selecting a discourse from that admirable volume.

There are many curiosities in the periodical literature of America, to which we may hereafter refer.—*Boston Weekly Transcript*, April 22, 1854.

A HISTORICAL CURIOSITY.—From Zeisberger's revised liturgy we quote the Lord's Prayer in Delaware, the aboriginal Pennsylvania dialect:

"Ki Wetochemellenk Awossaganewank! machelendasutch Ktellewesowoagan. Ksakimawoagan pejewiketsch. Ktelitewoagan leketch talli Achquidhakamike, elgiqui leek talli Awossogame, Milineen juke Gischquik gunigischuk Achpoan. Woak miwelendamauwineen Ntschannauchsowoagannena elgiqui nilana miwelendamauwenk nik Tschetschanilawequengik. Woak katschi npawuneen li Achquetschiiechtowaganink; schukund ktennineen untchi Medhikink. Alod knihillatamen kskakimawoagan woak ktallewupowoagan woak ktallowi illpowoagan li hallamamik. Amen."—*Doylestown Democrat*.

AN OLD HOUSE.—There is a substantial dwelling-house, (log), near Rutherfordton, which was

of respectable middle age when George Washington's rebellion first began. It is in a fair condition, and is still occupied as a dwelling-house. It has a single brick chimney in the centre, with eight fire-places in it. This house was the headquarters of Pat Ferguson, when he camped at Gilbert-town, just before his disastrous defeat at King's Mountain, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1780. One of Ferguson's officers was assassinated in it; and the stains of his blood still disfigure the floor.—*Vindicator*.

A LONG-LIVED FAMILY.—Dolly Morse, who recently died at West Woodstock, Connecticut, in the eighty-seventh year of her age, left one sister, in her eighty-fifth, and two brothers, one in his eighty-first, and the other in his ninetieth year—all cousins of Professor Morse and of the founders of the New York *Observer*. The grandfather of these seven cousins died in his ninety-fourth year; their grandfather's brother in the ninety-third, one of his sisters in the eighty-eighth, another in her seventy-eighth, his oldest son in the eighty-fifth, and his mother in the ninety-ninth year of their respective ages. The descendants of the great-grandmother, at the time of her death, numbered three hundred and nineteen, of whom thirty-one were of the fifth generation; and one or more of each of the last four generations resided under the same roof with the old lady when she died. If the great-grandmother, who was born in 1701, had at the time of her birth any living ancestor over eighty-one years old, three lives, viz., the lives of this ancestor, of the great-grandmother, and of any one of her surviving great-grandchildren, would cover the whole period of American history from the landing on Plymouth Rock to the present hour.

VII.—NOTES.

PAPER MAKING IN MASSACHUSETTS.—I copy the following advertisement from Ames's Almanack for 1764:

"Advertisement,

"Some Years ago the Art of Paper Making was set up in this Province, tho' for want of Persons that understood the Business, it failed; but lately one Mr. Clark has carried it on at the Mills in *Milton* to as great satisfaction as at *Pennsylvania*: And all the Discouragement the Manufacture at present meets with, is the want of RAGS. If the Heads of Families would therefore order their Children and Servants to collect and save the Rags that are often thrown away, they would not only receive a valuable consideration therefor, but promote a

"Manufacture, whereby the Exportation of some
"Thousands of Pounds a Year would be saved
"to this Province.

"Cash for RAGS of Linen, coarse & fine, old
"Sail Cloth, Cotton or Checks, will be given by
"Mr. Boice, near the South Battery in *Boston*, or
"at the Paper-Mills in *Milton*."

The compiler of this Almanac was Dr. Nathaniel Ames of Dedham, who died in 1765. He was the father of Hon. Fisher Ames. The Almanac was published at Boston.

Boston.

J. W. D.

NEGROES IN WAR.—I copy the following from *The Royal Gazette* (Rivington's) No. 288, New York, Saturday, July 3, 1779, and send it to the Magazine, as an item which will interest others besides myself.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

"BY HIS EXCELLENCY | Sir Henry Clinton,
"K.B. | General and Commander in Chief of all
"his | Majesty's Forces, within the Colonies lay-
"ing | on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova Scotia
"to | West-Florida, inclusive, &c. &c. &c. |
"PROCLAMATION | WHEREAS the Enemy
"have adopted | a practice of enrolling | NE-
"GROES | among their Troops; I do hereby
"give Notice, | That all NEGROES taken in
"Arms, | or upon any military Duty, shall be
"purchased | for a stated Price; | the Money to
"be paid to the | Captors. | But I do most
"strictly forbid any Person to sell | or claim
"Right over any NEGROE, the | Property of a
"Rebel, who may take Refuge | with any Part
"of this Army: And I do promise | to every |
"NEGROE | Who shall desert the Rebel Stand-
"ard, full Se- | curity to follow within these
"Lines, any Oc- | cupation which he shall think
"proper. |

"Given under my Hand at Head-Quarters, |
"PHILIPSBURG, the 30th Day of | JUNE :
"1779. |

"H. CLINTON

"By his Excellency's Command,
"JOHN SMITH, Secretary "

XVIII.—QUERIES.

WASHINGTON'S ORDER.—Where and in what year was the following issued? It is copied from the original manuscript, written by Washington himself:

"Nov^r 17th
"ALEXANDRIA } Parole
"BEDFORD }
"COLOMBESTER } C. S; "

Boston.

J. W. T.

CLENDENIN'S LANE.—Can any of the readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me just where this old road commenced, its course, and where it terminated? If any can give the history of this road—the date when laid out, by whom, after whom named, and when closed—it will be most acceptable?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

MILES STANDISH.—This celebrated Indian fighter was a member of an old Catholic family in England; and I should like to know whether he ever became a member of the Church in Massachusetts?

NEW JERSEY.

J. G. S.

CONTOIT'S GARDEN.—Where was this place of old New York's resort? By whom was it established, and when? Where, if anywhere, is there a picture of it? Can it be described? When was it closed?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE PURITAN BIBLE.—A speaker at the Standish celebration, alluded, in terms of eulogy, to the Puritan Bible. This was, of course, the Geneva Bible, not that issued under King James and allowed to be read in churches. The question is, *when* did the people of New England abandon the Bible of their Fathers, and take up that of the Malignants?

The question is worth debating, for I find, running through the paper, parallel passages between Shakespeare and King James's Bible, which first appeared in a Boston publication. Shakespeare died in 1615, I think; and King James's Bible did not appear till 1611. If there is a similarity, did Shakespeare copy from King James's translators or they from him?

NEW JERSEY.

J. G. S.

JAMES ATHEARN JONES.—I wish to ascertain the dates of birth and death of this writer. One authority says that he was born at Tisbury, Mass., in October, 1791, and died in New York City, in July, 1855. Another authority, which I think more reliable, states that was born at Tisbury, on the fourth of June, 1790; and died at Brooklyn, N. Y., in August, 1853. His novel, *Haverhill, or Memoirs of an Officer in the Army of Wolfe*, published in England, in 1831, was republished by the Harpers, the same year.

I wish also to ascertain the place and date of publication of his *Tales of an Indian Camp*, which were published in this country and reprinted, in 1830, at London, under the title of *Traditions of the North American Indians*.

Boston, Mass.

J. W. D.

COLONIAL TEA-POTS.—In Mr. Gillet's *Federal Government*, page 16, he says "In the disguise of Indians, the colonists threw overboard into the sea a ship-load of tea in New-Jersey, and several in Boston-harbor." Was this really so?

I have heard of tea-parties in other places than Boston; but New Jersey has never been considered as one of them. A portion of one or two cargoes of tea was thrown over at Boston; but I never heard, before, of the soaking of "several ship-loads of tea," in Massachusetts-bay. Please tell us more about it.

YORKVILLE, S. C.

NATHAN DANE AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.—In the Appendix to the *History of the Constitution*, Mr. G. T. Curtis quotes a passage from Nathan Dane's letter to Rufus King, then recently published by the son of the latter, Mr. Charles King. Mr. Curtis does not say where that letter was thus published. Can you give me the place and date?

BOSTON, MASS.

J. W. T.

AMERICAN DUELS.—It is insisted, by one of my friends, that there had been duels, at Weehawken, by members and relatives of General Hamilton's family, before the fatal duel between himself and Colonel Burr. Will the Magazine please throw some light on this interesting subject?

BROOKVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

SACRAMENTAL TOKENS.—In some of the churches of the olden time, in the United States, communicants are said to have been admitted by metallic Tokens. Can any of your readers inform me of the character of these coins, their inscriptions, by whom issued and to whom, and if they are now in use, and where?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

R. I. B.

THE REGICIDES.—Professor F. B. Dexter, a few months since, read a paper on the regicides, the lives of Whalley and Goffe, before the New Haven Historical Society. The following is a single extract:

"In 1676. Goffe removed to Hartford, where he was living in July, 1670. There is no clew to him after this time. His diary, or letter-book, which, before this, had furnished a tolerably connected account, here breaks off, abruptly, it is natural to suppose by his death, which probably occurred about this time. Whalley died in Hadley, between August, 1674, and September, 1676. There is a stone on the New Haven Green, marked 'E. W. 165(8) or (8).'

"Edward Wigglesworth died in New Haven, in 1658. Dr. Stiles found a stone on the Green, marked 'M. G.' This he changed to 'W. G.' [William Goffe] and says, 'I have not found the least surmise of Goffe's being buried here, until I myself conjectured it, inferring, if Whalley was removed here, after death, Goffe would have been also.' It is a pretty sentiment of Dr. Stiles, to collect the remains of the three friends and regicides, Goffe, Whalley, and Dixwell, in New Haven, but it is dispelled. There is no proof that Whalley's remains were ever brought here."

Pray tell me what has been said, or may be said, in reply to this grave impeachment of our old-time ideas on this subject? Are we to have doubts cast on all our history? By-and-by, I suppose, Noah's flood will become the subject of doubts and dispute.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

ORTHODOX.

XIX.—REPLIES.

JOHN PECK, AUTHOR OF A DESCANT ON UNIVERSALISM, [*H. M., 1st Series, vii., 262*].—The *Peck Genealogy*, by Ira B. Peck, of Woonsocket, R.I., published in 1868, gives some particulars relative to this individual. He was the son of Henry Peck of Rehoboth, Mass., and was born in that town, on the fourth of February, 1734-5. He left Rehoboth and settled in Royalston, Mass., about 1775, and thence removed, in 1806, to Montpelier, Vt., where he died on the fourth of March, 1812. He was a farmer; and, while he resided at Royalston, was one of the town-officers, for many years. He was also a School-teacher. His son, General John Peck of Waterbury, Vt., was the father of the late Hon. Lucius B. Peck, of Montpelier, a Member of Congress from Vermont.

BOSTON.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

LYMAN HALL'S HEADSTONE.—[*H. M. II, ix, 123.*] Mr. D' Antignac's letter to the Governor of Connecticut, tendering this grave-stone to the State, was communicated to the Legislature in the May Session, 1857, and; on the Report of a Select Committee, to whom its consideration was referred, it was

"RESOLVED, That said tomb-stone be, and the same is hereby accepted, and His Excellency, the Governor, the Hon. William L. Storrs, and the State Librarian be, and they are hereby appointed, a Committee, to receive said tomb-stone, and to place the same in the Cemetery in the town of Wallingford," [*Mr. Hall's birth-place*] "with such additional inscription thereon as the Committee may deem proper;" and provision was made for the payment of ex-

penses thereby incurred, by an order on the Treasury of the State.

The stone was placed in the Wallingford Cemetery, on the fourth of July, 1857, with appropriate ceremonies. It rests, as a horizontal tablet, on a base of brown sand-stone, which bears the addition inscription. In 1858, by order of the Legislature, it was enclosed with a handsome iron railing.

The Resolves of the General Assembly are printed in the *Private Acts of the May Sessions, 1857* (p. 213), and *1858* (p. 95).

HARTFORD, CONN. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON.—A communication by "T. W." in a recent number of the *Commercial Advertiser*, under the head of *Seventy-one years ago*, contains several erroneous statements in conflict with the truths of history; and, as Mr. Weed has invited corrections of his reminiscences, I will here point out two of these errors.

Mr. W. says, that the memorable words applied to Washington—"first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"—originated with Chief-justice Marshall; and that "the officers of the Government and Members of Congress," repaired to Mount Vernon on the day of Washington's funeral.

Now the facts disclosed by our biographies, histories, Journals of Congress, and newspapers of the day, are all in conflict with each of these two statements. Washington died on the night of the fourteenth of December, 1799, and was buried on the eighteenth. Congress was then in session, in Philadelphia, for the seat of government had not yet been changed. On the eighteenth of December, Colonel Marshall, then a leading member of the House of Representatives, solemnly announced to the House, a "report" of Washington's death, which had been "communicated by a passenger in the stage to an acquaintance whom he met in the street." He stated that the information was not certain, but there was too much reason to believe it true; and he added, that "after receiving intelligence of a national calamity so heavy and afflicting, the House of Representatives can be but ill-fitted for business." He therefore moved an adjournment; and the two Houses adjourned to the next day.

General Henry Lee, also a prominent member of the House, was not in his place at the adjournment: but, learning the rumor of Washington's death, repaired to his lodgings, and, in ignorance of what had taken place in the House, drew up the Resolutions, one of which was the first to give publicity to the memorable words before referred to. These Resolutions General Lee handed to Colonel Marshall, as the most

proper person to present them, under the circumstance that Marshall was entitled to the floor, the next morning, and had prepared an address for the occasion. Accordingly, Mr. Marshall did introduce Mr. Lee's Resolutions at the close of his eulogium.

In his *Life of Washington*, Marshall expressly states that General Lee was the author of these Resolutions; and, in a letter written by him on the twenty-ninth of March, 1832, and published in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, he gives most of the above details in regard to their authorship.

From the above facts, it is equally clear that the other statement of Mr. Weed, that "the officers of the Government and Members of Congress repaired to Mount Vernon, on the day of the funeral," is also erroneous. Washington was not only dead but buried before the "report" of his death reached Philadelphia; and it was not until the day after the funeral—the nineteenth of December—that President Adams called the attention of Congress to the subject. All the action of Congress for doing honor to the memory of the illustrious dead, took place after he was buried—on the nineteenth, twenty-third, and thirtieth of December.

I submit that Mr. Weed's statement, imputing the authorship of the celebrated sentiment to Chief-justice Marshall, was only his *inference* from the fact that Marshall introduced the Resolutions containing it; and his other statement was only an *inference* from the probability that Congress and the officers of the Government did attend the funeral, he forgetting that the seat of Government had not then been changed to the vicinity of Mount Vernon.

MANLIUS, N. Y.

H. C. VAN SCHAIK.

GENERAL RIAL AND THE BATTLE OF NIAGARA.—[*H. M. II., viii., 54.*]—About fifty years ago, I spent a fortnight, in that vicinity, and heard from many persons, who were personally concerned in that fight, interesting particulars relating to it. Among other anecdotes was the following: Rial was an inveterate punster, an Irishman, I believe. When, as was supposed, mortally wounded, and his death was regarded as certain, and he was suffering great agonies, and covered with blood, on finding his quarters, to which he had been removed from the field, in the hands of the Americans, he was told that he was a prisoner. Lifting himself from the litter, and addressing the officer who had captured him, he enquired his name: the answer was "Ketchum." Not being able to resist the temptation to a joke, he replied, "Well, you have caught him."

SALEM, MASS.

CHARLES W. UPHAM.

WOODBIDGE.—[*H. M.*, II., ii., 119.]—The Mr. Woodbridge who married Deborah Totton [*Tarleton*] in 1686, was Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, second son of Rev. John and Mrs. Mercy (Dudley) Woodbridge. Notices of him will be found in Brooks's *History of Medford*, 208–8, and in my *Memoir of Rev. Nathaniel Ward*, 192. Deborah Tarlton was the widow of Henry Tarlton, and daughter of Daniel Cushing, of Hingham. Rev. Mr. Woodbridge's first wife, Mary, daughter of Rev. John Ward, of Haverhill, Mass., died at Bristol, then in Plymouth Colony, now in Rhode Island, on the eleventh of October, 1685, aged thirty-six.—See *New England Historic and Genealogical Register*, xix., 475.
BOSTON, MASS. JOHN WARD DEAN.

XX.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCHENCK & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*A Biographical history of Clermont, or Livingston Manor, before and during the War of Independence, with a sketch of the first navigation of Fulton and Livingston.* By Thomas Streatfield Clarkson. Published for, and in the Hands only, of Subscribers. Clermont, N. Y.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 319.

We are indebted to our honored friend, its author, for a copy of this volume, which is, mainly, we believe, intended for the use of the distinguished family of which it is a history and of which he is a member.

Mr. Clarkson opens his history with a sketch of the Livingstons in Scotland; and he then presents the family, in its American relations, and the leading members of the latter branch of it and their several places of residence—Judge Robert R. Livingston and the old Manor-house, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston and Clermont, Henry B. Livingston, John R. Livingston, Edward Livingston, Janet Montgomery and Montgomery-place, Philip Livingston, Governor William Livingston, Margaret Tillotson, Catharine Garretson and Wildercliff, Gertrude Lewis, Joanna Livingston, Alida Armstrong, Sarah Alexander (Lady Stirling,) etc., forming, successively, the subjects of his narrative.

The printed authorities to which Mr. Clarkson refers are quite limited, both in number and character—one of the evils attending those who are distant from large libraries—and the necessary result of that serious disadvantage is

evident in his occasional inaccuracies of statement in matters of general history; but the unpublished material which he has so liberally employed, notwithstanding this defect, gives value to the volume, both as history and as biography, and makes it absolutely indispensable to every one who would know of the Livingstons, or their doings, or their associations, from the first settler to the present time.

The typography is neither handsome nor accurate, we regret to say; but the photographic illustrations are exceedingly interesting and very appropriate.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

2.—*Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1870. Publication Fund Series.* New York: Printed for the Society. 1871. Octavo, pp. xvi, 488.

Like other distinguished bodies, the New York Historical Society moves slowly in its capacity as publisher; and this volume, which was due a year since, has been presented to its subscribers only within a few weeks.

The first chapter of the collection is an unpublished paper on the territorial rights of New York, in what is now Vermont as well as on its northern and its western borders; the second, extending over two hundred and thirty-seven pages, is a series of extracts from the local newspapers concerning Trinity-church, New York; and the third includes the celebrated Sermon, preached by Francis Makemie, which, in 1706–7, inaugurated Presbyterianism in New York.

Of the first of these contributions to American history, we cannot speak too highly; and we rather incline to the belief that our venerable assailant, Governor Hall, will now have another opportunity to "vindicate" his fictions and to find fault with those who do not accept them as history. Of the second of these contributions—that relative to Trinity-church—we have to remark that it is not that class of works which the Publication Fund was designed to put into circulation, as a reference to the published terms of the subscription thereto will clearly indicate; and we do not concur with the Committee in its evident willingness to reduce the grade of the Society's volumes to the level of Valentine's *Corporation Manual* for which just such material as we find in this chapter was generally furnished to the venerable "compiler" of that costly series of volumes, at a dollar per printed page. Of the third chapter—Makemie's Sermon—the interest and importance which attach to it, as the first sermon preached by a Presbyterian in New York and for which he was duly, we will not say improperly, arrested as a violator of the public law of the Colony, will be perfectly evident.

The typography of the volume is very superior

in its character; and, with the exception of the second chapter, it is a very welcome addition to our supply of authoritative material for history.

3.—*History of Springfield, Illinois, Its Attractions as a Home and Advantages for Business, Manufacturing, etc.* Published under the auspices of the Springfield Board of Trade, by J. C. Power. Springfield: *Illinois State Journal* Print. 1871. Octavo, pp. 106.

An admirable history and description of a western town, commencing with the advent of the Jesuit Missionaries, Marquette, Joliet, etc., and ending with the record of the present day.

As may be reasonably expected, in such a work, the author has not always been strictly accurate, in all his statements concerning the early men and matters at Springfield; but, quite as evidently, he knows all about the Springfield-men of to-day, the advantages which Springfield offers to business-men and capitalists, and the desire he had to put Springfield's best foot foremost. As a necessary result, we have a very clear exhibit of the Springfield of our time; and in that description there seems to have been no omission. Every man and every institution is presented in detail; and all that Springfield is capable of producing, either in business or in renown, is faithfully portrayed.

4.—*Historical Address, delivered before the Old Settlers Society of Racine County, Wisconsin*, by Charles E. Dyer. Also, Constitution, By-Laws, and List of Members. Racine: A. C. Sandford. 1871.

Official Record of the Old Settlers Society of Racine County, Wisconsin. With the Historical Address of Charles E. Dyer, delivered at Burlington, Wis., February, 22, 1871. Racine: A. C. Sandford. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 84.

This double title-page—one on the cover, the other on the first page, of the book—will indicate, very clearly, just what this work contains. It is, first, the record of this newly-formed Society, from its inception until February, 1871; and, second, an admirable historical Address, by Mr. Dyer—the latter a most important narrative of the origin and progress of, respectively, Racine, Mount Pleasant, Caledonia, Burlington, Rochester, Watford, Raymond, Yorkville, Dover, and Norway, in Racine-county.

Mr. Dyer, in this Address, has strictly confined himself to the local history of the several towns: and he has carefully presented all the details of that history, personal and anecdotal, which make local history at once so life-like and interesting. Individual life and adventure, of course, hold principal places in the graphic record; and Racine, a century hence, will bless the day when the old settlers conceived the idea of thus per-

petuating the rapidly declining knowledge of their early struggles, in their border homes.

The pamphlet is a very neat one.

5.—*Wilde's Summer Rose; or the Lament of the Captive.* An authentic account of the origin, mystery, and explanation of Hon. R. H. Wilde's alleged plagiarism; by Anthony Barclay, Esq., and, with his permission, published by the Georgia Historical Society. Savannah: 1871. Small quarto, pp. 10.

One of the most curious of the curiosities of American literature is the charge, made many years ago, against Hon. R. H. Wilde, of Georgia, of plagiarism, in having stolen his well-known poem, *The Lament of the Captive*, from the Greek poet Alcæus; and the volume before us is devoted to the statement of the facts which led to the presentation of that charge.

It seems that Anthony Barclay, Esq., formerly the British Consul in New York, as a joke, translated Mr Wilde's beautiful verses into Greek and that Greek version into Latin; that he secretly conveyed those translations, without discovering himself or the origin of the translations, to a clergyman, in Savannah; that the clergyman took the bait, and innocently circulated the two new versions among the learned in the vicinity of Savannah; and that, without permission, they were communicated to the press, by whom a charge of plagiarism, against Mr. Wilde, was immediately raised, very much to his own discomfort and Mr. Barclay's mortification.

The story of this practical joke has been fully and pleasantly told by Mr. Barclay, himself; and the Georgia Historical Society has printed it, in the elegant little volume which is before us, a volume which, for beauty of typography, is highly creditable to the Society and the printers in Savannah.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

6.—*An Oration, delivered at Lexington on the Dedication of the Town and Memorial Hall, April 19, 1871, being the 96th Anniversary of the Battle of Lexington.* By Dr. George B. Loring. With the proceedings and a historical Appendix. Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son. 1871. Octavo, pp. 76.

The town of Lexington having determined to build a new hall which should embrace, at once, a Town-hall, a memorial of the fallen soldiers from the town, and a library-hall, that building was dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies, on the sixteenth of last April; and the beautiful volume before us records that interesting event.

The oration, which is the leading feature of this work, is wholly local in its character, commencing with the fight at Lexington, in 1775, and tracing to that event and to the village-green on

which it occurred, pretty much everything which is manly, and generous, and just, and noble, in this part of the world. It is wholly rhetorical in its character; and as the learned author evidently cared as little for history as history will care for him, we see no reason for wasting our space in either discussing his emptiness or describing it.

The narrative of the proceedings at the dedication is really interesting; and, as the record of an important local event, it merits the attention which has been paid to it.

As an elegant specimen of printing, this tract is highly creditable to our excellent friends, Messrs. Marvin & Co. of Boston, to whose kind attention we are indebted for our copy of the work.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Zell's Popular Encyclopedia*, a Universal Dictionary of English Language, Science, Literature, and Art. By L. Colange, LL. D. In two volumes. Illustrated by over Twenty-five Hundred Wood-cuts. Vol. II. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell. 1871. Quarto, pp. title and verso, 112.

A few months since, we noticed, at some length, the first volume of this very excellent work; and we have pleasure, now it is complete, in returning to the same subject.

The title-page of the work hardly does justice to it; and the reader must learn from an examination of the work itself, just what it is,—at once, a dictionary of language, a dictionary of history, an encyclopedia of science, a dictionary of the arts, a biographical dictionary. In American geography, especially, it is an excellent gazetteer; and in American biography, it embraces memoirs of the living as well as those of the dead.

We have been accustomed to the use of books of this class, from our childhood—a copy of Barclay's *Dictionary*, in our father's little collection, was the storehouse to which we resorted for our information, in our earliest boyhood—and we are free to say that we have seen no one, within the same space, which is as complete and, therefore, as generally useful as this. Its accuracy, as far as we have tested it, is remarkable; and the illustrative wood-cuts add, very greatly, to its usefulness as a work of reference.

Typographically considered, it is a model of neatness.

2.—*History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great*. By John S. C. Abbott. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Large octavo, pp. 584.

We have seldom taken up a book which we have less willingly laid down, than this; and we

have seldom been as much interested in any work which was not devoted to our own *specialties*.

It is devoted to a most graphic narrative of the life and military services of the great Frederic of Prussia; and, in view of Prussia's recent exploits, in arms, it possesses a more than ordinary interest to the general reader. It is, besides, a most beautiful volume, in its typography, embellishments, and binding; and it is well calculated, therefore, to serve the double purpose of ornament and entertainment.

3.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students*. By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated from the German, revised, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, D.D., in connection with American scholars of various evangelical denominations. Vol. III. of the New Testament: containing the Gospel of John. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

The Gospel according to John. By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated from the German, revised, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Large octavo, pp. 654. Price \$5.

The exact character of this Commentary has been so often and so minutely described that it seems to be unnecessary to say more of it, now, than that it is, by far, the most elaborate, in its details, of the various expositions of the Scriptures with which we are acquainted. Indeed, it sometimes seems that the Author and Editors have aimed to make their volumes as complicated as possible, and to hide the subjects of which they treat, under the varied mass of learning of all kinds which they heap on them, rather than to expose those subjects and to make their authors' meaning more apparent. Be this as it may, the work is, certainly, an arsenal of biblical literature, from which the "soldiers of the Cross" may draw such weapons as shall best suit their present purposes, without sensibly diminishing the supply which they may leave for the next comers.

In the volume before us, we have the Commentary on John's Gospel, edited by the venerable Editor himself; and it will, unquestionably, be welcomed by all who are accustomed to resort to this repository of modern biblical learning.

10.—*The Holy Bible according to the authorized version (A.D. 1611), with an explanatory and critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church*. Edited by F. C. Cook, A.M., Canon of Exeter. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. [Vol. I. Part I.] xii., 1—492; [Vol. I. Part II.] 493—928. Price \$5.

This is the first volume of what is known, in England, as "The Speaker's Commentary;"

and, as it is intended less for the Scholar than for the general reader, it is exactly opposite in its character from the elaborate exposition of Lange, to which we have just referred.

Without those painfully profound essays which only few can follow and not as many care for, this Commentary presents, in simple words and brief sentences, the results of modern biblical investigation; and it will be vastly more welcome, on that account, to the great body of readers who care less for the possibilities of the case than for the well-established and evident facts respecting it.

As a pattern of extreme neatness, we may say, also, of beauty, of typography, and of judicious illustration, also, this work is worthy of all praise.

11.—*Systematic Theology*. By Charles Hodge, D.D. Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo' pp. xiii., 648.

If theology may be termed, in any of its relations, a mere Science, this volume, surely, is as much the first of a purely scientific work as it would be were it a volume of Astronomy or Chemistry. And yet, strange as it may appear to some old-fashioned church-goers, all these premises are strictly true. There is science in theology, as well as facts; and there is, and always will be, a stern necessity to take the recognized facts, as revealed in the Scriptures or exhibited in the experience, and to arrange them, systematically, and ascertain their relative value and importance. All this may be considered a cold, worldly operation—an operation, too, which needs neither vital godliness nor even an open profession of faith, to ensure its reasonable success—but it is absolutely essential, in order to vindicate the truth from objections, to expose falsehood, and to convince the unwilling consciences of cavilling men.

The volume before us is just one of those cold, dispassionate, scientific treatises, having Theology for its subject, which thinking men delight to ponder over and impulsive men shrink from. It is as rigid as it very well can be; and no surgeon ever handled a scalpel with a steadier hand, or clearer head, or less excited mind, than Professor Hodge, in this volume, has handled the several subjects which have, therein, successively come before him.

We shall await the appearance of the succeeding volumes before examining, in detail, the peculiarities of Professor Hodge's system; meanwhile, we can say that, as far as we have yet examined it, the present work will more completely fill the measure of what we conceive to be necessary in such a work than any modern work of this class has done: we have yet to learn, however, that, with the exception of here

and there a difference, it will supercede, in our estimate of merit and usefulness, the good old *Body of Divinity* by John Gill.

The volume is an exceedingly handsome one, from the Riverside Press.

12.—*Chronicle of a Border Town*. History of Rye Westchester County New York 1660—1870 Including Harrison and the White Plains till 1788 By Charles W Baird Illustrated by Abram Hosier New York Anson D F Randolph and Company 1871 Octavo, pp. xvii., 570.

In the Autumn of 1865, the excellent Pastor of the Presbyterian-church at Rye, delivered a historical discourse commemorative of the bi-centennial anniversary of the settlement of the town; and his hearers, very handsomely, requested the manuscript of the discourse for the purpose of publishing it. In order to make the paper more worthy of himself and of those who had thus sought to lay it before the world, Mr. Baird added to the labors which necessarily belong to his office those which, quite as necessarily, devolve on all who honestly take up a particular subject, no matter what, for the purpose of faithfully ascertaining all that may be known and of telling fairly what he shall thus learn concerning it. This portly volume, crammed with information of men and doings in the border-town of this County, is the result of that commendable determination of this modest country Pastor; and when it shall be remembered that he has steadily prosecuted his design during at least six years, leaving little unoccupied "leisure," during that long period, and hoping for nothing else than to discharge his authorial duty properly, the measure of the author's merit may be readily ascertained.

As it should, the narrative begins in the wilderness; traces the original purchases of the territory from the aborigines and their settlement by the whites; presents, in graphic detail, the settlers' hardships, the beginnings of a village, the differences of unsocial neighbors, the threatenings of distant enemies, and the construction and maintenance of rustic defences; and, with affectionate regard, records the municipal doings of the town, concerning town-officers, records, admission of freemen, licenses, grants of land, pasturing of sheep, lawsuits, the village stocks and whipping-post, and other such matters. The mails, newspapers, modes of travel, the proprietors of the lands, the attempt of Connecticut to seize Rye and that of Rye to be thus seized, Harrison's purchase, the boundary-dispute between New York and Connecticut, the manners and customs of "the olden times," prices of labor and commodities, the train-band, the identification of old names and old places, "the Old Boston Road," the Village Inn, the

White Plains, the occupation of the inhabitants, the town-poor, the old lawyers and doctors, the schools of the town, slavery, the remnants of the aboriginal tribes, the town burying-places, the taxes and imposts to which the Rye folks have been subjected, a description of the town in 1770-1771, the Revolutionary history of the town, its post-revolutionary history, the village of Saw-pit (now Port-chester) the various churches of Rye, the recent town-history, successively occupy the most careful attention of this diligent annalist; and he closes his narrative with sketches of the various families who have made Rye their home, from 1600 until 1800—an Appendix, containing a Record of Streets, the four Patents of the town, a complete Roster of the Town-officers, and three Indices, respectively, of Dates, Persons, and incidents, completes the work.

With this glance at its leading subjects, our readers will understand how complete this volume is, in the range of its description of Rye and her inhabitants; and as we were privileged to become acquainted with Mr. Baird, while he was at work, and to witness the manner of his doing it, we can testify to his stern fidelity, as a working historian, as well as to the skilful use he has made of the materials which he has thus so earnestly sought and so carefully secured. He has given to us one of the very best of our local histories—one of which Westchester-county and Rye may be proud:—we can say no more.

As a specimen of typography, this volume presents one of the neatest of the productions of the Riverside Press.

13.—*History of the State of New York.* By John Rö-
bert Brodhead. Second Volume. First Edition, New
York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo. pp. xv., 680.

The history of New York requires no ornament of style in order to make it attractive; and there is no need of rhetoric to divert the reader's attention from the naked subject of the narrative. Her people were not of that class whose real purposes, in order to secure the good opinion of honest republicans, required concealment: and there is no necessity, therefore, for any screen of fine words or meaningless paragraphs, in order to mask its action and make that appear commendable which was not, in fact, even respectable. There was no necessity, therefore, for her historian to fill his pages with useless words; and a sturdy people happily finds, in Mr. Brodhead, an equally resolute and plainspoken historian.

It has been our privilege to witness the unwearied care which has been bestowed on this important work; and we know how patiently the learned author has searched for the truth, while writing it, and how faithfully he has

represented it, in the narrative which is before us. We know, too, how honestly he has presented, at the foot of his pages, the authorities on which he has relied; and the carefully-considered judgments, on disputed questions of Colonial history, which the author has pronounced, are marked with a rigid impartiality and an earnest respect for the testimony.

The period of time to which this volume relates extends from 1664 to the execution of Liesler, in May, 1691; and it embraces the surrenders of the Colony, by and to the Dutch, in 1664 and 1673; the restoration of it to Great Britain, in 1674; the administration of its affairs by Nicolls, Lovelace, Colve, Andros, Brockholla, Dongan, Andros, Nicholson, and Leisler; and the great events to which those in authority as well as the great body of the Colonists were, during that period, active parties. The succeeding volumes of the series, "should the public manifest a desire to learn more of early "New York," as the author says, will carry the subject "down to the inauguration of Washington."

Every student of American history, the world over, will anxiously look for the continuation of this really great work; and we earnestly pray that the broken health of the learned author may be restored, and that he may long live to enjoy the honor which his perfected work will surely secure for him.

Typographically considered, this volume is a very neat one; and the ample index at its close adds vastly to its usefulness among busy men.

14.—*Insects at home.* Being a popular account of Insects, their Structure, Habits, and Transformations. By the Rev. J. G. Wood, M.A., F.L.S., etc. With upwards of 700 figures by E. A. Smith and J. B. Zwecker, engraved by G. Pearson. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. xx., 670. Price \$5.

This is one of those works which combine the useful with the ornamental; which impart instruction while they also gratify the eye. It is a scientific work; and yet it is designed for the use of those who are not, properly considered, entomologists; and it avoids those startling and staggering technicalities which repel so many from the paths of science.

It treats, most elaborately, of the *habits* of insects, although it does not entirely abstain from noticing their *structure*; and the abundant and well-executed engravings add to the usefulness of the work, while they also add to its attractions.

It is from the Riverside Press; and it is quite a handsome specimen of typography.

15.—*Songs of the Heart*. Selected from many sources, with numerous illustrations from original designs, by T. Moran, R. S. Gifford, Miss Hallock, Miss Ledyard, Bolles, Hopkin, McEntee, Etc., Etc. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 18, 160. Price \$5.

This elegant volume forms the third of the series in which, with many improvements, the celebrated *Folk Songs* have been re-issued; and the beauty of the typography, the appropriate and well-executed illustrations, and the judicious selection of subjects combine to make it one of the most attractive gift-books, for any season, and from any giver.

16.—*The Poets of the Nineteenth Century*. Selected and Edited by the Rev. Robert Aris Willmott. With English and American additions, arranged by Evert A. Duyckinck. Illustrated with one hundred and forty-one engravings, drawn by eminent artists. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Octavo, pp. xvi., 674.

In this beautiful volume we find an admirable selection from the poetry which England has produced during the past one hundred years, made by one of England's most judicious critics, and illustrated by one of England's most skillful artists, together with nearly three hundred pages of additional matter, from English and American pens, arranged by one of New York's most capable sons, and illustrated by many of America's best artists. As if these attractions were insufficient, the excellent publishers have thrown their extensive typographical resources into the balance; and, the combination of the English and the American Editors, the English and the American artists, and the Messrs. Harpers, has produced a volume of rare excellence of matter and rare beauty of workmanship. It appeals to those who desire excellence of quality as well as typographical beauty; and those who shall resort to its well-filled pages will not be disappointed.

17.—*The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson*. Compiled from family letters and reminiscences, by his great-granddaughter, Sarah N. Randolph. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Octavo, pp. 482. Price \$2.50

Miss Randolph has not written, in this volume, of either a great man or a statesman, as such; but Mr. Jefferson, as he was, at home, in his family-circle, is lovingly portrayed, by a great-granddaughter, from the family traditions and his own writings, many of the latter hitherto unpublished. The advantage which her relationship to her distinguished subject has thus given to her, has been employed with admirable judgment; and her skill, as a writer of biography, is worthy of all praise—indeed, we do not remember a volume of biography which

has offered greater attractions of style, or of subjects, or of good taste and skill in authorship, to itself, than this—and we have laid the volume down with great unwillingness.

It is an addition to the supply of Jeffersonian literature—Randolph, Tucker, Washington, Randall, etc.—already on our shelves, which will be very welcome to all who shall desire to know of this distinguished man; and, at the same time, it will afford a most charming volume for those who read only for mere amusement.

Typographically, it is very handsome; and the wood-cuts add very much to its attractiveness.

18.—*Life and Letters of Catharine M. Sedgwick*. Edited by Mary E. Dewey. New York: Harper & Bros. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 446. Price \$2.

Miss Sedgwick's name and reputation are so widely known that it is not necessary for us to do more than state that the very neat volume before us contains a memoir of her life, as far as that life was presented in her own correspondence, which has evidently been placed at the disposal of the Editress by the family of the distinguished authoress.

We confess we are not satisfied with the work, as it has been presented. The letters and extracts are very well; but they need a broader band of connection than the Editress has given to them; and, consequently, they very often fail to tell as much of Miss Sedgwick as we desire to know, and quite as often they are almost unintelligible, because the key to their meaning is somewhere else than in the volume before us.

It is a very mistaken notion that the letters of a person are sufficient, in themselves, to tell all that is necessary of the life and services of that person. Every writer does not tell the whole story of his own life and labors, to his correspondents; and no writer fails to deal with others and other subjects more than with himself. It requires something else, therefore, than one's own letters to tell the story of one's own life, as it should be written, if written at all; and, in the case before us, there remains just as much room for a judicious memoir of Miss Sedgwick as there was before this volume was written. We do not intend to impeach the intention of the Editress: we only regret that her regard for her subject led her to attach an importance to the letters of Miss Sedgwick, considering them as biography instead of materials for biography, which the writer of them unquestionably never intended they should obtain.

The volume is neatly printed; its binding is a pattern of good taste.

THE

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JANUARY, 1872.

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For the opinion of the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, concerning this work, see pages 63 and 68 of this number, ante.

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THE
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AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

February, 1872.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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This Notice is intended to protect, especially, the First, Third, Sixth, and Eleventh articles, as numbered below, all of which are first published herein, by due authority.

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TO OUR READERS.

We have pleasure in being enabled to send out the second of our numbers of the current year, although out of time because of reasons which are not unknown to you.

The March number will be sent out at the very earliest possible moment consistent with due care in the preparation of its contents; and if we shall not again be sent back to our sick-room and if no other disaster, now unforeseen, shall overtake us, we shall be enabled to enjoy, very shortly, through the promised assistance of others,—what we have never yet enjoyed—the pleasure of being in line with our contemporaries.

The March number will not be less worthy of your notice than those of the current volume which have preceded it. Among other papers, hitherto unpublished, which will appear in it, will be a Report made by General Ben McCulloch of the Confederate States' Army, describing the military operations in Missouri, from the Battle of Carthage, July 5, 1861, to the retreat of General Hunter, from South-western Missouri, in November of that year. This important paper was communicated, for publication, by General FRANZ SIGEL.

The Story of Fort Sumter, commenced in the January number, will be continued in that for March; and as that portion of this important narrative has been written from unpublished material communicated for this purpose by Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, Truman Seymour, Abner Doubleday, and Samuel W. Crawford—the only survivors of the officers of the garrison—as well as by Larz Anderson, Esq.—the Major's brother—and by other gentlemen who were personally conversant of the occurrences described, our readers will not only be enabled to read a new version of that Chapter of our country's history, but to judge of the merits of the defence of the Fort and of those who had a hand in it, from new and undoubted testimony.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

FEBRUARY, 1872.

[No. 2.

—THE MORRISTOWN GHOST.—CON-
CLUDED.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WA-
BASH UNIVERSITY, INDIANA.

Colonel H.—— was elected the Treasurer of the association; and this eventually proved a costly business to him. All the members agreed to pay the specified sum of twelve pounds, in silver or gold, as soon as possible; but Rogers, seeing that some of them could not obtain to large a sum, allowed such to pay six pounds, and such as could not pay six to pay four pounds. The poverty of the County, at that period, is seen in the fact that these men, many of them in good circumstances, found it exceedingly difficult to obtain the reasonable sum demanded by the ghost. The entire Winter was consumed by them, in efforts to borrow that money. Some of them mortgaged their farms, and others sold their cattle and horses for half their value, so that, when the operation was finished, they were greatly embarrassed. But, whilst they were raising this money, frequent meetings were held; and, as fast as the money was obtained, it was delivered to the spirits. "Whenever they met in a secret room, the door and window-shutters being made fast, unusual noises would be heard about the house that would cause great timidity, groanings, and rappings upon the house, the falling of boards in the chamber, the jingling of money at the window, and a voice speaking, "Press forward!" The superficial machine that was over the mouth of him who spoke, so much altered his voice, that no one could detect him." The ghostly visitants continually asseverated, at these interviews, "that they were sent to deliver that society great riches; that they could have no rest until they had given it up; but the money they requested was only an acknowledgement for such immense treasures!" Occasionally, some of the dupes would be called out of their beds by the ghost, and directed to convene the whole circle, at some specified place, on which occasion, says

HIST. MAG. VOL. I. 5.

my informant, "the pretended spirits were outside of the house, groaning, jingling money, telling them to have faith, be of good cheer, and keep secret all transactions, and, in May next, they should receive the treasure." So the grand consummation was at hand; and the greedy expectants were impatiently awaiting the day. But, "Rogers and his associates having received the greater part of the money," were not anxious for that day. Their study was "how to postpone the next meeting; for all the dupes expected to proceed to School-ey's mountain, the next May, and receive the treasure."

So well has my old pamphleteer told this part of the story that I will not abridge nor alter his account. "The night appointed being now arrived, they all convened in a large circle, in an open field, waiting for the ghosts to appear and give them further directions, and proceed with them to the place where the money was deposited. Immediately, the ghosts appeared without the circle, with great choler, and *hedeous* groanings, wreathing themselves, in various positions that appeared most ghastly in the night—then upbraiding the company, declaring they had not proceeded regular, and some of them was faithless, and had divulged many things that ought to have been kept secret; and by their wicked dispositions and animosities that had taken place among them, debarred them, at present, from obtaining the treasures. The pretended ghosts, raged to that degree, at the misconduct of the company, that Rogers appeared or pretended to be much frightened, with the rest, and with all his art and pleading was scarcely able to pacify the raging ghosts! "At this, the company, confiding in Rogers, looked to him for protection. The ghosts informed them they must wait, patiently, until some future period. They were now so much intimidated, that they thought little about money. At length, Rogers, after a variety of ceremonies, by his art and power, dispelled the frightful apparitions; and tranquility once more resides within the circle."

Thus far this cunning rogue and his fellows had prospered in their game, as much as the most sanguine could desire; and had they stopped, here, and kept their counsels, to this day, there would have been heard as ghostly stories and as well authenticated, in Morristown as in any of the haunted localities in the old world. In fact, our old historian waxes almost pathetic on this point, asserting that "had Rogers now halted, and not proceeded upon another project, he would have been feared and respected; and the capricious notions of witchcraft, hobgoblins, and the devil would have prevailed among them, with prejudice, fear, and ignorance, until this day. But this diabolical intrigue and the succeeding one has diffused light and eradicated ignorance from the minds of many."

Up to this time, the proceedings of "the Spirit Batch" were known only among themselves. Even their wives were not let into the secret, Rogers having prohibited them from divulging it to any one, under the most severe penalties. That some strange enterprise was on foot, was suspected by more than one wife, whose slumbers had been disturbed by the visits of the ghost, and whose husband was absent from home, so much and so mysteriously. It was said, that some of these women compared notes and concluded "that something was wrong." There were also some vague rumors afloat, in the community, during that Winter; but nothing was definitely known, outside the circle of forty men who were sure of getting the buried treasures in Schooley's mountain.

At this stage of the proceedings, Rogers wished to stop, having already filched some eight hundred or a thousand dollars from his dupes. All further steps would be attended with risks, as he well knew, because the circle of those acquainted with his pretensions must be enlarged. As my chronicler states the fact, Rogers's secret became known to two smart young Yankees, who were teaching school in Morris-county. They were probably privy to the ghostly scenes of that Winter and Spring; and, Rogers having taken the lion's share of the proceeds, they insisted on his undertaking another similar imposture. He had removed to Morristown, in the Winter of 1788-9, and was teaching a select school near the Presbyterian church. The tradition is, that these young men forced Rogers into the second game, by threatening to expose his previous fraud, of which they were actual witnesses and abettors. In addition to this inducement, Rogers was both enterprising and covetous; so that, in the end, he went to work with energy. His two accomplices, in the Spring of 1789, removed twenty miles from

Morristown, "but still kept up a correspondence with him, by letters and frequent visits." This gave them a "favorable opportunity to gain proselytes, as it is evident they seduced many, and some eminent characters, that would have joined the company; but Rogers thought it not proper to admit them, as appeared from the corresponding letters with Rogers and the fire club." This sentence looks as if Rogers himself furnished the materials for this pamphlet, as I have found no other intimation of this correspondence.

As soon as the plan was arranged, the associates, "only five in number," began to operate in various localities. I find traces of them in Morristown, Bottle-hill, Hanover, Rockaway, Dover, Rockaway-valley, and other places. The greatest caution was observed in selecting those who were to be seduced. Sometimes a prayer-meeting was made the occasion for displaying some mysterious signs of his ghostship. As already intimated, credulity was made easy by the social apple-whiskey; and the strange occurrences of the previous Winter were carefully related, so as to silence doubt. That the statements of such men as were involved in these transactions should have carried conviction to many unbelievers is not strange. Rogers, himself, was not idle, but sought to insinuate himself into the confidence of such as he supposed could be gulled. Many ridiculous and incredible stories got afloat in the community; and, among them, this, which was firmly believed by many. The Court-house then stood in the North-west corner of the Green; and, one night, according to the rumor, a figure, in white raiment, was seen gliding from the roof of the Court-house to the opposite tavern; and as it moved it warned those present to flee from the wrath to come! Some people explained it as a performance on the tight-rope; but the safer explanation is, that it was a story manufactured for use in "the rural districts," where it would be likely to find believers who could not easily correct the lie by examination. At any rate, people were found to believe the silly rumor. Another somewhat more credible story was this. A young woman, in the employ of a farmer, near Morristown, was milking, after dark. There was ice on the ground. Some noise attracted her attention; when she saw, standing on the ridge of the barn, a sheeted ghost. She fled, shrieking, to the house. The next day, Rogers was complaining of a bruise he had received, as he afterwards confessed, by slipping too fast from the barn to the ground. One report says that he broke his arm in this fall.

An anecdote of Rogers's labors still survives, and is good enough to be preserved. Below the Church, in the valley, lived an Irishman, named Stevenson, who was reputed to have money in hand; and him Rogers would convert to his faith. Accordingly, he often visited him, in a friendly way, and sought to win his confidence, in various ways. Among the topics of conversation, incidentally introduced, was one concerning witches, ghosts, and apparitions. Many anecdotes were related by Rogers, some of which were professedly part of his own experience. The state of popular opinion, in the region, and the vague rumors of witchcraft then abroad, he hoped, would aid him in the proposed conversation; but Stevenson was very incredulous; and no progress was made in the desired direction. One evening, after a long talk about the matter, Rogers said, "Suppose, 'Mr. Stevenson, you should see, some night, a white figure gliding along, above the ground, as if it did not touch the ground, or walk, but moving along like a mist or ghost, what would you do?'" "Bejabers, I would use my 'shelaleh on him!" was the very emphatic answer. It is said that Stevenson never saw the ghost!

But I must recur to the old chronicler for some facts relating to the new enterprise of Rogers and his fellows. The first meeting numbered but five persons. "They proceed upon various manœuvres, rotating the room in order to raise the spirit: while they were performing many ceremonies, various noises were heard around the house: the rattling of a wagon, groaning, striking upon the windows, etc. Then each one taking a sheet of paper, extending his arm, holding the paper out at the door, waiting for the spirit to write upon one of the papers how they should proceed! After waiting for some time, each one folding his paper, proceeding regularly around a table, then opening their papers, on one of them was a writing, directing them to convene upon such a night, and the spirit would give further directions how they must proceed. Previous to this, Rogers had prepared the writing, but wanted more time for consideration: therefore, they were dismissed with orders to convene on such a night. The night arrived." "After they had all convened, the first manœuvre was, both the deceiver and the deceived united in prayer, on their bended knees. Then parading, according to their age, they proceed rotating the room, as many times as there were persons in number; then parading around a table, each one drew a sheet of paper from a quire, which Rogers folded and delivered to each man one; then they pro-

ceeded, in order, a small distance from the house, and drawing a circle about twelve feet in diameter, they all stepped within it, unfolding their papers, extending them with one arm, fell with their faces to the earth, continuing in prayer with their eyes closed, that the spirit might enter within the circle and write their directions on the papers; then Rogers giving the word, *Amen!* prayer ended, and each one folded his paper, rose, and marched into the house; then having unfolded their papers, the writing appeared upon one of them to the great astonishment of most of the company."

This paper was preserved, by one of the company, as a sort of miracle to be used in making converts. "The contents of the paper were, that the company must be increased to eleven members, and each one must deposit to the spirit the sum of twelve pounds, silver or gold." It is supposed that this meeting was held in Solitude, at L——'s house. Subsequent meetings were held elsewhere. Thus I find that one meeting was held in "Reeves's Swamp;" and that each one deposited his money by a certain stump which the ghost had named. As one of the company was returning, he missed his foothold and plunged into the mud. Angered by the accident, he resolved to go back and get his money; but found that the spirit had been too quick for him.

Another meeting, as I was told by the late venerable Isaac Whitehead, of Jersey, Ohio, was held at B—— H——'s tanyard. It seems that, by dint of much persuasion, a new member had been introduced into the circle, that night. In common with the others, he had deposited his money in the place pointed out; and then, as the custom was, knelt for prayer. Each one was to keep his eyes closed till Rogers said "Amen." Meanwhile, the ghost glided in and took away the money. This night, the new member feeling somewhat incredulous, and also burning with curiosity to see a 'live ghost,' did not close his eyes; but watched the movements, through his fingers. The ghost saw this, and was displeased; for he glided along, slow as fate, toward the disobedient reprobate. He, on his part, was too much under the influence of his superstitious dread "to use his shelaleh on him;" and, rising, he began to retreat backwards from the advancing spirit. His retreat was suddenly checked by a most unexpected and ludicrous adventure, for he backed into a large vat of bark liquor, into which he plunged, heels over head. His companions rescued him, in a woeful plight; but they found the ghost had vanished, of course, not forgetting to take the money!

Like a discreet ghost, Rogers selected dark nights for his appearances; and, if the facts were not fully authenticated, it could hardly be believed how boldly he carried on his fraud, and how credulously his dupes put faith in him. Take the following case, stated in the old pamphlet. "Rogers and his associates 'now finding the minds of many flexible, resolved to proceed upon some new project, that might have a tendency to prove more lucrative. Accordingly, wrapping himself up in a sheet, he went to the house of a certain gentleman, in the night, and called him up, by rapping at the doors and windows, and conversed with him, in such disguise, that the gentleman thought he was a spirit. The pretended spirit related to him that he had vast treasures in his possession and that a company was in pursuit of it; and he could not give it up unless some of THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH joined them, such as I shall mention; for, said he, *'I am the spirit of a just man, and am sent to give you information how to proceed, and put the conducting of it into your hands; and I will ever be with you and give you directions when you go amiss; therefore, fear not, but go to Rogers and inform him of your interview with me—Fear not, I am ever with you!'*"

And our historian adds, with admirable simplicity, that "this gentleman, not apprehending any deception, believed it to be a spirit. Early in the morning, he went to see Rogers, and found everything that the spirit related to be fact; he, therefore, was convinced that it was from supernatural power!"

It seems, from the narrative, that the spirit named certain members of the Church whom "this gentleman" was to visit; and he did as commanded, finding them "very flexible—giving great heed to his declaration, and anxious to see curiosities." "After this, none were admitted to join the company, only those of a truly moral character, either belonging to the church or abstaining from profane company and walking circumspectly. This was in June, 1789. The company now increased, daily, of aged, abstemious, honest, judicious, simple church-members. It is now in a religious line; and Rogers having put it into the hands of another to conduct, he and his associates were busy, every night, in disguise, appearing to particular persons, especially those who were most weak in faith, calling them up, in the night, and ordering them to pray without ceasing, for they were just spirits sent unto them, to inform them that they should have great possessions if they would persevere in faith."

The gentleman to whom our ghost appeared, as already mentioned, acted as "Conductor;" and, through him, it was revealed that the company must be increased to the number of thirty-seven, each of whom must give the spirit twelve pounds, in specie, equal to thirty dollars. The associates and their deceivers gradually attained the required number; but found it difficult to confirm the faith of some and to obtain the money of others. To overcome these difficulties, a meeting was held in order that the ghost might make some sign that could not be doubted.

One cannot well restrain laughter to think of a room full of men who were showing gray hairs, solemnly waiting for the Morristown Ghost, who was that night "to show his hand!" The first part of the time was spent in devout prayer; but not until another sort of spiritual influence had been invoked, for, says my chronicler, with a grim sort of railery, describing one of the meetings, "a sufficient quantity of liquor was also prepared, which the spirit had ordered to be used *very freely*; then each one taking a *hearty dram*, they all united in fervent prayer, after which the meeting was concluded. It is very obvious that spirituous liquors, when taken in large quantities, will augment the ideas of men to anticipate profit and pleasure, although they are inaccessible in futurity. Some of the members caused great disturbance by their drinking, inadvertently, to excess that powerful stimulus; but it is something pleasing to see aged, sober, abstemious men, with their ideas raised, put on cheerfulness and vivacity."

With this very clear insight into the spirit which gave life to the meeting, we are prepared for the sequel. It was not strange that men, "with their ideas raised" by applejack, should be powerfully impressed by the spirit-rappings at the door and windows, and on the sides and roof of the house. How impressive to men, in such elevated mood, the ominous jingling of money and the hopeful admonition, addressed them by the invisible ghost, "Look to God!" "They were all amazed at such things; and Rogers, with the rest, wondered! and they all fell on their knees to pray!" Behold them now "rotating the room five times," each having a blank sheet of paper. Behold each one "tying a white handkerchief round his head and loins," and thus, symbolically arrayed, they all marched, with great decorum, into a meadow, about one hundred yards from the house. * * * * "After they arrived in the meadow, Rogers put his blank paper into his pocket and took a writing (previously prepared) out, unnoticed, by any of the com-

"pny. They rotated a circle, thirty feet in diameter, five times—then they all stepped within the circle, and, unfolding their papers, they all fell, with their faces to the earth, with one arm extended, holding the paper, that the spirit might enter within the circle and write upon one of their papers how they must proceed. They were ordered not to look up, upon their peril, but to continue fervent in prayer!" This continued ten minutes, when the leader said "Amen;" and all went back to the house, to find what the spirit had written. Sure enough, on Roger's paper, the writing was seen, "so elegant that they were all astonished, thinking it a miracle!" But "the contents of the paper" still more astonished our "Spirit batch," animated by "hearty drams" of pure apple-jack. Thus did the ghost dash into the midst of affairs, in *medias res*, in right gallant style: "*O faithless men! What more need I exhibit unto you! I am the spirit of a just man, sent from Heaven to declare these things unto you; and I can have no rest until I have delivered great possessions into your hands; but look to God, there is greater treasures in Heaven for you! O faithless men! Press forward, in faith, and the prize is yours!*" And, then, the devout ghost mentioned various Chapters in the Bible that "the members must peruse, and particular 'Psalms for them to sing!'" Guiding them to incalculable wealth, in silver and gold, the ghost was too ghostly to forget their spiritual interests; and yet it was a shrewd and calculating ghost, for it told the associates that their number must be thirty-seven, each of whom must deposit, in precious metal, not more than twelve pounds (considerate ghost), nor less than six pounds, "and the money must be given up, as soon as possible, in order to relieve the spirit from his exigencies, that he might return whence he came!"

A few days after this, twelve of the associates met and paid the ghost about forty pounds. The payment was made in a certain meadow, with due "rotating the circle," devout prayer, and "large drams" of apple-whiskey. This time, the ghost displayed a new talent; for when about sixty yards from the circle, he set up a great "*whistling*." And when, according to orders, the money had been placed at the foot of a certain tree, "the spirit appeared about twenty yards distant from the tree, with a sheet around him, jumping and stamping, repeating these words, '*Look to God!*' Those that stood by the tree, made a short complicated prayer, and laying the money at the root of the tree, retired to the company. They all returned to the house, observing the

"greatest order, trembling at every noise, and gazing in every direction, supposing they were surrounded by hobgoblins, apparitions, witches, and the devil," which latter supposition was not much astray from the truth!

To deepen the delusion, another trick was performed. Rogers gave each one a *charm*, which he pretended contained some of the dust of their bodies. It was simply bone-dust. This precious and potent powder they were to keep very secret, and no one was to touch it upon his peril; and, besides this, writes my chronicler, with a sardonic grin, "every means were taken in order to make the members use 'liquor freely.'" In order to promote so desirable an end, "the spirits gave unto the commander a compounded mass that was to be made into pills, and each one to take a pill at every meeting; and, except he used very freely of liquor, it would operate in making his mouth and lips swell; thus they caused some to drink to excess through fear, although they before observed the greatest temperance, and in fact some drank to that degree to obviate the effects of the pill, that they were almost incapable of navigating in the night!"

In due time, the number of associates amounted to the required thirty-seven; and the most of the money had been paid over to the spirits. Fancy the animation which prevailed in the circle as, with imaginations quickened by "large drams," they thought of the ghost-guarded treasures as already within their reach. But "there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip," as was proved in this case. The mystic *charm*, already alluded to, was to work mischief to the scheme. A prominent member of the circle lived about half way between Morristown and Speedwell, where he owned a grist-mill. He was a man considerably past middle age; of excellent repute in the community; but infected with the superstitious notions of the times. He had fallen an easy victim to the tricks of Rogers; and had given his money and influence to forward a scheme in which he had full confidence. His wife was not admitted to his confidence, in this respect. She was aware that some unusual proceedings were in progress; but what they were she did not know. She was anxious about the evident signs of "large drams" which, in some way, seemed connected with his movements. She and her neighbor, who was similarly exercised, had frequent conferences about the matter, with no very satisfactory results, until, fortunately, an unexpected clue to the mystery was obtained. On this point my authorities do not agree. The old pamphlet says that "one of the aged members, having occasion to leave

"home, for a short time, on some emergency, through forgetfulness, left his paper—the mysterious dust—in one of his pockets, at home. His wife happened to find it; and, out of curiosity, broke it open; but perceiving the contents, she feared to touch it, lest, peradventure, it should have some connection with witchcraft. She went immediately to Mr. —, the pious clergyman of the congregation, for his advice on the subject; who, not knowing its composition, was unwilling to touch it, lest it might have some operation upon him, and knew not what advice to give her. When her husband was returned, and had discovered what she had done, he was much terrified, declaring that she had ruined him, forever, by breaking open that paper. This terror increased her anxiety to know the contents; wherefore, upon her promising not to divulge any thing, he related to her the whole of their proceedings. She having heard the account—sensible woman—declared they were serving the devil; and that, notwithstanding her promise, she thought it her duty to put an end to such proceedings."

My other authorities—one remembers the scenes, and the other had it direct from the family where the fraud began to be found out—say that the good wife was so disturbed at her husband's singular conduct, that she was on "the look out for opportunities;" and that she found what she looked for, one night, after a late sitting of the "Spirit-batch." "Her man" came home, very tired; and, no doubt, in his stupor, increased by "large drams," he slept very soundly, so that his wife securely examined his pockets. Finding the charm, she opened it; and, that very night, carried it to Doctor Johnes, the Minister, as already narrated. The next morning, the man found out what happened and told his wife the affair. This, I suspect, is the correct version; and it is well to be very accurate in so grave a matter!

The fact that one of the members had revealed the affair to his wife was soon known to Rogers, his accomplices, and their dupes. The impostors realized that they were on dangerous ground, for, although they had received the greater part of the money, yet there was a considerable sum yet expected. They could not endure the thought of losing this. There was a brace of dangers not very pleasant to think of meeting, viz., lynch-law, at the hands of their victims, and penalty, at the hands of the law, as very great rogues. In order to steer among these breakers ahead, the impostors thought it necessary to make special ghostly visits to particular persons, whose faith was evidently shaken. Accordingly, "Rogers and his accomplices were in dis-

"guise, every night, appearing, as spirits, to particular persons, endeavoring to confirm them in the faith, and thus, if possible, to prevent a discovery." Tradition says that, for some time, these visits were very successful; but the full discovery of the fraud was owing to another custom of the spirit-circle, far more effective than the charm which the good wife found in her husband's pocket. "The large drams" of liquor had told powerfully on the temperance of Rogers as well as his victims. Now that his situation was becoming desperate, he sought inspiration in the bottle. "At last, one evening, Rogers having drank too freely, taking a sheet with him, he rode to the house of a certain gentleman for the purpose of conversing with him, as a spirit. During the conversation, he committed several blunders, which the woman sagaciously observed. She concluded, from this circumstance, that it must be a man. The gentleman, however, at the close of the conversation, went to prayer; after which Rogers departed, declaring himself to be the spirit of a just man. In the morning, as soon as it was light, the gentleman went out to the place where the spirit had appeared; and there having fallen a heavy dew that night, he observed the footsteps of a man. He then followed the tracks to a fence, where perceived that a horse had been fastened; and, from thence, he pursued the tracks of the horse to the house where Rogers lived. Rogers being absent, he continued to follow the same horse's tracks, by which he was conducted to the house of a certain gentleman, where he found Rogers. This gentleman had, on the preceding evening, lent a horse to Rogers."

The fraud was now apparent; and the impostor was lodged in jail. The members of "the Spirit-batch" were agitated with conflicting feelings. They could not, at once, convince themselves of Rogers's duplicity in the matter; nor could they readily give up the hope of the promised treasures for which they had already spent many sleepless nights and paid "to the spirit" such large retaining-fees. With these feelings were mingled shame and chagrin to find the whole community in a broad laugh over these hidden things of darkness, which were being brought to the light. Perhaps, never did a jail hold a prisoner whose confederates or dupes so ardently desired him to be set at large. With consummate impudence, Rogers declared his innocence and, in a short time, one of his friends bailed him out of prison. But his enemies, finding that "he thought prudent to rescue himself by a clandestine departure from New Jersey," had him arrested the second time, "when he acknowledged his faults and confessed that, for

"his conduct and the declarations he had made in the prosecution of his schemes, he deserved punishment."

He was not detained long in prison; but how he escaped is not known—probably he was let out, on easy bail, out of deference to the feelings of his dupes; and that, being released, he left the region, or, as my old pamphleteer says, grandiloquently, "he accordingly absconded, and, under the auspices of Fortune, saved himself by flight from the malice of a host."

The profits of this enterprising adventure cannot be positively known. Those who had been deceived into paying "ghost-money" were too much chagrined and mortified to enter into a very accurate inventory of their lost property. It is a tradition that the payments made one night did not reach "the spirit," inasmuch as one of the incredulous members, whose name is still repeated, believing more in watching than in prayer, slyly took the money from the place of deposit, before his ghostship entered the charmed ring. It is currently reported that the Treasurer, a very worthy man, in most respects, but extremely superstitious, suffered so largely as to be embarrassed the remainder of his lifetime. It is said that, as Treasurer of the associates, he gave receipts for the money paid by them; and that, after the affair exploded, he was compelled to refund a considerable portion of this money.

Rogers returned to Connecticut, and was accustomed to boast that "he made ten thousand dollars out of the Morristown Ghost;" but this, probably, was like many other statements from the same source. The common opinion, at the time, was that "the whole amount of money obtained by Rogers and his associates, in these nefarious plots, was about five hundred pounds, or upwards of thirteen hundred dollars." There is a tradition, which I have directly from a person who lived among these singular scenes, that Rogers, for safe-keeping, had his ill-earned money deposited in a box, which he buried "at the foot of a white-oak tree, back of Squire B—— L——'s house." When the fraud was discovered, and Rogers was released from prison, the popular indignation against him was so great that he had to fly the country without carrying with him the buried box. After a time, he sent a man to Morristown with directions to the place in which the money was hid. This man, on a certain evening, coming to a tavern in the vicinity, put up for the night. During the evening, there being no one present but a young man apparently drunk and asleep, the stranger confidentially asked the landlord if he could tell him where one Squire B—— L—— lived, and if there were, near his house, a certain white-oak tree, which he described. The young man,

supposed to be both drunk and asleep, was awake, and heard every word. From some previous knowledge of Rogers's movements, he was led to suspect that this man was there after buried money. Not long after, he arose and left the room as if nothing had happened. But, once fairly outside the tavern, he hurried to the white-oak tree and secured the treasure. Before midnight, the other man came to the same place, on a similar errand, but found the nest robbed. I give the story as I heard it, without pretending to vouch for its truth.

Such are the main facts in this curious delusion, practised on some four score or more middle-aged and respectable men. The whole region was convulsed with merriment, when the facts were known; and it is said that they furnished the materials for an amusing Comedy, which was played at a public exhibition in Newark, a few years afterwards. The narrative is a curious one, and would be incredible if it were not authenticated in all its main particulars.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND.

J. F. T.

II.—REMINISCENCES OF EARLY OHIO STATESMEN.

A LETTER BY THE LATE HON. THOMAS EWING.

COMMUNICATED BY THE LATE A. T. GOODMAN, ESQ., OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May, 1870.

A. T. GOODMAN, ESQ., CLEVELAND, OHIO:

DEAR SIR: I remember Return Jonathan Meigs, at an early day, but did not then know him personally. He was a gentleman of distinction, in Marietta, and well-esteemed by men in the country. I saw him for the first time on his return from Mississippi Territory, where he had been sent as Judge. He conversed with my father, of the Territory and its condition, of which I, a boy-listener, remember nothing special. He was then a man of commanding person and, as I thought, fine intellect.

Many years after, I dined with him, in Marietta, about the time of Mr. Adams's election to the Presidency—he was depressed in spirits; thought the Government had fallen into feeble hands; spoke much of Mr. Monroe as the *ultimus Romanorum*; and of his own wish to retire with him to the shades of private life. It seemed to me that his mental vigor was much impaired, and that he "lagged superfluous on the stage." Mrs. Meigs was a bright, intelligent lady; conversed very handsomely of all things at Washington of which a stranger wished to be informed; and was quite a favorite in the circle in which she moved.

Ethan Allen Brown was a Judge of the Supreme Court, and afterwards Governor of Ohio. He was somnolent on the bench, and did not rank high as a lawyer and a Judge. He conversed well, had literary taste, and was fond of discussing the merits and construction of the English classics. I remember his reciting some lines of a coarse critique on Walter Scott, by Horace in London: the following are some of the lines:

"He that would rival Walter Scott,
"Like Sancho from the blanket shot,
"Must soar in devious sprawl."

He served as Governor of Ohio two terms, and was afterwards Commissioner of the General Land Office, where he acquitted himself most creditably, but was, at last, invited to resign, because he set his face against the questionable speculations of some patriots high in influence. When he was about to leave the office, I addressed to him a letter, in which I called his attention to the indignant exclamation of Doctor Caius, when he finds Simple in his closet, "Dare shall no *honest man* come into my closet." Governor Brown retired silently; and I lost sight of him.

I knew little of Governor Worthington, personally, while in public life. He was one of the leaders of the Republican party in the Convention which formed the Constitution of Ohio, and was much censured for giving her a feeble Executive. After his retirement from office, and after I began to be known, he sought my acquaintance and explained to me, very fully, the causes which influenced his political course. He told me that General Arthur St. Clair, who was Governor of the North-western Territory, treated the members of his Council with great contempt. Having the veto power, he allowed them little share in legislation, and was, indeed, an autocrat. He instanced a case which, he said, indicated the general spirit of his bearing toward them.

The early Ordinance gave the Governor a tax of seventy-five cents on each marriage license. The Council thought the people should be relieved from this very objectionable burden; and, unwilling to ask the Governor to surrender the perquisite without an equivalent, they drew up a Bill giving him an annual sum, a little larger than the amount received for marriage licenses, and a Bill relieving the marriage license of the tax, and offered them, at the same time, for his signature. He took and read them; signed the one giving him the salary; put his veto upon the other; and, with a bow and a smile, which the Council considered contemptuous, handed back the two Bills. Governor Worthington said that, when they formed the Constitution of Ohio, they were smarting under the tyranny and contempt of their late Governor; and that he and a

majority of the Convention acted under the impulse. He said time and experience had satisfied him that he had been mistaken; and that the Government would be safer and better with a stronger Executive. I was, on the whole, well satisfied with his explanation. He was a man of vigorous intellect, great industry and force of character, and he left a favorable impression when he retired from public life.

Duncan McArthur was an admirable specimen of the backwoodsman. He was a Ranger, betwixt boy and man, in the Indian War, from 1790 to 1795. He was once out alone, on the northwestern frontier of Kentucky, when he approached a deer-lick, and saw in it three Indians apparently looking for tracks. He instantly crouched, took deliberate aim, and fired at the Indian whom he took for the most athletic, and rose and ran. The Indian fell. Another instantly fired at him, and the ball passed through his powder-horn. He supposed he was pursued; but no Indian got near enough to be seen; and he reached the camp of his companions, unhurt. He once told me a story illustrative of the rude morals of the frontier Rangers.

Lewis Wetzel who preceded McArthur, by several years, was the terror of the Indians, on the Wheeling frontier. He was a little, active fellow; and it happened that he was fired at and missed so often that they considered him under a spell. The usual remedy, a piece of silver driven into the bullet, failed, and he was deemed proof, even against magic; but, at last, in one of their excursions, he was surprised and captured; and they bore him off in triumph to Sandusky, where they held a Council, and sentenced him to be burnt. An old Indian who had lost his son on the expedition, wanted to adopt, and tried to save, him. The night before he was to be burnt, he slept between two Indians, his legs and arms tied, with thongs, to stakes driven into the ground—the Indians lying on the thongs. Late at night, when all were asleep, the old Indian came; cut the thongs; got him out, without disturbing the sleepers; gave him the gun of his lost son; took his own; mounted a horse; and led the way, signing to Wetzel to follow. They travelled two or three days, without interruption, when they came to the two branches of the Muskingum, at Coehocton. The old man carried Wetzel across behind him, on his horse; and when over the East-branch, said he now knew the way, and turned with his horse and gun to return to Sandusky. When he had fairly entered the river, Wetzel shot him, and he fell dead; took his scalp and his horse and gun—it being the best of the two—and made his way home in safety. Wetzel told the story himself, without an apparent perception of its atrocity; but his brother Rangers refused to shake hands or

in any manner to associate with him afterwards.

I knew Governor McArthur long and intimately. He was a man of vigorous intellect, but crude and uncultivated. His daughters, of whom he was fond, grew up to be fine women; but his sons were ruined by the austerity and distance of his bearing towards them. He was their monitor, but not their companion and confidential friend.

I sat with Benjamin Ruggles, two years, in the United States Senate. He was a highly respectable member; and I perhaps thought the better of him as we agreed entirely in our political opinions. He spoke seldom, and briefly; and always with deliberation and judgment. He was a man of mark, in his part of Ohio, many years after he ceased to be Senator.

Thomas Morris succeeded Benjamin Ruggles in the Senate. He was a decided Democrat, and generally fierce in his opinions. When he first came into professional life, he waged a violent war with most of the other members of the profession in his County and Judicial Circuit, in which my somewhat loose information induced me to believe he was the assailed and injured party. He was indicted for a rape, on the complaint of a loose woman; was tried and acquitted; but taunted in all conceivable provoking ways with it, afterwards. About that time, the agricultural journals strongly recommended the turnip or *Rape* as a Fall crop for Winter sheep-pasture; and, as the farmers knew little about it, by the latter name, it was a subject of much inquiry. Morris's persecutors got up a report that he kept a quantity of the seed for the accommodation of his friends; and, for a week or two, he was daily assailed by honest, well-meaning countrymen with enquiries for *Rape-seed*, until, made furious by this and like modes of annoyance, he stood at bay—always for open and unsparing war. He was a man of considerable intellectual power and a good debater, though somewhat harsh and not always courteous. He evidently came to the Senate impressed with the opinion that his mission was to attack me. From this he was diverted by a trivial incident, in an early debate, to which I attached no importance. He attacked, somewhat harshly, a proposition of Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, as to the Public Lands. Walker replied, contemptuously; and Morris, much excited, attempted to get the floor when Walker sat down. I caught the eye of the President, in advance of him, simply for the purpose of giving him time to be deliberate; said a few words in reply to Mr. Grundy; and that I would deliver over the gentleman from Mississippi to the friendly care of my colleague, who evidently wished to cultivate his acquaintance. Morris got the floor. I asked him to yield it to me, for a moment; and I moved an adjournment, which gave him ample

time to prepare his batteries against Walker; and he acquitted himself admirably. My whole object was to see that he had fair play, a thing to which he had been so little used, that it seemed as if he could never cease being grateful. We were afterwards on the very best of terms. I left him in the Senate, and lost sight of him, afterwards.

I knew Allen Trimble very well, as Governor of Ohio, and somewhat, though not intimately, in private life. He was prompt and sagacious, in the discharge of his official duties, and, in his private intercourse, a pleasing, unassuming gentleman. He passed through life without censure, and without an excess of praise.

Jessup N. Couch was one of our early Judges. He was kind and courteous to young members of the Bar, but did not rank high in the profession. In intellect and force of character, he was much below the average of the Bench.

Very respectfully, yours,

T. EWING.

III.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

Att a Meeting of the Church Wardens and Vestry men on Monday y^e 18th day of October Anno Dom. 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden

Will Merrett

Will Morris

Thomas Clarke

John Crooke

Michael Howdon

William Janeway

Will Sharpas

David Jameson

Vestry men

Order'd that the Persons hereafter Named be Overseers of the Church building for the Ensueing Week

Octob ^r	19 th	Tuesday	Gabriel Ludlow
	20 th	Wensday	Thomas Burroughs
	21 th	Thursday	W ^m Huddleston
	22	Fryday	John Merrett
	23 ^d	Saturday	W ^m Janeway
	25 th	Munday	Thos Wenham

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of the Church
New Yorke } Wardens & Vestry Men on
Munday the 25th day of October 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
Will Merrett Esq^r Gab^l Ludlow

David Jamison Nath^l Marston
 Thomas Clarke Will Huddleston
 John Crooke Michael Howdon
 Will Morris Will Sharpas

Thomas Burroughs
 Sam^l Burte

Order'd that M^r David Jameson & M^r Thomas Clarke doe with all Convenient Expedition Cause his Excell Arms to be Engraved in Stone with an Inscription to be placed underneath them in these words following

[Blank half page.]

And the same when finished to be placed Over the South door on the Out Side of [The] Trinity Church & that the Charge thereof be Defrayed out of the Publick Stock

Orderd the Persons hereafter Named be Overseers of the Church building for the week following (Viz^d)

Tuesday	October 26 th	Coll Heathcote
Wensday	-	27 th Will Merrett Esq ^r
Thursday	28 th	John Tuder
Fryday	29 th	James Emott
Satuday	30 th	Will Morris
Munday	Nov ^r	1 st Thomas Clarke

Orderd Capt Wenham M^r Mayor Capt Morris and Capt Clarke be A Committee to Advise with M^r Evetts what quantity of Timber Boards &c: will be Convenient to be purchased for the Making the Pews of the Church & make Report thereof [this day] on Munday Next

Capt Wenham Informed this board that [Among] Notwithstanding the Many Signal Gifts [and favers] his Excell has bestowed for the Encouragem^t of Piety & Religion Amongst us in the Carrying on of the building of Trinity Church his Excell has been further pleased for the better Effecting of the Same to Grant [to the Grant] to the Present Church Wardens & Managers of the said building A Commission for all Wei^{ts} Wrecks and Drift Whales &c: which Commission was read in these words following (Viz^d)

[Blank page.]

[Order'd that] Capt Thomas Clarke [be] is hereby Commissionated to [Appoint] Depute such proper Persons on the Island of Nassau as he shall See meet for the Securing Cutting up & trying of all such Drift Whales &c as shall Come on Shore on y^e S^d Island

and that for their Care and labour therein he Allow them Reasonable Encouragement.

Order'd that M^r Boroughs M^r Huddleston and M^r Crooke & M^r Howdon doe for the week following use their Endeavours to gett what Contributions & Subscriptions they Can gett for the better Carrying of the Church & that they also Collect what they Can of y^e former Subscriptions.

M^r Thomas Clarke Infoms the board that Nicolas Fielding (A Person Reputed of honest Behaviour & Conversation has offer'd his Service to be Sexton of Trinity Church & that till the [Order of the] Corporation of the Church be formally Established & A Sallery Allowed for y^e Service he will Serve the Order of this board Gratis itt is therefore Ordered and he is hereby Appointed Sexton of the Said Church,

Order'd that After the Expiration of four weeks from the Date hereof No Negroes be buried within the bounds & Limitts of the Church Yard of Trinity Church that is to say in the Rear of the Present burying place and that No [Negroe] Person or Negro whatsoever doe Presume (After the time Above Limited [doe Presume] to break up any Ground for the burying of Any Negro as they will Answer itt att their Perill. & that this Order be faithfully Published.

Citty of } Att A Meeting of y^e: Church
 N: Yorke } ^{ss} Wardens Aad Vestry men on
 Munday y^e: 1st day of Novem-
 ber 1697

Present Thomas Wenham Church Warden
 Will Merrett Esq^r Gab^l Ludlow
 David Jameson Thomas Burroughs
 Eben: Willson Will Sharpas
 Mich Howdon John Crooke
 Nath Marston

their being a Nessesity of paying of the Labourers of the Church & the Money in Banke being not Sufficient to doe the Same Cap^t Thomas Wenham did therefore Voluntary lend ten pounds to the Church for the said Service w^{ch} was paid to Cap^t Willson who is to Acc^t for the Same & all the Said Labourers that Came for their Money were Accordingly paid.

The Undernamed Persons are Appoint-

ed Overseers of the Church building
for y^e following week

Nov^r 2^d Tuesday Cap^t Willson
3^d Wednesday M^r Burte
4th Thursday M^r Evetts
4th Friday M^r Marston
6th Saturday M^r Howdon
8th Munday M^r Crooke

City of }
N. Yorke }^{ss} Att a Meeting of the Church
Wardens & Vestry men on
Monday the 15th day of Nov^r
1697

Present	Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
	Rob ^t Lurting	
	William Merrett Esq	
	William Morris	
	David Jameson	} Vestry men
	Nathaniel Marston	
	Mich Hawdon	
	Will Sharpas	
	John Crooke	
	Gabriel Ludlow	

M^r David Jameson Pursuant to the
Order of this Board brought A Copy
of the Inscription to be placed under
his Excells Arms in Trinity Church
which was [Read] Approved & Read
in these words following (Viz)

Hoc Trinatis templum fundatum est
Anno Regni Illustrissimi Supremi
Domini GUILIELMI Tertii dei Gratia
Angliae Scotiae Franciae & Hiberniae
Regis fidei Defensoris &c: Octavo
Anno Dom: 1696 ac Voluntaria quo-
rundam Contributione & Donis Aed-
ificantum, maxime autem dilecti Regis
Chiliarchae BENJAMINI FLETCHER
hujus Provinciae Strategii & Imper-
atoris munificentia Animatum & Auc-
tante Cupiis Tempore moderanisuis
hujus Civitatis incolae Religionem
Protestantem Exlesia Anglicanae ut
Secundum legem Nunc Stabiletae
profidentes quodam Diplomate Sub
Sigello Provinciae incorporati Sunt
Atq Alias Plurimas ex re hia familiari
donationes Notabiles eidem dedit

which being Englished is

This Trinity Church was founded in
the Eighth year of the Reign of the
most Illustrious Sovereign Lord Wil-
liam the third by the Grace of God
King of England Scotland France and
Ireland Defender of the faith &c:
And in the year of our Lord 1696 And
built by the Voluntary Contribution &
Gifts of Some Persons And Chiefly

Encouraged and Promoted by the
bounty of his Excell: Collonell Benja-
min Fletcher Cap^t Generall and Gov-
ernour in Chiefe of this Province in
the time of whose Government the In-
habitants of this City of the Protest-
ant Religion of the Church of England
as now Established by Law were In-
corporated by a Charter under the
Seale of the Province and many other
Valuable Gifts he gave to itt of his
Private Fortune.

Ordered that M^r Marston & Will Sharp-
as doe Collect the Contributions in
the Church for the four Sabbath days
following.

Att A Meeting of y^e Church
Wardens And Vestry men of
y^e Trinity Church on Munday
y^e 6th day of Dec^r 1697

Present	Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
	Rob ^t Lurting	
	Will Merrett Esq ^r	Nathaniel Marston
	Will Morris	Will Sharpas
	David Jameson	Thomas Clarke
	Michael Howden	Thomas Burroughs
	Ebenezer Willson	Gab ^l Ludlow
	James Evetts	

Nathaniel Marston & Will Sharpas
paid to Capt Willson this Night Seav-
en pounds Eleven Shilings & three
pence being Money Collected in the
Church the three last Sabbath days.
Capt Wenham & Capt Morris paid to
Capt Willson the Sum of thirteen
pounds Seaventeen Shilings & three
pence for five weeks Contribution in
the Church by them Collected.

Ordered that M^r Mayor & M^r Evetts
doe take Care that the Scaffold of y^e
Steeple of y^e Church be Struck & Also
Such Other things as will be Nesses-
sary and Covenant for y^e: Preserva-
tion of the Church

City of }
New Yorke }^{ss} At A Meeting of y^e: Church
Wardens & Vestry men of the
Said City on Tuesday y^e:
29th day of Dec^r 1697

Present	Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
	Will Merrett Esq	
	Ebenezer Willson	James Evetts
	William Morris	Will Huddleston
	Sam ^l Burte	Thomas Clarke
	David Jameson	Will Sharpas
	Mich Howden	
	Gab ^l Ludlow	

Nathaniel Marston & William Sharpas this Night paid to Capt Willson the Sum of four pounds five Shilings & Six pence which they Collected in the Church the two last Sabbath days Order'd that Capt Thomas Clarke and Mr Gab^l Ludlow Collect y^r: Contributions of y^r: English Church Congregation for the four Sabbath days following.

Att A Meeting of y^r Rector
- - - Church Wardens &
Vestry men of Trinity Church
on Munday y^r: 17th day of
January Anno Dom 1697
Present The Reverend Mr
William Vessey Rector

Citty of
New Yorke } ss

Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
Robert Lurting	
William Merrett Esq	} Nathaniel Marston William Sharpas William Huddleston Thomas Burroughs Vestrymen
William Morris	
David Jameson	
James Evetts	
William Janeway	
Ebenezer Willson	
John Crooke	
Michael Howden	

Ordered that the Church Wardens & Mr James Evetts doe with all Convenient Expedition Purchase Planke & boards Suitable for y^r making Doors for the Church & make Reporte of his Acting therein to the Next Vestry

The board having Considered the Necessity their is for A Clarke to Execute that office for the Service of the Congregation of Trinity Church & being Sencible of the good Services Mr William Huddleston has done in that office for Some years past & his readiness Still to officiate in the Said Office have Nominated & Appointed the said William Huddleston Clerke of the Said Church for the Year Ensueing to Commence from the 11th day of this Instant Month of January and that for his Encouragement for y^r due Execution of the Said Office he have A Salary of twenty pounds [*per Annum*] Curr^t Money of New Yorke & that the Same be paid Quarterly.

Order'd that Mr John Crooke & Mr William Janeway doe Collect the Contributions of the Church for four Sabbath days following.

Citty of
New Yorke } ss Att A Meeting of y^r: Reetor
Church Wardens & Vestry men

of the Said Citty on Munday
y^r: 31th day of January 1697

Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector

Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
Robert Lurting	
William Merrett Esq	} Thomas Burroughs [Michael II]
William Morris	
Thomas Clarke	} William Sharpas Ebenezer Willson Vestry men
David Jameson	
Samuel Burte	
James Evetts	
Michael Howdon	

His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher Cap^t Gen^l & Gov^r in Chief of this Province being the founder & Chiefe promoter of Trinity Church & being Desirous att his own Charge to Erect A Private Pew for the use of his family &c: [*and after the Removal of his family for any Gen^l*] this board having A due Sense of all his Excellencies favours have Ordered that Mr James Evetts doe lay out the Ground for the Same in the [*South*] East parte of the Church next to the [*Wall Over against the*] Chancell to Remaine for Ever to the Aforesaid use [*or Such other use*] or the use of Others as his Excellency shall [*direct Shall*] thinke fitt to Direct.

Ordered that Trinity Church be Cleaned to-morrow [*and put in Order that*] Divine Service being to be Read therein the Next [*Sabbath day*] Sunday Mr Jeremiah Tothill having Accepted to Oversee y^r: performance thereof. this board promising to Refund him in the Expence thereof.

Order'd that Mr Thomas Wenham & Mr Rob^t Lurting Church Wardens & Major William Merrett [*&*] Capt William Morris [*be*] & Capt Thomas Clarke be a Committee for y^r: Procuring of Glass & other Materialls for the finishing of y^r: Windows of Trinity Church & also for the making of y^r Doors thereof & that they perform the Same with all Convenient Expedition

Ordered that Capt William Morris & Capt Thomas Clarke doe goe About with y^r: list of Subscriptions for the Glass. for Trinity Church for y^r: following week

Capt Thomas Clarke one y^r Collectors of the Contributions of y^r Church in Christmas week &c: this Night paid to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of Six pounds Nine Shilings & Nine

pence Curr^t Money of New Yorke & Order'd he Acc^t for y^r: Same.

Odered that M^r Robert Lurting pay to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of ten pounds three Shillings & Seaven pence halfe penny Curr^t Money itt being Money Collected by him & Michael Howdon for three Sabbath days ending the 16th Jnstant.

City of } as Att Meeting of the [*Managers*
New Yorke } of] Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church on Munday y^r 7th day of February Anno Dom 1697

Present Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens

Will Merrett Esq James Evetts
Ebenezer Willson Nath Marston
William Morris Will Sharpas
Thomas Charke
Michael Howdon

Order'd that all Persons that have Received or Disbursted Money on account of the Church doe Carry their Accouts to M^r Giles Stollard in Order that they be duely Stated

Ordered that M^r James Evetts & M^r Jeremiah Tothill doe take Care to Level y^r: Ground in the Church & to provide Such Materialls as will be Nessessary for the Setting up of y^r: pulpit [*in the Church.*]

City of } as Att A Meeting of y^r: Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men of y^r: Said City on munday y^r: 14th day of February Anno Dom: 1697

Present [*The Reverend Mr William Vesey*]

Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Robert Lurting }

William Merrett Esq^r } Vestry men
David Jameson }

Ebenezer Willson }

William Morris }

Thomas Clarke }

James Evetts }

Sam^l Burte }

Thomas Burroughs }

John Crooke }

William Huddleston } Vestry men

Michael Howdon }

William Janeway }

Nath Marston }

Will Sharpas }

John Tuder }

[*M^r James Evetts brought in A Draft of*

the Pews of the Church which [by Lotts] were [divided] allotted as followeth Viet
The Pew 45 for y^e: Rector for the time being
46 William Merrett Esq^r & John his Son &c
47 Coll Caleb Heathcote & Will Nicolls Esq^r
48 James Graham Esq^r & Lewis Morris Esq^r
49 Thomas Wenham & Rob^t Lurting
15 Will Huddleston & Gabriel Ludlow
16 James Emott & Will Kidd
17 Thomas Clarke & Edward Graham
18 Nathan Marston & Daniel Honan
44 David Jameson & Will Anderson
43 Ebenezer Willson & Will Sharpas
42 John Tuder & Giles Stollard
40 Will Morris & John Tuder Junr
39 Peter Matthews & Thomas Monsey
36 Matthew Clarkson & Will
34 James Evetts & John Crooke
33 Will Janeway & Jerem Tothill
35 Michael Howdon & Thomas Surey
32 Law: Reade & Edward Antill
9 Sam^l Burte & Will Barker
10 Thomas Burroughs & Thos Molton

And itt is Agreed that the Above persons Shall build the Respective Pews att their own Charge wch Respective pews are to Remaine to them Respectively & their Respective Heirs for Ever provided that the Said Respective Pews be maintained in good Repair bey the Said Respective persons att their own Charge, and that in Case of Neglect thereof for one twelve Months Next after due warning is Given by the Church Wardens for the time being that then Such Pews Soe Neglected Shall Revert & Return to the Church Wardens of y^e: Said Church for y^e: time being & thereafter be Solely & Wholy att their Disposall.]

Mr William Janeway & M^r John Crooke this Night paid to Capt Ebenezer Willson the Sum of Nine pounds Eighteen Shillings & Six pence Curr^t Money of New Yorke itt being Money by them Collected in the Church for y^r: four Sabbath days last past.

Ordered that Cap^t Thomas Clarke & Cap^t Jeremiah Tothill doe Collect y^r: Contributions of y^r: Church for the four Sabbath days following

[*TO BE CONTINUED.*]

IV.—THE ATTACK ON FORT MIFFLIN, 1777.

TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF THE BARON D'ARENDT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINALS, AND COMMUNICATED BY COLONEL T. BAILEY MYERS, OF NEW YORK CITY.

SIR:

You will have the kindness to inform his Excellency that I have received to-day the

ammunition for which Colonel Smith asked, and that I have made arrangements to take enough, here, so that we may not run short in an attack, and the rest is to be given to the fleet to take care of. I have had several repairs made, in order to strengthen the weak places as much as possible: I would progress much faster, if the obstacles mentioned in my last letter, did not prevent me. I am still very certain that the garrison is a great deal too feeble to resist an attack with one line of soldiers, we need yet 800 more men. Major Fleury has the same opinion; we cannot form a vigorous resistance with the present garrison: (this will be seen by his Excellency).

To remedy in some way this defect, and to protect the fort from a surprise in the night, which is the most dangerous for us, I have asked Colonel Green to send here every evening 100 men from the Red Bank, who will return there at day-break. The greatest defense of this place consists, (according to my opinion) in preventing the enemy from landing; but, as we can see nothing in the night, and the cannon cannot be aimed straight, the entire part of this defense depends on the fleet.

It would be very just if all of our fleet were here every night to be on hand, otherwise they would be too late for the signal. The Commodore sends us sometimes a few boats, sometimes nothing but an armed battery, which is good for a guard but not for a defense, and yet, they only arrive in the night. For this reason, I have recommended him to be more punctual.

Last night, we had a false alarm, and we heard boats rowing on the river. I at once placed my men under arms; but it seemed to me that they were some of the enemy's boats on guard. I have learned to-day however that 16 of the enemy's boats full of troops, (the number of which I do not know) have passed the Schuylkill at Prood Island landing. If this be true, we shall have to be on the watch to-night, especially as it will be very dark, it being rainy weather. I shall be on the look out so that the enemy may not surprise us, and have sent warning to the Commodore.

I am quite unwell, much more so than usual, nothing but honor has kept me here till the present, for I cannot walk and I drag myself along with much difficulty, and I fear I have got a mortal sickness. I have been examined by the Surgeons here, who find my case very bad. I have resolved to go to a house near Red Bank, to remain several days, perhaps the solitude of the place and the pure air will benefit me, (and then I shall return to my post) because I suffer too much to remain here, any longer, as I am entirely ruining my health. The news of which I have written you has retarded me yet for to-day, and to-morrow I shall leave. I am very sure that his

Excellency will not blame me for doing so. Colonel Smith who knows this locality very well as well as its defense and my plans, will see to everything during my absence, and will do everything he can, to prevent discord between himself and Lieut. Colonel Green. I will render him justice by saying, that he is an excellent officer, and that I would wish for many more of his kind in America. I render the same justice to Major Fleury who is brave and active.

Give my respects to his Excellency,

I am your most humble servant

BARON ARENDT.

FORT MIFFLIN

October 26. 1777.

I have just learned that the fleet has kept all the ammunition saying that it was meant for them and not for us. At present, the garrison of this fort consists of only 800 able men, who could fight in case of an attack, as there are some sick ones among us. I have given Captain Treat of the Artillery about 80 men to assist him, but he tells me that he needs 70 more, and it would be a very good idea, if there were a Company of Artillery here.

We should have, therefore, according to my absolute ideas of reinforcement, 500 soldiers
70 artillery-men

570 men

Among the cannons of the battery, and the others, there are some which cannot be used on account of their chambers.

At 8 o'clock in the evening:

I have just received a letter from the Commodore in which he says, that he sends four armed batteries, but says, at the same time, that if the wind blows, the boats cannot remain and sustain us, and we must rely on ourselves: see the inclosed letter.

P. S. Excuse my writing so badly: I can write no more on account of pain. In case that I become better in a few days I shall return instantly to the fort, and I would wish that I may become better here this Winter in order that I may do better in future

[Addressed:]

Colonel Hamilton
his absence
Colonel John Laurens
Head Quarters
pr Express

[Endorsed:]

Baron d' Arendt
26 October 1777
at Fort Mifflin

In a house near the Fort.
Red-Beach. October 29th 1777.

Sir,

I was obliged to be removed to a house about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile from the Red Beach and I have made arrangements to be informed of all events occurring during my absence and also have instructed Colonel Smith and Major Fleury what work they must take charge of. In case the enemy should attack this coast, I would retire to Haddenfield via Burlington, if my sickness prevents me from entering the fort. Notwithstanding I feel great pain, being obliged to write this letter in bed, my sufferings are only bodily and my mind is continually thinking of the best method of defending the post which has been entrusted to me. It is my opinion that it could be attacked in two ways, either by an assault or by settling on a part of the island whence they could open a breach. It would be easier to repulse the enemy if they made an assault than by the last method. I will not speak to you of the assault, although you are unacquainted with the fortifications of this place, which consist of a wall on one side and wooden fortifications on the other three; the general idea, as it is given, will suffice you, I will then speak to you but of the other kind of attack, at present. Major Fleury informed me that he had sent to His Excellency a representation of this island and of the fort: be kind enough to see him, having this letter. You will find that but one point of this island opposite Province Island at a place where the enemy has a battery which we call "the hospital battery" for I think it was meant for that. If the enemy wishes to make an attack by rule, they would only have to land at this place, for, notwithstanding it is swanpy, they could remedy this by fascines and gabions. They could then fight with us at a distance of 500 feet; and, as this side of the fort is surrounded but by wooden fortifications, they would soon make a large breach and reduce us to a great extremity on account of the condition of this side of the fort and by bombs from the opposite side of the river, particularly as we cannot resist them but with two cannons of which, the second is unprotected from the bombardment. The idea of this attack has so struck me that it seems that if the enemy knows our position; and they must know it, if it is true that the engineer who has commenced to fortify this island, is from the enemies' side, they would attack us in this way, for notwithstanding they would lose a little more time, the attack would be more certain and it would not expose the army as much as in an assault; especially as they do not know our forces perfectly, or the works which we have at present. I leave it to your Excellency to judge if my reflections are well-founded or not, but what confirms me in

my opinion is the news which was received yesterday that a large number of cars filled with fascines have passed from Philadelphia to the Schuylkill, and that they were to be used in the attack on Fort Mifflin. A person who was in this place on Sunday last, told me himself that he had seen these cars and had counted about 200. Now if this news be true what is the use of all these fascines but for the attack beforenamed?

If the enemy will post itself in this fatal place we must do everything to defeat them during the day; but particularly in the night when they will make false attacks, it will be very difficult to do this; and once stationed it will be almost impossible to force them to retreat. But I repeat and will continue to repeat, that the defense of the fort consists in preventing the enemy from landing, and it is the fleet which can prevent this, especially during the night when the cannons of the fort would not be very useful. I do not know if His Excellency will order the Commodore to join the fleet, neither do I know if it will be convenient or not; but I am sure that if the enemies' ships should protect the descent of the troops, our ships should not engage with them but should attack the boats which contain the troops; for I have been assured that it was not advisable to remove the chevaux de frise. You will be kind enough to translate the important points to His Excellency, for it is he who will weigh and judge of my remarks.

I will not repeat that a reinforcement of 300 men and 70 artillery men at least are necessary, if we have to defend ourselves; but as I do not know our General's intentions, I will not insist upon it. You will decide if it is not possible to prevent the enemy from sending troops against this fort or against Province Island. If they determine to remain at Philadelphia, they will try hard to take it. I have already informed you that the enemy has landed at Botlingsport with 300 soldiers. I flatter myself that His Excellency is convinced without the certifying of it by doctors, that I did not leave my post without great necessity. Be kind enough to answer me concerning this, as I would suffer in mind as well as body if I thought you doubted this.

With profound respect to His Excellency, I am,
with all my heart,

Sir Your humble servant

BARON ARENDT.

I forgot to mention that
there are 40 men in the hospital
not in fighting condition.

[Addressed:]

To Colonel Hamilton

A. D. C.

[Endorsed:]

Baron Arendt

29 Oct 1777

VI.—"THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS" OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR
CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 22.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

WARRANT. 24th June 1776.

These are to Warn the several Inhabitants of the N Hampshire grants on the West side, and to Desire those on the East Side the Range of Green Mountain's, That they Meet by their several Delegates, in General Convention, to be held at the Dwelling House of M^r Cephas Kent inholder in Dorset, on Wednesday the Twenty fourth day of Iuly Next at 8 o'Clock in the forenoon to Act on the Following Articles (viz).

- 1st to Choose a Moderator & Secondly a Clerk for said Convention
- 2^d to Recieve the Report of Cap^t Heman Allen from the Continental Congress, he having been previously Appointed to transact Business in behalf of the inhabitants of said Grants.
- 4th To know the Minds of the Convention, Relative to their Associateing with the province of N. Hampshire.
- 5th In case the last Article be Objected to; Whether said Convention, will agree to an Association, (Not Repugnant to that of the Continental Congress) and Subscribe thereto, to do Duty [with the Con] in Conjunction with the Continental Troops (Only) as Members of the District of Land which they Inhabit.
- 6th To see if said Convention will earnestly Recommend it to the several Field officers heretofore nominated on said Grants, to see that their men be forthwith furnished with Suitable Arms, Ammunition and Accouttriments &c. agreeable to a Resolve of the hon^{ble} the Continental Congress.
- 7th To See if said Convention will make Preperation, and Settle with Cap^t Heman Allen for his Expences and Services for the publick. And 8th to transact any other that shall be thought Necessary in the power of 8^d Convention for the Safety of the Liberties of the Colonies in General and the N. Hampshire Grants in particular

James Breakenridge }
Simeon Hatheway } Commi
Elijah Dewey } appointed

Coppy Examined p^r Ionas Fay Clk

Dorset July 24th 1776

In Consequence of the foregoing Warrant the following Persons being Delegated, met at this place to Transact the Business of 8^d Warrant (viz.)

Towns Names—Delegates Names

Pownall	Cap ^t Sam ^l Wright
Bennington	Simeon Hatheway
	Ionas Fay
Shaftsbury	In ^o Burnam Iun ^r
	Maj ^r Jeremiah Clark
Sunderland	M ^r John Burnam
	Joseph Bradley
Manchester	Col ^o W ^m Marsh
	L ^t Martin Powell
	Gideon Ormsby
Dorset	John Manly
	Abr ^m Underhill
Rupert	Reuben Harmen
	Amos Curtis
Pawlet	Cap ^t William Fitch
	Maj ^r Roger Rose
Wells	Daniel Culver
	Ogden Mallory
Poultney	Nehemiah How
	William Warl
Castleton	Ephraim Buell
	Jesse Belknap
Hubberton	Benj ^r Hitchcock
Sudbury	John Gage
Brigport	Samuel Benton
Addison	Col ^o John Strong
Cornwall	James Bentley
Burlington	Lemuel Bradley
Stanford	Thomas Morgan
Williston	Col ^o Tho ^s Chittenden
Jerico	Brown Chamberlin
Colchester	Ira Allen
Hindshurgh & Mongton	Isaac Lawrance
Neshobeh	John Mott.
	Aaron Powers
	Ion ^o Rowley
Pittsford	Jonathan Fassett
Rutland	Asa Johnson
	Joseph Bowker
Clarindon	Thomas Braten
N. Wallingford	Matthew Lyon
	Abr ^m Jackson
Tinmouth	Eben ^r Allen
	Stephen Royce

Danbee	{	Cap ^t Micah Veal
		William Gage
Townshend	{	Cap ^t Sam ^l Fletcher
		Isiah Fish

Cap^t Heman Allen } for Middleborough
Voted Unanimously, that the above persons
be admitted as Legal Members of this Con-
vention.

Copy Examined

By Jonas Fay Clerk

Proceeded (viz)

Choose Captain Joseph Bowker Chairman.

Choose Doctor Jonas Fay Clerk. after which
on a Motion being made and agreed to by the
House, the Clerk proceeded to read the fol-
lowing Address, Remonstrance & Petition of
the inhabitants of the N Hampshire Grants
to the honorable the Continental Congress,
which was exhibited to that board by Cap^t
Heman Allen in the latter part of the Month
of April, or in the beginning of the Month
of May A.D. 1776. (VIZ)

To the honorable John Hancock Esq^r
President of the honorable the Continental
Congress &c. &c, now Assembled at PHIL-
ADELPHIA.

The Humble Address, Remonstrance and
Petition of that part of America being Situ-
ate South of Canada line, West of Connect-
icut River, North of the Massachusetts Bay
and East of a twenty Mile line from Hud-
son's River commonly called, and known by
the name of the N. Hampshire Grants Hum-
bly Sheweth,

That your honors Petitioners being fully
Sensible and Deeply Affected with the very
Alarming Situation in which the United Col-
onies are involved, by means of a designing
Ministry, who have flagrantly Used, and are
still Using their Utmost efforts to bring the
inhabitants of this Very extensive Continent
of America, into a Base & Servile subjection
to Arbitrary Power; Contrary to all the most
Sacred ties of Obligation by Covenant and
the well known Constitution by which the
British Empire ought to be Governed; Your
Petitioners (not to be Prolix, or waste time)
when the whole Continent are in so disagree-
able Situation, would however beg leave to
Remonstrate, in as Short terms as possible
the Very peculiar Situation in which your
Petitioners have for a Series of Years been
Exercised, and are still Struggling.

Perhaps Your honors, or at Least some of
you, are not unacquainted, that at the con-
clusion of the Last War, the above described
premises, which your petitioners now inhab-
it was deemed, and reputed to be in the

province of New Hampshire, and conse-
quently within the jurisdiction of the same,
Whereupon applications were freely made
to Benning Wentworth Esq^r the then Gov-
ernor of the province of N. Hampshire, who
with the Advice of his Council, did Grant
under the Great Seal of said province to
your honors Petitioners a Large Number of
Townships of the contents of six Miles
Square each, in Consequence of which a
great number of your Petitioners, who were
men of Considerable Substance disposed of
their intrests in their Native Places and
with their Numerous Families Proceeded
many of them two hundred Miles, Encoun-
tering many Dangers, Fatigues and great
Hardships to inhabit a Desolate Wilderness,
which has now become a well Settled Fron-
tier to three Governments, this was not All
our Trouble, for soon after the Commenc-
ment of those Settlements, the Monopolis-
ing Land-traders of New York, being ap-
prised that the province of N. Hampshire
had granted the said Lands, and that settle-
ments were actually Making, did present a
petition (as we have often heard and Verily
beleive) in your Petitioners Names praying
that his Majesty would annex the said Lands
Granted by the Authority of N. Hampshire
to N. York, on account of its Local and
other Circumstances for the benefit of the
inhabitants.

Your Petitioners not being apprised of the
intrigue (in this Case) were Mute, therefore
as no Objection was made why the prayer of
the petition should not be Granted his
Majesty was pleased with the Advice of
his Council on the fourth day of July
A D. 1764 to Grant the Same, immediately
after which the Land Traders of N. York
Petitioned the then Governor of that prov-
ince for grants of Land, some part of which
had been previously granted to your peti-
tioners, by the Governor and Council of N.
Hampshire: The Dispute then became Seri-
ous, and your Petitioners, then Petitioned
his Majesty for Relief in the Premises, His
Majesty was pleased to appoint a Commit-
tee, who reported to his Majesty in the
premises, and his Majesty was pleased to
pass order in the following Words (viz

"At a Court held at Saint James's the
"24th day of July 1767.

"Present

"The Kings most Excellent Majesty
"The Arch Bishop of Canterbury
"Lord Chancellor
"Duke of Queensborough
"Duke of Ancaster

" Lord Chamberlain
 " Earl of Litchfield
 " Earl of Bristol
 " Earl of Shelburn
 " Viscount Falmouth
 " Viscount Barrington
 " Viscount Clark
 " Bishop of London
 " Mr Sec^y Conway
 " Hans Stanley Esq^r

" His Majesty taking the said Report into
 " Consideration was pleased with the
 " Advice of his privy Council to approve
 " thereof and doth hereby Strictly Charge,
 " Require and Command, that the Gov-
 " ernor, or Commander in Chief of his
 " Majesties province of N. York for the
 " time being, do not upon pain of His
 " Majesties highest displeasure presume to
 " make any grant whatsoever of any part
 " of the Land described in the said Re-
 " port Untill his Majesties further pleas-
 " ure should be known concerning the
 " Same

" William Sharp

" a True Copy Attest Go. Banyar Dept^y Sec^y

The many intervening and Unhappy Dis-
 putes which since have happened between
 those Land Traders and your Petitioners
 would take up too much time under the
 present situation of Publick Affairs to Recite,
 as Cap^t Heman Allen and Doct^r Jonas Fay
 who we have appointed to present this to
 your honors will be furnished therewith
 should they find your honors admittance,
 and such particulars be thought necessary;
 let it suffice here only to mention that the
 Oppressions from those overgrown land
 Traders were so Greivous that your Petition-
 ers were again induced, at a great expence
 to Petition his Majesty; in consequence
 of which a Committee was appointed and made
 a Report in favour of your Petitioners,
 which is too prolix to be inserted here.

We are Called on this moment by
 the Committee of Safety for the County of
 Albany to Surpress a dangerous insurrection
 in Tryon County, upwards of ninety Sol-
 diers were on their March within twelve
 hours after Receiving the News, all inhabit-
 ants of one Town inhabited by your Peti-
 tioners, all furnished with Arms, Ammu-
 nition, Accouttriments, provisions &c.—Again
 we are Allarmed by Express from General
 Worcester Commanding at Montreal—with
 the disagreeable News of the Unfortunate
 Attack on Quebec, (Unfortunate indeed to
 Loose so brave a Commander) Requiring our
 immediate Assistance by Troops; in conse-

quence of which a considerable number im-
 mediately Marched for Quebec, and more
 are daily following their Example; Yet
 while we your Petitioners are thus earnestly
 engaged we beg Leave to say that we are
 intirely willing to do all in our Power in the
 General Cause under the Continental Con-
 gress, and have been ever since the taking
 Ticonderoga &c. in which your petitioners
 were principally Active, under the Command
 of Col^l Ethan Allen, but are not willing to
 put ourselves under the honorable the pro-
 vincial Congress of N. York in such manner
 as might in future be Detrimental to our
 private property; as the Oath to be Admin-
 istered to those, who are, or shall be entrusted
 with Commissions from said Congress,
 and the Association agreed upon by the same
 Authority, together with some particular
 Restrictions, and Orders for Regulating the
 Militia of said province (if conformed to by
 the inhabitants of the said N Hampshire
 Grants) will (as we apprehend) be detri-
 mental to your Petitioners, in the determin-
 ation of the dispute now subsisting between
 your said Petitioners and certain Claimants
 under N. York. And that your Petitioners
 ardent desires of exerting themselves, in the
 present struggle for freedom, may not be
 Restrained, and that we might engage in the
 Glorious Cause, without fear of giving our
 opponents any Advantage in the said Land
 Dispute, which we would wish to have Lie
 dormant, until a General Restoration of
 Tranquility shall allow us the Opportunity
 for an equitable desicion of the Same.

Another Reason that much hinders us from
 joining N. York hand in hand in the General
 Cause, is, they will not own us in our
 property, but on the Contrary, the judges of
 their Supreme Court, have expressly declar-
 ed the Charters, Conveyances &c of your
 Petitioners Lands to be null and Void.

Therefore we Your honors Humble Peti-
 tioners most earnestly pray your honors to
 take our Case into your Wise Consideration
 and order that for the future your petition-
 ers shall do Duty in the Continental service
 (if Required) as inhabitants of said N.
 Hampshire Grants, and not as inhabitants of
 the province of N. York, or Subject to the
 Limitations, Restrictions, or Regulations
 of the Militia of said province, and that
 Commissions as your honors shall judge
 Meet be Granted Accordingly, and as in
 Duty bound

your honors Petitioners shall ever pray.

At a Meeting of the Representa-
 tives of the different Towns on the N Hamp-
 shire Grants legally Warned and convened

at the House of Mr Cephas Kent's innholder in Dorset on the sixteenth day of January A D. 1776.

Captain Joseph Woodward Chairman.

Doct^r Jonas Fay Clerk.—This Meeting after due consideration agreed to prefer to the honorable the Continental Congress a humble Petition setting forth the peculiar Circumstance of this part of the Country. Accordingly a Committee was appointed to draw up the Same, who drew up the foregoing and Reported it to the house in the Evening, and the Clerk Read the same in his place and afterwards Delivered it in at the Table; the House then Adjourned, till tomorrow 9 o'Clock.

January 17th Met According to Adjournment.

The said Petition being a second time Read was agreed to by the whole House, then Lieutenant James Breakenridge and Capt. Heman Allen was Nominated to Prefer the said Petition, a Vote was Called and passed in the affirmative Nem. Con., then Doctor Jonas Fay was Nominated and a Vote Called passed in the Affirmative Nem. Con.

Joseph Woodward Chairman

Attest Jonas Fay Clerk

A True Copy from the Original
Errors excepted

Jonas Fay } Committee
Ira Allen } appointed

Captain Heman Allen, appointed to Prefer the foregoing to the honorable the Continental Congress, being present, and on a Motion being made and Seconded, Reported to the Convention as follows (viz^t

That in consequence of his Appointment, for that purpose, he had delivered the said foregoing Remonstrance, Address and Petition to the honorable John Hancock Esq^r the President of the Congress then sitting at Philadelphia, and that by the directions of the honorable House, it was Read in his Place at the Board by the Secretary.

That the Delegates from the province of N. York endeavoured to Oppose the said petition, but that it was entered on file and ordered to lie on the Table for further Consideration.

That on the Advice of Several Gentlemen, be made a Motion to withdraw the said petition, that the Delegates from N. York should not have it in their Power to bring the matter to a final Decision, at a time when the Convention in the Grants had no Proper Deligate in the House, that in

consequence thereof the Motion was Entered on the Minutes, the Petition not being Ready at hand at that time.

That he had many private Conferences with sundry Members of Congress and Other Gentlemen of Distinction Relating to the particular Circumstances and Situation of the New Hampshire Grants, who did Severally earnestly Recommend that the inhabitants of said grants Exert themselves to their Utmost Abilities to Repel, by force, the Hostile invasions of the British Fleets and Armies against the Colonies of America, and that said inhabitants do not by any way, or Means whatsoever connect, or Associate with the honorable Provincial Congress of New York, or any Authority derived from by, or under them directly or indirectly, but that the said inhabitants do forthwith consult suitable Measures to Associate and Unite the whole of the inhabitants of said Grants together.

Proceeded VIZ

This Convention being fully Sensible that the importance of the business which Occasions their Meeting at this time Requires the most Serious deliberation, are therefore disposed to make the following Votes viz^t.

- 1st That not more than One person be Allowed to Speak at the Same time, and only by leave of the Chairman.
- 2^d That the business of the Meeting be closely Attended to, and that the several Articles contained in the Warrant for this Meeting, be severally followed in Course (Except otherwise Over-ruled.
- 3^d Voted to pass over the fourth, fifth and sixth Articles of the Warrant till tomorrow at 10 o'Clock at this place.

Voted Col^o William Marsh, Col^o Thomas Chittenden, John Burnum jun^r, Cap^t Micah Veal and Lieu^t Joseph Bradley, be a Committee to examine the Account of Cap^t Heman Allen for his Service for the Publick, and Report their Opinion thereon to this Convention 9 o'Clock tomorrow Morning.

adjourn'd to 7 o'Clock tomorrow Morning at this place.

Meeting Opened at time and place.
Proceeded to the Consideration of the fourth Article of the Warrant and after due Consideration it was dismissed.

Proceeded to the Consideration of the fifth Article of the Warrant and Resolved that Application be made to the inhabitants of Said Grants to form the same into a Separate

District, discontents only One.

Proceeded to the Consideration of the sixth Article of the Warrant, and Voted to Recommend it Accordingly

Voted to Choose a Committee to Treat with the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants on the East side the Range of Green Mountains, Relative to their Associating with this Body.

Voted that Capt. Heman Allen, Col^o William Marsh and Doct^r Jonas Fay in Conjunction with Cap^t Samuel Fletcher and Mr^r Joshua Fish, be a Committee to exhibit the Proceedings of this Convention, to said inhabitants, and to do the Business as Above.

Voted Doct^r Jonas Fay, Col^o Thomas Chittenden and Lieut. Ira Allen a Committee to prepare instructions for the Above said Committee.

Voted that Col^o Seth Warner and Col^o Thomas Chittenden be a Committee to present a petition to the General and Commander in Chief of the Northern Department, Requesting his Assistance, in Guarding the Frontiers to the Northward on the said New Hampshire Grants.

Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay and Col^o William Marsh be a Committee to prepare the Above petition.

Adjourned one hour

The Meeting Opened at time and place.

Proceeded to the Consideration of the following Association viz^t

This Convention being fully Sensible that it is the Will and Pleasure, of the honorable the Continental Congress, that every honest Friend to the Liberties of America in the several United States thereof, should Subscribe an Association, binding themselves as Members of Some Body, or Community, to stand in the Defence of those Liberties; And Whereas it has been the Usual Custom for individuals to Associate with the Colony, or State which they are Reputed to be Members of. Yet Nevertheless the the long and Spirited Conflict, which has for many Years Subsisted, between the Colony, or State of New York and the inhabitants of that District of Land, Commonly Called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, Relative to the Title of the Land on said District Renders it inconvenient in many Respects to Associate with that Province; or State, which has hitherto been the Sole Reason of our not Subscribing an Association before this.

The better therefore to convince the Pub-

lick of our Readiness to join in the the common Defence of the aforesaid Liberties, We do Publish and Subscribe the following Association VIZ^t

We the Subscribers inhabitants of that District of Land, commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants, do Voluntarily and Solemnly Engage under all the ties held sacred amongst Mankind at the Risque of our Lives and fortunes to Defend, by Arms, the United American States against the Hostile Attempts of the British Fleets and Armies, Until the present Unhappy Controversy between the two Countries shall be Settled.

SIGNERS NAMES viz^t

Joseph Bowker	Benjamin Hicock
Thomas Chittenden	Isaac Lawrance
Simeon Hatheway	Daniel Culver
Jeremiah Clark	John Burnum
Joseph Bradley	John Strong
Micah Veal	Lemuel Bradley
William Gage	John Gage
Reuben Harmon	John Mott
John Manley	Jonathan Rowlee
Seth Warner	Jon ^s Fassett
William Marsh	Aaron Parsons
Gideon Ormsby	William Ward
Stephen Royce	James Bentle
Amos Curtis	Thomas Morgan
Ira Allen	Heman Allen
Nehemiah How	John Burnum P ^r
Asa Johnson	Matthew Lyon
Brown Chamberlin	William Fitch
Abraham Jackson	Ogden Mallory
Samuel Wright	Jonas Fay
Samuel Benton	Martin Powell
Iesse Belknap	Roger Rose
Abraham Underhill	Samuel Fletcher
Ephraim Bewell	Iosiah Fish
Eben ^t Allen	

The above are the Names of the Delegates.

Thomas Braten of Clarendon the only Discontent

Resolved that it be and it is hereby Recommended to the Several inhabitants on the N. Hampshire Grants (who are friends to the Liberties of the United States of America, that they Subscribe the Association agreed on, and Signed by the several Members of this Convention, and Return the Same to the Clerk thereof as soon as may be.

Resolved Unanimously, that any person, or Persons inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants that shall in future Subscribe, and Return an Association to any the Committee, or Committee's of Safety for either

of the Counties in the province of N. York, or to the provincial Congress thereof, Otherwise than the Association contained in these Records and Subscribed by the Several Delegates of this Convention, shall be Deemed Enemies to the Common Cause of the N Hampshire Grants.

Resolved that nine persons be Chosen as a Committee of Appeals, who are to hear and determine such Matters as may be properly Exhibited to them (in writing) by any of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants Relative to the Cause of American Liberty, by way of proper Appeal from the judgment of either of the Committee's of Safety on said Grants, any five of which Committee to be a Quorum.

Resolved that Doctor Jonas Fay, Col^o Timothy Brownson, Col^o William Marsh, Cap^t Joseph Bowker, Cap^t Joseph Woodward, Cap^t Micah Veal, Col^o Thomas Chittenden, Major Stephen Royce, and Cap^t Abraham Underhill, be and are hereby Unanimously Appointed a Committee for the Above purpose.

Lastly Resolved to Adjourn this Convention, and to Meet at this place on—Wednesday the 25th day of September next at 8 o'clock in the Morning

Joseph Bowker } Chairman

Attest Jonas Fay Clerk

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—THE ANCIENT PENOBSCOT, OR PANAWANSKEK.

By Hon. JOHN E. GODFREY, OF BANGOR, MAINE.

The spelling of the original name of Penobscot was a difficult matter with the early French, in this country, for it was spelled by them, as our late Secretary, Doctor Ballard, discovered, in not far from sixty different ways—Panouamske, Panawanskek, Pannaouamske, Panahamsket, Panamske, Panaomske, Panaouamsde, Passouamske, Panouamske, Panoumsque, Panoumske are some of the forms. The English did better; they caught the sound, Penobscot, and kept it.

It is difficult to determine when the English established that pronunciation. We find it thus spelled, in Strachey's account of the expedition that sailed from England, in 1606, to establish the Popham Colony. He says that, on the eighth of September, "Captain Gilbert, with twenty-two others, departed in the shallop for 'the river of Penobscot.'" Strachey, however,

wrote in 1618. Captain John Smith was upon the coast, in 1614, and visited Penobscot. The name does not appear in the journal of Weymouth's voyage, in 1605, although it is believed, by many, that the Penobscot was the river he visited.

At the time Champlain sailed up the river, in the Autumn of 1605, it was called, by the savages, "Pentagoët." Mount Desert was called "Pematig," or "Pematig;" and from this, it is said, the waters of the bay and river, westward, acquired the name Pematigoët, and, finally, "Pentagoët." This name the French afterward applied to the Peninsula of Matchebiguatus—commonly called Bagaduce—now a part of Castine; the English applying, to the same locality, the name, Penobscot.

It would relieve curiosity to know if there was a permanent Abenakis village, prior to the advent of the French, bearing the name of Panawanskek. The Abenakis, according to La Hontan, were a wandering people. They must have been so by necessity, for, depending upon the woods and waters for their supplies of food, they could not long remain in one place and subsist. That they had temporary camping-grounds, at the mouths of nearly all the tributaries of the Penobscot, is evident from the fact, that great numbers of arrow-heads, stone axes, and other Indian implements, have been found there. But there are three localities upon the river, which, it is said, were their particular places of rendezvous—Mattawamkeag, Passadumkeag, and Penobscot Falls—which latter locality was, probably, the beginning or principal point of the ancient Panawanskek. It may be, that that name, in its several forms, was applied to the different camping-grounds, or it might have been applied to the whole territory. At Passadumkeag and Penobscot Falls were French forts, with French and Indian villages. The fort at Passadumkeag was destroyed, by Colonel Thomas Westbrook, in 1722-3, the inhabitants having retired to Mattawamkeag. The fort and village at Penobscot Falls were destroyed by Captain Heath, in 1725.*

A French "Memoir," of 1723, says there were then five villages of the Abenakis. Two were on the River St. Lawrence, near Three Rivers. "The three others are in the direction of Acadia, and are called, Narantsouak, on the River Kanabekky; Panouamsde, on the River Pentagoët, and Medoctec, on the River St. John. The village of Narantsouak is nearest New England; that of Medoctec nearest Acadia; and that of Panouamk6 nearly in the centre.†" Narantsouak was Norridgwick; Medoctec was

* Williamson's *History of Maine*, II., 143.

† *New York Colonial Documents*, v., 240.

* *Maine Historical Collections*, III., 808.

about East from the town of Hodgdon; and Panaouamke was probably at Penobscot Falls, as stated before, and opposite the mouth of the Mantawassuc stream, (near Eddington,) which was celebrated for the immense quantities of fish that were taken there, in early times.

Although the forces of Westbrook and Heath were quite large—there being with Westbrook, two hundred and forty men—yet no mention is made by them of a village at Oldtown. Westbrook was five days examining the river and searching for a fort between the place of his landing and Passadumkeag; but he found none, until he reached what is now called Nicola's Island, at the latter place; and he mentions no other village. Williamson thinks the village at Penobscot Falls was not built until 1723-4.* He says, "it was a resting-place and resort of the "Indians, before the village was built."

Father Chambault wrote a letter, dated Panawanskek, September 24, 1697, in which he gives an account of an expedition of one hundred and twenty men leaving there, in canoes, on the thirteenth of September, with the design of joining the Indians of "Kinibekki, in order to form, "all together, a large party, which might strike "a considerable blow at the enemy," and of its going beyond Pemaquid, and being driven back by the enemy, who came in "five English vessels.†" Major Benjamin Church says, in his report of his expedition, East, in 1696, that he "found many rendezvous and fire-places where "the Indians had been." The pilot, "Joseph "York, informed the Major, that fifty or sixty "miles up that river, at the great falls, the enemy had a great rendezvous, and planted a "quantity of corn when he was with them, four "years ago.‡"

It was from this place, probably, that Father Laverjait wrote a letter, dated "PANOUAMSKE, "8th July, 1728," in which he says, "The insolence of the Messrs. de St. Castin" [*the Baron's sons*] "has become so excessive, that they have "no respect for God or myself. The eldest, "who will no many, and is not satisfied with "spreading corruption through the village, has "now set up a public traffic in *aude vie*, with "his nephew, the son of M. de Bell Isle. They "have already drowned one man by it, and "think to destroy many others. The youngest "of the Castin's never comes into the village "but he gets publicly drunk, and sets the village "in a flame."

Governor Pownall, with his expedition up the Penobscot, in 1759, landed on the East side of the river, with one hundred and thirty-six men,

and proceeded to the head of the first fall, "about four miles and a quarter from the first "Ledge" [*Champlain's rocks, off the foot of Newbury-street, Bangor*]. * * "Clear land "on the left for near four miles.*" "The "Plains," in Venzie, opposite the spot where Governor Pownall established his bound, were doubtless the corn lands of the Indians from time immemorial. The soil is a sandy loam; and has always been esteemed for its peculiar adaptability to the culture of Indian corn.

A Penobscot Indian, of some intelligence, says, that the aboriginal name of the present Indian village on Oldtown-island, is Panawanskek. This Island is within the territory to which that name was applied, centuries ago; but the village is comparatively modern. Captain Francis, an intelligent Chief of the tribe, of some note, in the former part of this century, said that the Penobscots removed from above, on the river, and established themselves there, in order to have advantages from the swift water in their rencontres with the Mohawks, their chief enemies.

Father Vetromile, in his little work, entitled *The Abnakis*, says, that the meaning of Panawanskek is "it forks upon the white rocks.†" The Indians say that it means, "it opens or "widens upon the rocks."

If there is any part of the river to which this definition applies, it is that part at the "Head "of the Tide." Great boulders and ledges, in great numbers, are there exposed, when the tide is out, and the river truly "opens upon the "rocks." Between that place and Oldtown, the river is rapid and difficult of navigation; whereas, from there, in the direction of the ocean, the navigation is easy and agreeable, and it really must have been the *point de portance* of the natives in their expeditions down the river.

The Indians made peculiar claim to the territory extending from that point up the river, and held it, with wonderful tenacity, for years, against the efforts of the white settlers and the Government to obtain it.

On the twenty-first of June, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts recognized their claim to "territories or possessions, beginning at "the Head of the Tide, on the Penobscot-river, "extending six miles on each side of said "river.‡"

Bangor was first settled in 1769; and its principal settlement, for several years, was near the head of the tide. A truck-house was built a little below the Pennejawock stream, near Mount Hope; and, in September, 1775, a Conference with Chiefs of the Penobscot and St. John

* Williamson's *History of Maine*, II., 143.

† Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, I., 235.

‡ Drake's *Indian Wars*, 228.

• *Maine Historical Collections*, v., 382.

† *The Abnakis*, 24.

‡ Kidder's *Eastern Maine*, 58.

Tribes was held in that house, and a Treaty entered into, which was reduced to writing by Colonel Jonathan Lowder, then late Gunner at Fort Pownall. They resolved to stand together with "our Brethren of Massachusetts and oppose the people of Old England that are endeavoring to take yours and our Lands and Liberties from us."

After the War, it was found that the Indian claim to this tract was an obstacle to the settlement of the country. The whites encroached upon it, and some ill-feeling was likely to prevail, unless the Indian title could be extinguished; therefore, the Massachusetts Government commenced negotiations, in order to obtain a release of it.

Massachusetts appointed three Commissioners—General Benjamin Lincoln, General Rufus Putnam, and Doctor Thomas Rice—to obtain a cession of the territory. They arrived at Condukeag, [Bangor] on the twenty-sixth of August, 1786, and, on the same day, sent Mr. John Marsh, the original settler upon Marsh's-island, to Oldtown, to invite the Indians to a Conference. The answer was favorable; and, on the next day, which was Sunday, twenty-one canoes, with sixty-four natives, arrived at Condukeag. The Conference was held on the next day.

Reverend Daniel Little, of Kennebunk, who was a Missionary in the region, at the time, was present, and gives the following interesting account of the Conference.

"Aug. 28, at 10 o'clock. The Indians were desired to parade themselves in the place and manner they should choose. In about ten minutes, the Commissioners received word that they were ready to wait upon them. Four of their chieftains, Orono, Orsong, Neptune, Neptonbovitt, seated on the ground, close together, in the front, on an elegant green, near the river, the others promiscuously in the rear. The Commissioners, with the two Interpreters, Messrs. Treat and Marsh, walked up to the parade; and the Conference began in the presence of a number of spectators.

"Com^r General Lincoln addressed them with the kind intentions of the Government, in their appointment to settle their landed claims to mutual satisfaction; and congratulated them upon the happy close of the War in which they had been our faithful friends and brethren.

"INDIANS. We desire to bless God that you are come; and are glad that our hearts are linked with the Americans. We will now answer you to what you demand.

"COM^r. We wish to know your claims [Commissioners retired].

"INDIANS. The Indians signify they are ready to answer.

"COM^r. [The Commissioners returned.]

"IND. We claim down to a small stream below Oldtown, one mile above Colburn's. If the English come nearer, our dogs will do them damage and make a quarrel. [Then the Indians handed the Comm. a bundle of papers, upon which the Comm. retired.—Comm. returned and replied.]

"COM^r. We are glad you express so much satisfaction in seeing us here. We wish you to remember you relinquished your right to this part of the country to Governor Pownall; and that what you now hold is, by the doings of the Provincial Congress, in the year 1776, which is six miles on each side of the river, from the head of the tide. On this you all now rest your claims. If you hold only six miles next the river, when we settle our land back of that, it will destroy your hunting-ground, which we shall be unwilling to do. We propose to give you a larger tract up the river, better for hunting, and two islands in the Bay. [Comrs give them time for a deliberate consideration.]

"IND. ANSWER. We dont think it right to remove further up the river—we wish to do nothing but what is right.

"[The Com^rs retired for deliberation.]

"COM. REPLY. We are willing you should hold all the Islands in the river, you now improve, from Sunkhole to Passadunké, which is three miles above Oldtown,* together with Oldtown Islands and the lands on all the branches of the river above Passcataguees,† on the West side, and Montawanskeag,‡ on the East side, of the river, together with White-island and Black-island in the Bay, if you will quit your right to the six miles wide from the river below.

"[Comm. leave their proposal some time for deliberation.]

"IND. We desire to cross line at Passadunké for our bounds.

"COM^r. You have our proposals from which we shall not depart.

"[Comm. leave the proposals and retire.]

"IND. After some deliberation, the Indians signify that the six miles was their land; and if they moved the bound further up, they expected to be paid for it.

"COM^r. We do give you more land and better for hunting. What further consideration do you desire?

"IND. We all want Blankets, Powder, and

* Sunkhole (now Sunkhare) is three miles above Oldtown. Passadunké is from sixteen to twenty miles above.

† Piscataquis.

‡ Mattawamkes.

"Shot, and Flints.

"Comm. How many blankets will give each of your tribe one?

"Ans. 850.

"Comm. You shall have 850 Blankets, 200 lbs Powder, and Shot and Flints in proportion, at the time when you sign the papers, for the ratification of the agreement.

"To which the Indians consented with general satisfaction. Then General Lincoln called upon four persons present as witnesses, which were received and accepted by the Indians, viz., the Rev. Messrs. Little & Noble, Colo. Eddy and Mr. Colburn.

"The Conference closed at two o'clock with an admonition to the Indians not to spread groundless reports of hostile intentions, but carefully inform the Inhabitants of any thing necessary for their safety. Upon which they shook hands with the Commissioners and parted with general joy.

"The Commissioners sent on shore both Breakfast and Dinner. And the Indians regaled themselves, and then went in different parties up the river.

"Through the whole time of the Conference, the Indians never moved from the spot upon which they first seated themselves, and never rose except when they spoke to the Commissioners, till just at the close, when the four public speakers rose together."

In June, 1788, the Governor of Massachusetts appointed Rev. Daniel Little a Commissioner, to complete the agreement with the Indians, by delivering to them the blankets and ammunition, and obtaining their release of the desired territory. The Reverend gentleman, in his capacity of Governmental Minister, used considerable more formality than he used as Gospel Minister; and, when he arrived at Condeskeag, with his supplies, gave the following letter of Instructions to Major Robert Treat, who acted as an Interpreter.

"June 17, 1788. Major Treat, on Penobscot-river, near the head of the tide, Sir. I hereby, in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, desire you to repair, as soon as possible, to Indian Oldtown, or any other suitable place, where you have the highest probability of meeting with the Penobscot Tribe of Indians, and inform the Chiefs, that the Gov^r & Council have appointed me a Commissioner to bring forward and complete the Treaty the Commissioners made with them at Condeskeag; and that I desire the Indians, especially their Chiefs, to meet me at Condeskeag, on next Tuesday forenoon, and to receive the blankets which we have now brought up from Major-baguaduce, by order of the Governor and Council, to be delivered to them when they

"shall sign the papers for the confirmation of the agreement. Of your doings you will make return to me at Condeskeag. You are also directed to take some other suitable person whom you shall choose, to assist you and to accompany the Indians to Condeskeag.

"DANIEL LITTLE, Com^r

"SUNBURY, ON PENOBSCOT, June 17, 1788."

Mr. Treat's Return. "Sir: I met Mr. Colburn, proceeded according to the within to Indian Oldtown, called Penobscot, and found all the Chiefs of the Tribe there, with a considerable part of the Tribe, to whom, agreeable to my trust, I delivered your message, and the Chiefs told me they would have me withdraw from them and they would give me their answer. Mr. Colburn and myself left their Council; and in about an hour they sent for us to return, and they told us they would not send their answer in writing but they must depend on me to return their answer. They said they had considered on the matter; and that they had been down a number of times, on public business; and that their young men were apt to drink, and that their number was large, and that it was most proper to meet at their town, and that they should be glad to meet Mr. Little and any other gentlemen, as every thing might be done calmly and coolly with us.

"ROBERT TREAT,

"SUNBURY, PENOBSCOT-RIVER

"near the Head of the Tide

"June 19, 1788."

Mr. Little was in doubt whether he might not compromise the dignity of the Government by yielding to their proposition. He, therefore, conferred with "some of the principal gentlemen on the river," who thought, with him, that "our condescension with respect to the circumstances of place might be consistent with the honor of Government, especially as it was a condition not to be dispensed with without the loss of the only probability of a Conference."

In other words, to make a virtue of necessity. Accordingly, he notified them that he would meet them, at their town, on the next Saturday.

He felt it important to the success of the mission that the "gentlemen of character" of the region should accompany him; he therefore made up a party, consisting of Major Treat, Reverend Seth Noble, Colonel Lowder, Colonel Brewer, Mr. John Lee, and Mr. William Colburn.

The party left Major Treat's, near the mouth of the Penjajawock stream, on the nineteenth of June, at about two o'clock; reached Mr. Colburn's, at Deadwater, [now Stillwater] and staid over night. Mr. Little gives the following account of the succeeding transactions.

"SAT., JUNE 21. Set off about sunrise, passed
 "a Western branch of the river to an island
 "seven miles long," [*Marsh Island*] "walked
 "upon said Island through a trackless wood
 "about six miles, when Indian Oldtown, about
 "two hundred acres, opened to view, with a
 "thicket of houses on the lower point of said
 "Island, just above the great Falls. Immediate-
 "ly upon our arrival, in open view of the town,
 "a number of their canoes were manned with
 "sprightly young men, in which they came over
 "(about forty rods) to transport us into town.
 "As we landed, their shore was lined with wo-
 "men and children. We walked up to their
 "parade, about fifteen rods from the shore. (a
 "walk very smooth, about three rods in width,
 "lined, on each side, with a range of houses built
 "with poles about six inches diameter, and the
 "same asunder, placed perpendicularly and cov-
 "ered very neatly with bark, in shingle form,)
 "was introduced into their capital house by a
 "waiter, who stood at the door; only one Sa-
 "chem in the house of conference, who made
 "us very welcome, directing us to take posses-
 "sion of one half the room, 20 x 40, which was
 "carpeted with fur. Very soon, came in all the
 "Sachems and placed themselves on the opposite
 "side, which being divided by two poles from
 "one end of the house to the other. Then about
 "forty of their men of years place themselves
 "in rank next the Sachems; and lastly an old
 "man, about a hundred years, a former Sachem,
 "was introduced in memory of past services.
 "They then fired a cannon abroad.

"The Sachems declare they are ready, I ad-
 "dressed them in written words, declaring the
 "design of my visit to them, by the appoint-
 "ment of Government, which was to bring for-
 "ward and complete the Treaty made at Con-
 "duskeag by Genl Lincoln, &c., 26 Aug. 1786;
 "informing them that I had brought up the
 "articles to be given to them, Blankets, &c.,
 "which they should receive at Conduskeag from
 "aboard Capt. Holbrook's [*vessel*] as soon as
 "they would sign the paper which contains the
 "and we buy of them. I then stated the
 "agreement; explained the purport of each
 "paper of conveyance; and observed that Gov-
 "ernment had done every thing, on their part of
 "the agreement, and expected that they would
 "make their mark against the seals—holding
 "them open to view—upon their doing this I
 "should give them the parchment in my hand
 "containing the gift of land to them, together
 "with 800 blankets.

"The Sachems desired to withdraw, about
 "half an hour, for consideration, and returned
 "punctually in order, appointing Oraong Nep-
 "tune their speaker, who addressed me in the
 "following words:

" "We are thankful to see Mr. Little here,
 "and desire to be remembered by the Governor
 "and Council, and are glad to see all well here
 "together. The King of France says, we are
 "all one—it is all peace; and the King of
 "England says it is peace, though it was War
 "sometime ago.

" "BROTHERS, we are all one; we don't talk
 "of hunting one another. We live here to
 "serve God; we all live together. We and
 "our children mean to help each other. We
 "don't mean to take any lands from you. If
 "any body takes any land from us it must be
 "King George, for General Court and General
 "Washington promised we should enjoy this
 "country. General Washington and General
 "Court told us, if any body was going to take
 "our lands from us, they would let us know it.
 "They told us, if they knew any thing was
 "doing against us, they would tell us.

" "BROTHER, now we are here together—when
 "we were at Conduskeag, we had not a right
 "understanding of matters; and the young
 "men were not all collected, and we were
 "pressed to make that Treaty contrary to our
 "inclinations.

" "BROTHER, God put us here. It was not
 "King of France or King George. We mean
 "to stay on this Island. The great God put us
 "here; and we have been on this Island 500
 "years. And we have been of the French
 "King's religion, and mean to be so always.
 "From this land we make our living. This is
 "the general speech of all our young men.
 "We don't know any thing about writing.
 "All that we know, we mean to have a right
 "heart, and a right tongue.

" "BROTHER, we don't incline to do any thing
 "about the Treaty made at Conduskeag, or
 "that writing," [*pointing to the paper I held*
open to them, with full explanation of it.]

"Then closed the first address of their chief
 "speaker, in the following words, turning to my
 "Interpreter:

" "Is not Mr. Little a Minister?

" "Yes," said the Interpreter. Then turning to
 "me, said,

" "BROTHER, Ministers ought not to have any
 "thing to do with public business."

"My Reply. 'FATHERS AND BROTHERS OF THE
 "PENOBSBOT TRIBE,' [*for there were about*
forty men, and half of them old men, placed
in regular order.] 'It is true, the Great God
 "placed you here to serve him; and it is true,
 "that the King of France, and the King of
 "England, and we all one, all at peace, now.
 "But you must remember that the lands you
 "now hold is by the doings of the Massachu-
 "setts Government. At Conduskeag, Genl
 "Lincoln told you, in Gov' Pownall's day, in

"a former War, against us, you lost all your lands in this part of the country. That, in the year '75, the Massachusetts Government gave you six miles on each side of the river, from the head of the tide, on which you must rest your claims, to which you there consented; and you must remember, Genl Lincoln called witnesses to what was then said and done, Colonel Eddy, Captain Colburn, Mr. Noble, and myself. Here are three of those witnesses present,' [*The witnesses were called forward and presented*]. 'For those two strips of land, by the river, Massachusetts Government, according to the agreement made by Gen. Lincoln, now gives you, up in the country, four times as much land for hunting, two Islands in the Bay, with all the town and Islands in the river you now occupy, with three hundred and fifty blankets, &c. You shall be assured of the enjoyment of the religion of the King of France, without interruption, as long as you please. I am not here, to-day, as a Minister but a Commissioner. I saw the Governor and Council, less than twenty days ago; what they then spake, I have now a right to speak. You are sensible Government has fulfilled all, on their part, of the Treaty made at Conduskeag. You say your young men were not present, then. Your fathers used to ask for the children. The same Fathers and Sachems that were there are now here. Will you make your marks for your names against the seals on this paper, which tells what land you give to Government, and accept of this parchment, which is the act of the General Court, giving land to you, and then receive the blankets, &c? Will you do this or not?'

"ANSWER. 'We don't know any thing about writing. We have put our hands to many papers, at Albany, New York, and elsewhere; but we will not put our hands to this paper, now, nor any more papers now; nor any other time forever hereafter.'

"To this explicit declaration of theirs, I replied:

"BROTHER SACHEMS: Although you refuse to put your hand to the agreement made at Conduskeag by words and witnesses, yet you may expect Government will abide by it, and expect the same from you. If you break such solemn agreements, you must not expect prosperity from Heaven or any future favors from Government; but if you fulfill Treaties, faithfully, in time of any future want or distress, you might expect Government would be kind to you and help you.'

Mr. Little made some remarks upon another subject, and, at their conclusion, the Conference closed.

"We then," Mr. Little continues, "wished them all well and took our leave of them at the house of conference; but their Chiefs asked leave of us to wait upon us to the water side, when I repeated a former declaration to impress their minds with a sense of the authority of Government, viz: that, although they refused to put their hand to any paper for the confirmation of the Treaty made at Conduskeag, yet they might expect that Government would abide by that agreement, made by words and witnesses, and expect the same from them, to which they made no reply. They provided young men and canoes to carry us off the Island; and, as we left their shore, they fired their cannon and gave us other marks of friendship with us.

"The Conference about four hours. Not a drop of rum by us or them while in the town. The Conference began between eight and nine o'clock. About fifty, mostly their heads of families, who occupied one side of the house. Not a word spoke or a smile expressed by any of them, except their Moderator or orator, and a few directing words by the Council to assist their speaker. In the midst of the Conference, about twelve o'clock, the bell rung and they made a composed mental prayer, for about ten minutes. When they appealed to Heaven as given them a right to the soil, all the Sachems rose up from the ground on which they sat and stood in a posture, for a minute, expressive of an appeal to the Great God, of the truth of their declarations. Four men were distinguished as their acting Chiefs, viz: Orono, Orsong, Esq., Neptunebovitt, Orsong Neptune. No women or children seen or heard through the Conference. They declined giving us liberty to see the Tribe paraded and numbered; but those who were most acquainted with the Tribe judged, as they appeared on the shore, at our landing, to be present about two hundred."

Mr. Little and his party returned, the same day. Orono, the chief Sachem, with his wife, followed them to Conduskeag, and to Colonel Brewer's, at Segeundunk, now Brewer village; but he gave no encouragement that the Tribe would ratify the Treaty. Mr. Little told him that he should be on the river about a week or ten days; and that any of the Sachems might renew the Conference with him, if thought fit, at Orrington or Majorbagaduce. Mr. Little lingered upon the river, with the hope that the Tribe would change their mind; but he was disappointed, and was obliged to report to the Government his want of success.

No further efforts were made to obtain a settlement of this business, until 1796. Then, a controversy arose between the settlers and the Indi-

ians, in relation to the title to the territory above the Head of the Tide—the former supposing it to have been relinquished to the whites. The Government then appointed another Commission to quiet the Indians and bring the matter to a conclusion. The Commission consisted of William Shepherd, of Westfield, Nathan Dane, of Beverly, and Daniel Davis, of Portland. They succeeded in obtaining a release of all the claims of the Tribe to the territory above Nichols's Rock, at "The Bend," near the Head of the Tide, excepting Oldtown Island and the islands, in the river, above it, for thirty miles. The consideration for the release was one hundred and fifty yards of blue woollens, four hundred pounds of shot, one hundred pounds of powder, one hundred bushels of corn, thirteen bushels of salt, thirty-six hats, one barrel of rum, and an annual stipend of three hundred bushels of Indian corn, fifty pounds of powder, two hundred pounds of shot, and seventy-five yards of blue woolen cloth, fit for garments. The territory relinquished by the Indians embraced one hundred and eighty-nine thousand, four hundred and twenty-six acres,* which was afterwards surveyed into nine townships, in 1797, by S. Towne.

The Indians, however, afterwards claimed title to the territory six miles wide, on both sides of the river, above the thirty miles relinquished in 1796, to an indefinite extent, and assumed to sell the timber from it. To prevent this, the Government of Massachusetts appointed another Commission, in 1818, consisting of Edward H. Robbins, Daniel Davis, and Mark L. Hill, who met Governor Etienne, Lieutenant-governor Neptune, Captain Francis, and other Chiefs of the Tribe—in all twenty-seven—on the twenty-fourth of June, at Bangor.

A Masonic celebration occurred at this time; and it was deemed expedient, by the Municipal Officers, to make the occasion memorable by a general celebration. Accordingly, they provided for a holiday and a procession. The Freemasons gave the Commissioners a dinner, at Lumbert's then famous hotel, on Hancock-street; after which the procession, consisting of the Municipal Officers, Magistrates of the County, Military Officers, Rev. Thomas Williams, Strangers, and Citizens, escorted them to the Court-house, ["ancient City Hall"] where a large audience of ladies and gentlemen was assembled. The Chiefs, who were rather noble looking sons of the forest and showily dressed, accompanied by General John Blake [Indian Agent], Major Treat, and Captain Webster, afterwards entered the house. As they entered, the Commissioners arose to receive them. Solicitor-general Davis—who, tradition says, had a kindly regard for the fairer

portion of the Tribe—addressed them. Lieutenant-governor Neptune, a Chief of commanding figure, of great dignity of manner, and extensive influence among his people, made the reply. The result of the conference was, that Massachusetts obtained a release of all the Indians' interest in the territory, excepting four townships, six miles square, two contiguous to the nine townships formerly released, and two near the mouth of the Mattawamkeag-river—one on each side of the Penobscot and opposite each other—which, with the Islands in the river, above Oldtown Falls, were to belong to the Indians, for occupation, forever. As compensation for this relinquishment, the Commissioners agreed that the Indians should have, also, for occupation, two acres of land in Brewer, opposite Kenduskeag-point; to employ a suitable man to teach them husbandry; to repair their church, at Oldtown; to deliver there, in October, yearly, five hundred bushels of corn, fifteen barrels of flour, seven barrels of clear pork, one hoghead of molasses, one hundred yards of broadcloth, of blue and red, fifty blankets, one hundred pounds of gunpowder, four hundred pounds of shot, one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, six boxes of chocolate, and fifty dollars in silver. At the time, they made them a present of one six-pound gun, one swivel, one box of pipes, fifty knives, six brass kettles, two hundred yards of calico, two drums, four fifes, and three hundred yards of ribbon. An annual stipend of three hundred and fifty dollars was appropriated by the Government for their religious teacher.*

After the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, Maine assumed the obligations of Massachusetts to the Indians, and renewed the Treaty, at the Court-house, in Bangor, on the seventeenth of August, 1820.

The Commissioner, on the part of Maine, was Hon. Lathrop Lewis. The first meeting was on the fifteenth of August, when the Commissioner made the proposition that Maine would take upon itself the obligations of Massachusetts, provided the Tribe would release Massachusetts. The Chiefs—who were the same who made the last Treaty with Massachusetts—took time to consider. On the seventeenth, the Conference was renewed. The Chiefs were dressed in scarlet coats or robes, ornamented with silver brooches and with beads, after the Indian mode of that day, and made quite a distinguished appearance. Captain Francis made a speech; and, in behalf of the Tribe, accepted the proposition of Commissioner Lewis, to which Colonel Lewis replied. After the Treaty was signed, Colonel Lewis presented, from Governor King to Governor Etienne and Lieutenant-governor Neptune, a fine

* Williamson's *History of Maine*, II., 571.

* Williamson's *History of Maine*, II., 569, 570.

piece of scarlet broadcloth, for each a coat. To each of the other Chiefs, he gave a silver breast-plate, upon which was engraved the Arms of the State of Maine. The presents were received with great apparent pleasure.

From the facts above-stated, and from the great attachment of the Tribe to the strip of territory extending from the Head of the Tide, up the river, we may conclude that that was the ancient and original Penobscot or Panawanskek; and that the chief resort of the Tribe, anciently, was at the Head of the Tide.

The French, doubtless, set the Indians the example of having permanent villages. They established Missions; built churches, and forts, and houses; and the Indians clustered about them. The village on Oldtown Island probably originated in that way. It might have been occupied by the Indians, as a camping-ground, five hundred years, as Orsong Neptune said; but the Indian who stated that the village was Panawanskek, and, at the same time, stated that it was a hundred years old, was probably nearly correct.

VIII.—MAJOR-GENERAL BENJAMIN MOOERS, OF PLATTSBURG, N. Y.

[DRE MOINER, IOWA, Feb. 19th, 1872.]

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.,

Editor of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

DEAR SIR: I have read, with great interest, the following sketch, as given by himself, in 1833, when he was seventy-five years of age, of Major-general Mooers, late of Plattsburg, New York. It has been furnished to me by C. S. Mooers, Esq., a venerable gentleman now a resident of this city and a son of General Mooers.

The General Orders of "Head Quarters of New York, July 31st, 1813," will be found in the *Republican*, published at Plattsburg, N. Y., on the fourteenth of August, 1813. I suppose you have that paper, or some paper, which has the General Orders referred to. These General Orders state that "Major-general Mooers will have the immediate command of the whole detachment, subject to the orders and direction of the Commander-in-chief."

Truly, Yours,
N. B. BAKER.]

BIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR-GENERAL BENJAMIN MOOERS OF PLATTSBURG, CLINTON COUNTY, N. Y., WRITTEN, IN 1833, BY REQUEST OF HIS SON, BENJAMIN H. MOOERS.

I was born, April 1st, 1758, at Haverhill, Massachusetts. My father was born at Newburyport, Massachusetts. My mother's maiden name was Abigail Hazen, sister of General Moses Hazen, of Albany, New York, and John L. and William Hazen. * * * When about fifteen years old, I went to live with Mr. John White, who was a merchant, and imported largely, at that period. His son went, about the same time,

to live with my father, to learn the trade of tanning leather. My father carried on a considerable business, at that time; but neither of us remained a considerable time, owing to the commencement of the Revolution, about that time.

Previous to the commencement of the Revolutionary War, a Company of Volunteers, of which I was one, met frequently for exercise with arms, and was drilled by a British Sergeant, generally before sunrise. In 1776, the Militia was called out; a Company was formed, about the first of June, which I joined, as a private, for five months. The Brigade to which our Company was attached, joined the Army, under Colonel Gates, at Ticonderoga, in 1776. Our Army, that Spring, retreated out of Canada and made their Headquarters at Ticonderoga. After our arrival, General Arnold was defeated on the Lake and his Fleet dispersed—part taken back and destroyed. While laying at Ticonderoga, the troops were called together and the Declaration of Independence read, which occasioned loud hurrahs. In the Fall of 1777, the Militia was requested, by the Legislature of Massachusetts, to Volunteer and join the Army under General Gates, to stop the progress of General Burgoyne. A Company was soon formed. I was one of them. We marched to Saratoga and arrived there, about two days before Burgoyne's surrender. A part of the prisoners were sent South, the others East, to the barracks near Boston, under a guard of Militia, to which the Company to which I belonged was attached. On the twentieth of March, following, I was appointed Ensign in a Regiment commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen, formed on a plan different from any other Regiment in the service, having one Colonel, one Lieutenant-colonel, four Majors with twenty Companies, a Captain, Lieutenant, and Ensign to each. I joined the Regiment at Peekskill, New York, about the first of June, 1778, and took the oath of allegiance before Brigadier-general James Clinton. In 1780, I was appointed Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Regiment; and continued in that capacity to the end of the War. Our Winter-Quarters, for 1778 and 1779, were near Danbury, in Connecticut, with a New Hampshire Regiment. We were marched into the woods and built our Huts, where we remained until the next May, when Colonel Hazen's Regiment was ordered to march up the Connecticut-river, to Haverhill, New Hampshire, from which place the most of the Regiment were employed, during the Summer, to cut a road, through the wilderness, to Canada. In the month of August, I was spoken to by Colonel Hazen, to take charge of a small party and go to Canada. Eleven of us set out together. After approaching within the sound of drum and fire, at St. John's, we turned our course to the

right and went to St. Troia. My written orders were to take a prisoner and bring him out; but secret orders were to get from the inhabitants information relative to the enemy, their numbers, stations, etc. I was two nights in the vicinity of St. Troia, and saw a Captain of Militia of Chamblay, who was a particular friend of Colonel Hazen. From him, I obtained, also from a Mr. Monty, who was brother of Lieutenant Monty, in our Regiment. When we returned, all supposed an excursion was to be made into Canada; but the event proved it was only to draw the attention of the enemy that way.

In the Fall, the Regiment returned and joined the Army, and made our Winter Quarters near Morristown, New Jersey, in Huts made by the troops, in the woods. It was a cold and distressing Winter, we being nearly out of provisions, for three or four days at a time. A part of this Winter, I was in command, at Elizabethtown and about the land between Staten-island and the river.

A large detachment, under Major-general Lord Sterling, went over, on the ice, to Staten-island, which detachment I was ordered to join and lay on the heights, a very cold night, and many were frost-bitten. The enemy from New York came over, on the ice, with cannon. After some skirmishing, we returned without much effect.

I formed the Life-guard of General Washington, with my detachment, a few days, in the Winter, at which time I dined, as also the other Officers, with the General. The Life-guard was commanded by Major Gills and Captain Colfax.

In the Orders of General Green, dated September 26, 1780, at Orangetown, New Jersey, he mentions treason of the blackest dye was yesterday discovered. General Arnold, the commander at West Point, lost to every sense of honor, of private and public obligations, was about to deliver up that post into the hands of the enemy. This Order was given in the absence of General Washington, who had gone to Hartford, to meet the French General officers, whose troops were at Boston or Rhode Island. Arnold has made his escape to the enemy; but Major Andre, the Adjutant-general to the British Army, who came out as a Spy, to negotiate the treason, is our prisoner.

In a General Order of October 1st, 1780, at Orangetown, by a Board of Officers, to examine into Major Andre's case, reported that he ought to be considered as a Spy, on which the Commander-in-chief directed the execution of said Andre, in the usual way. This afternoon, at 5 o'clock, precisely, Captain Hughes of our Regiment commanded the guard; the prisoner walked between the Captain and Lieutenant, arm in arm, to the place of execution. One hundred of our Regiment, as also myself, as Adjutant, on

horse-back, and was near to see the execution of the prisoner, a most affecting scene, after which the Army returned to, and near, West Point.

Colonel Hazen's Regiment went into Winter Quarters, in the barracks, at Fishkill.

January, 1781, a detachment, under command of Major-general Parsons, a part of which (one hundred) was taken from Colonel Hazen's Regiment, I was with the number, (the whole number about one thousand) to Westchester county. In the Order of General Washington of 80 January, 1781, he expresses his thanks to Major-general Parsons, for his prudent and military disposition, and to Colonel Hull, and the officers and men, under his command, for burning the enemy's barracks and a large quantity of forage, and bringing across the Hudson-river, near the enemy's redoubt, fifty-two prisoners, and horses, and cattle, with inconsiderable loss, except the death of Ensign Thompson. The General also thanks Colonel Hazen and his party for their conduct and bravery in covering Colonel Hull's retreat, and repelling the enemy; and in Colonel Hazen's Orders, of 28 January, says he is directed by Major-general Parsons to inform the officers and soldiers of the Regiment, lately in detachment, under the General's command, that the Commander-in-chief has expressed great satisfaction in the enterprise, and assures them of his fullest approbation of their behavior; and Colonel Hazen, in his Orders, thanks the detachment.

In 1781, Colonel Hazen's Regiment remained at Fishkill, during the Winter. The next Summer, in July, we moved to West Point, for a short period; and then on to Dobbs's-ferry—in August—East side of the Hudson; from there, the Army crossed to Haverstraw; and thence to Philadelphia, where we received a month's pay in French Crowns.

The Army generally embarked on board of vessels, except Colonel Hazen's and a Rhode Island Regiment, commanded by Colonel Olney. These Regiments embarked on board of batteaux, taken from the North-river, and went down the Chesapeake, to James-river, and went up the river to Williamsburgh. From there, the Army moved on to the siege of Yorktown, in Virginia, which continued until the nineteenth of October, when Cornwallis surrendered. During the siege, a number were killed and wounded in our Regiment. At one shot, a Sergeant, Corporal, and a number of men were killed. When our Regiment had been relieved and was going out of the trenches, one more was killed, a little behind me. I was in front, with officers leading the troops. After arriving at camp, I found, on my pantaloons, blood and brains, I suppose from the soldier killed while coming out of the trenches.

I was at the storming of one of the enemy's

redoubts, during the siege, which was taken. The French were on our left, and stormed a redoubt, the same night, and took it.

After the capture of Cornwallis, our Regiment returned up the Chesapeake, and was ordered to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, where we lay about ten months, guarding the prisoners of War, at that post, Yorktown and Reading, in that State.

While there, an Order was received by General Hazen, that if any British refugee Captain was to be found within his command, to send him to Philadelphia. The British had taken a Militia Captain; given him a sham trial; and hung him for a spy; and this was intended to retaliate.

September, 1782, our Regiment received orders to move from Pennsylvania to New York, at — Plains, at which place we were quartered through the Winter and Spring. In the month of June, 1788, our Regiment began to be furloughed. It marched to near the Hudson and joined the Army of General Washington, at White Plains. Our Regiment was then furloughed and disbanded, with a small pittance of pay up to November, 1788.

The Army was paid on what was called Final Settlement Certificates, worth only one eighth of a dollar or $\frac{2}{8}$ on the pound. This we were obliged to take, or nothing. No means could have been devised to break up an Army without pay, better adapted to the feelings than to be permitted to go on furlough, under pay, with their arms in their hands.

There was an anonymous letter thrown out, said to have been written by General Armstrong, (who was subsequently Secretary of War in 1812 and 1814) advising the Army to hold together until Congress had passed a law, or made payment to the Army; but it did not have the desired effect. The Commander-in-chief, General Washington, was so much beloved by the Army, that every thing settled down quietly, or nearly so, according to his wishes.

In July, 1788, I was requested, by General Hazen, to take under my charge, a batteau and ten men, one of whom was an Ensign Peasley, a nephew of General Hazen and cousin of mine; another was Lieutenant Francis Monty, a refugee from Canada; the others, all Canadians. We embarked on board the batteau, and made our way up the Hudson, to Albany; from thence, up the North-river, to Fort Edward; from that place, our boat was taken on wheels and carried to Lake George (about fourteen miles). On our arrival at Lake George, I bought another batteau and proceeded across the Lake to the North end. Our boats were again taken on wheels to Lake Champlain, near Ticonderoga. From there, we proceeded down the Lake, the borders of which were almost a perfect wilderness. Burlington and almost all the other ports were a wilderness.

We arrived at Point au Roche; and immediately commenced putting up comfortable log-houses. After our arrival on Lake Champlain, we often saw British vessels of war sailing about our Lake; and I often boarded and asked questions. An Officer says to me, "I suppose you was a Colonel in the Army?" I said "No, but I had 'the honor to be a Lieutenant," which, I believe, was the office he held. The British held Point au Fair at the time, and until Mr. Jay's Treaty of 1794. Also another Fort, called Dutchman's Point, at the North end of Grand Isle, opposite Point au Roche. General Hazen arrived here, in September, 1788. Mr. Peasley and myself returned with him to Whitehall. General Hazen went South, and Peasley and I went to Haverhill, New Hampshire; and thence to Haverhill, Massachusetts, my native place, where I spent the Winter, and returned to Lake Champlain in May following, and spent my Summers on the Lake, and Winters at Haverhill, until 1786, after which I continued my residence on the borders of the Lake.

At this time, this section was in Washington-county. In 1778, a new County was formed, embracing the territory of Essex, Clinton, and Franklin; and called Clinton-county. I was appointed Sheriff, and held the office four years. The twenty-fourth of April, I was married to Hannah Platt, daughter of Nathaniel Platt, who moved to Plattsburgh, about a year previous. Passing through the several grades in the Militia, from Lieutenant-colonel, I was commissioned, in 1811, a Major-general, at which time I had six Brigades in my Division, extending from Franklin to Albany-counties, including them, and all between. I was principal Assessor, under the direct tax of 1798; and, in 1799, I was the Republican candidate for the Assembly. Daniel Ross was the Federal candidate. We having an even number of votes, neither claimed a seat. I was elected to the Assembly, in 1804, or 1805. In 1808, I was an Elector to choose a President and Vice President of the United States.

[NOTE.—General Mooers died on the eighteenth of February, 1838, in his eightieth year.]

IX.—MANNERS OF AMERICAN JUDGES AND LAWYERS.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS ON MANNERS OF THE BENCH AND BAR, DELIVERED BEFORE THE LAWSCHOOL OF THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, DECEMBER 22, 1871.

BY CHARLES H. HUNT, ESQ., OF THE NEW YORK BAR.

In this discourse, after dwelling at considerable length upon forensic traits and anecdotes of the Bench and Bar,

of Antiquity, Modern Continental Europe, England, Scotland, and Ireland, Mr. Hunt proceeded as follows:

On crossing the Atlantic and coming home, we find ourselves, perhaps, on more delicate ground. But I will say, at once, that I hold the American Bar and the American Bench to have been, and still to be, a well-bred Bar and a well-bred Bench. It may be that English Barristers and Judges commonly exhibit a conventional polish which is the exception and not the rule in our Courts; but I maintain that, on the whole, the best traditions of judicial and professional decorum are, in substance, as much respected and as well observed here as elsewhere. We have notorious advocates who are never satisfied unless they are brow-beating witnesses, bullying Courts, and outraging the best public sentiment. We have Judges who, every morning, take their seats upon the Bench with an air of conscious, low-bred defiance; and who, after taking their seats, habitually act the part of cynical buffoons, in open Court. Others, less culpable, from vanity and like infirmities, appear to find the official dignity an uncomfortable burden. There are Judges, here, as there have been in all countries, whose manners suggest a resemblance, more or less faithful, to the manners of certain animals, as the bear, the wolf, the monkey, and so forth. Many uncouth stories might be collected of rough and indecent judicial and professional antics, in some of the Courts, between here and the Pacific coast; and even our metropolitan jurists are sometimes under-bred, by nature, habit, and principle. Illustrations of this remark might be verified, I suppose, by the testimony of men still living. But, as a general rule, in our cities and rural districts, Judges and Lawyers seem habitually impressed with a becoming sense of the obligations to dignity and good manners.

In a country so large as ours, with a population so heterogeneous, where poverty is but a fragile bar to entrance, success, and eminence, in any profession or business; where liberty constantly hits the verge of license; and where the tenure of judicial office hangs upon the changeable popular will or, more yet, upon the will of low-bred politicians, it would not be surprising if coarse and uncultivated majorities were found invading the Courts of Justice, and marring their proceedings. But no such result happens, at least, not yet. God knows what may be in store for us; but, up to the present time, decent manners prevail and give the tone in our forum.

This fact, I take it, results from the universal and peculiar education of our people. There are, properly speaking, no bores in this coun-

try. An ordinary son of the humblest citizen or backwoodsman, however limited his study of books, acquires, insensibly and, as it were, instinctively, in our atmosphere, a smattering of many things, including the theory of civic rights and obligations, the methods of public business, parliamentary and other law, and, incidentally, a smattering of good-breeding. It is a training in common sense, applied to the art of getting on. Such a training teaches the lusty youths who leave the farm and workshop, planning to, eventually, lead at the Bar or preside on the Bench—teaches them the value of decorum; and makes them, at least, as ambitious to master the proprieties of professional life as to learn law. And so it comes about, that, in this free and easy, democratic nation, the great majority of aspirants to forensic honors do their best to cultivate a becoming deportment, as incidental to success. All circumstances considered, our standard of forensic courtesy is most creditable. Doubtless there is much room for improving it. Even the average example of the Bench is far from perfect; for, in manners, as in virtue, the wisest and best men must remain, in this life, always at school.

The late Ogden Hoffman, some years before his death, visited Europe; and, on his return, was, one day, surrounded by a group of lawyers to whom he descanted, with much vivacity, upon the note-worthy things he had observed abroad—the wonders of nature and art, society, manners, and so forth. A gentleman present abruptly inquired, "What did you see that struck you with most surprise?" Mr. Hoffman replied, "Well, that which impressed me more than any other one thing, was the deference which the English Judges pay to 'the Barristers.'" This eminent and polished advocate, of course, thought, at the time he thus spoke, that, in this particular form of courtesy, the mother-country had the start of us. We have overtaken our trans-atlantic cousins, in other races; and it is to be hoped that we shall, in due time, come up with them in this.

The history of the American Bench presents a good array of names of men who, to the lustre of their judgment and learning, have superadded the distinction of excellent manners. Two or three may be passingly mentioned, as examples of a great number.

Of John Marshall, a biographer says: "The courtesy of the Judge was one of his most beautiful traits. It was the spontaneous exhibition of the simple and kindly emotions of his heart. Pure benevolence displayed itself in every word which he uttered. He gave his hand to the plain yeoman, clad in homespun, as courteously and sincerely as to the greatest personage in the country. He had the same

"simple smile and good-humored jest for both; "and seemed to recognize no difference between "them. It was instructive to estimate, in the "good Chief justice, the basis and character of "true politeness. John Randolph, one of the "most fastidious and aristocratic of men, left "his opinion that Marshall's manner was perfect good-breeding."

We need not linger to inquire how such a man bore himself in the public exercise of his high functions.

Our own great Chancellor Kent, was, at all periods of his long life, one of the most simple, genial, cheerful, playful of men. He manifested, in public and in private, a perennial, bubbling gayety. One might think, from the anecdotes of him, that this trait would have, sometimes, led to a momentary compromise of dignity. But it seems that such a mishap never occurred. His intellect and sturdy character were too commanding to permit any real trifling.

Of Kent's peculiar manners, just seeming, at times, to border upon eccentric levity, I can give no better sample than that shown in the following passage which I find in the unpublished Memoirs of Martin Van Buren. "On "one occasion that I was present at his Chambers," writes the late ex-President, "a young "Attorney was applying for admission as Solicitor-in-Chancery. Finding (as was very evident) that he could not bring his case within "the Rules, he referred to the admission, under "similar circumstances, of an Attorney from a "neighboring city whose rough manners were "notorious. Before he had finished his statement, his Honor interrupted him in the following strain: 'I deny it, Sir! It is not true! "I did not admit him. He broke in. How "would you keep such a fellow out? But you "are a gentleman, and must not try to imitate "such a bad example. Wait till the proper "time, and I will admit you, with pleasure."

"At an earlier period, he had been holding a "tedious Circuit, in Columbia; and, on the "last day, tried an action for an Assault and "Battery on a negro. It appeared that the negro's conduct had been improper; and the "Jury gave him only six cents damages. He "had brought another suit against another Defendant for the same assault. That was also "on the Calendar, but had been passed. The "Plaintiff wished to have it tried at the close of "the Circuit; and the Judge refused, saying "that he had had his chance; but, on the representation of the Plaintiff's Counsel that his "client was poor and would be liable to heavy "costs, the Judge consented, with an admonition to the Counsel that if he did not recover "more than six cents in that case, he would not

"give him a certificate to entitle him to costs. "The Clerk commenced calling a Jury, when "the Judge looked at his watch and exclaimed, "Stop, Clerk! I'll be hanged if I will try the "other cause. The negro was saucy and deserved to be whipped. Crier! adjoin the "Court."

"The unfeigned respect entertained for the "Chancellor, by all who knew him," continues Mr. Van Buren, "was strikingly exemplified by "the fact that the playful effusions of a mind "conscious of its real dignity and its independence of external ceremonies to maintain it, "never served to encourage the slightest trifling on the part of the Bar, or the least disposition to notice them in a way inconsistent "with the relation in which they stood to each other."

The late William Kent, the Chancellor's only son, himself a Judge and one of the noblest gentleman of the age, related to me this anecdote of his more celebrated father. The Chancellor once, in his old age, climbed a cherry-tree, and, with his foot upon one branch whilst holding by another, was enjoying the fruits. William, standing upon the ground, beneath, grew nervous and begged his father to come down, and to be careful to avoid a fall in doing so. "No, Sir!" said the old gentleman, "I'd have you to know that I am accustomed "to elevated situations: I can maintain myself "in them with safety and descend from them "with dignity."

The late Chief justice Bronson, of this State, was an exquisite product of our peculiar institutions. With a slender education, acquired under difficulties, he was not only a great jurist but a model gentleman. He presided in Court with a superb, because a quiet, unaffected, and unconscious, dignity. His opinions, broad and untechnical, in substance, and incisive, in style, indicate a positive thinker and hard-headed writer; while his demeanor, on or off the Bench, was most simple, genial, and pleasing. After retiring from the Court of Appeals and joining the innumerable caravan of ex-Judges, he practiced, as Counsel, again, as others do. At that period, his sociability, urbanity, and boyish freedom with young men were delightful.

I might touch upon the traits of many other representative American Judges, and might, without impropriety, say what the subject would suggest of some of our departed leaders at the Bar. But I will content myself with referring to a single noble example of American forensic breeding. In the prize case of the *Ship Nereide*, argued in the Supreme Court of the United States and reported in 8 *Cranch*, Thomas Addis Emmet appeared as leading Counsel on one side, and William Pinkney on

the other. They had been pitted against each other, in the same Court, in a previous case, when Pinkney, having the advantage, had made the most of it, and, in a momentary elation, had used expressions towards Emmet which seemed harsh, arrogant, and overbearing. When the argument in the case of the *Nereide* came on, Mr. Emmet spoke of the great abilities of his adversary and alluded to what had occurred on the previous argument, without asperity or complaint, but in a manner to show that his sensitive nature had been hurt. He then alluded to his own misfortunes, in terms which, it is said, drew tears from the eyes of all present. When Mr. Pinkney came to begin his reply, after some general allusions to the Counsel who were opposed to him, he turned to Mr. Emmet and remarked: "To one of them, indeed, I have heretofore given unintentional pain, by observations to which the influence of accidental excitement imparted the appearance of unkind criticism. The manner in which he replied to those observations reproached me by its forbearance and urbanity, and could not fail to hasten the repentance which reflection alone would have produced, and which I am glad to have so public an occasion for avowing. I offer him a gratuitous and cheerful atonement—cheerful, because it puts me to rights with myself, and because it is tendered, not to ignorance and prejudice, but to the highest worth in intellect and morals, enhanced by such eloquence as few may hope to equal; to an interesting stranger whom adversity has tried and affliction struck severely to the heart; to an exile whom our country may be proud to receive and every man of a generous temper would be ashamed to offend. I feel relieved by this atonement and proceed with more alacrity."

Of course, American advocates, even the most eminent, have not always behaved so handsomely as did Mr. Pinkney on this occasion.

Our Courts have, at times, witnessed scenes of coarse insult, bitter speech, and unseemly wrangling. In 1845, John Van Buren, Attorney-general of this State, and a very distinguished opponent, Ambrose L. Jordan, came to blows, in open Court, in the course of an important public trial. But the fact that this was not deemed a common or a light offence, appeared from what followed. The presiding Judge, Edmonds, immediately imprisoned both offenders. They, in their turn, offered to the just and prevailing public opinion, all the atonement in their power, by acknowledging the flagrancy of their fault and the justice of their punishment. Neither harbored resent-

ment against the Court; and Mr. Van Buren promptly tendered to the Governor of the State, a resignation of his office.

The peculiar peril to which the manners of the young lawyer or the new-made Judge are exposed, is the taking advantage of his privilege and position, to trifle with the sensibilities of the timid and helpless who may come within his power. It is a mean and petty tyranny, whether practiced by a Barrister or a Judge, which generous minds will generally steer clear of; but the temptation to this sort of unfairness is sometimes yielded to by very good men. The anecdote-books relate this of Erskine: "A commercial traveller appeared in the witness-box, dressed in the height of fashion and wearing a starched, white neck-tie, folded in the Brummel fold. In an instant, reading the character of the man, on whom he had never before set eyes, and knowing how necessary it was to put him in a state of extreme agitation, before touching upon the facts concerning which he had come to give evidence, Erskine rose, surveyed the coxcomb, and said with an air of careless amusement, 'You were 'born and bred in Manchester, I perceive!'' Greatly astonished, the man answered, nervously, that he 'was a Manchester-man—born and bred in Manchester.' 'Exactly so,' observed Erskine, 'I knew it from the absurd 'tie of your neck-cloth.' The roars of laughter which followed this rejoinder so completely effected the speaker's purpose, that the confounded bagman did not know his right hand from his left." Such a trick seems hardly worthy of the illustrious advocate who is here said to have practiced it.

The late Mr. Charles Edwards, in his volume entitled *Pleasantries of the New York Bar*, tells us of the grief which befel a brow-beating advocate of a different order from Erskine, in the rural districts of this State. The story runs thus. "Mark S—— used to try causes in 'Justices' Courts. His principal forte, and that on which he prided himself most, lay in the examination of witnesses. He boasted he could worm truth out of a stone. In consequence of some rather sharp practice, Mark had reasons to suppose that the District-attorney was preparing an indictment against him, for perjury; and so he disappeared from his accustomed haunts, 'on a little law business,' as he afterwards said, when closely interrogated, sojourning on what was called Snipe Hill, a sort of Alsatia, being the same place of which somebody said the inhabitants had 'broken every law, every Sabbath, and every Sheriff's head, for the last ten years. After his return, he was, one day, trying a cause

"before a Justice; and a boy was called as a witness to whom Mark objected, on the ground of his simplicity—that he was '*non compos*,' as Mark safely observed and he insisted on the *voir dire*. The boy was accordingly sworn, preliminarily; and Mark assumed his sternest face, and looking at the boy as though he would eye him into a fit, 'Boy!' said he, 'who made you?' 'The Lord, I thpothe:' lisped the boy, 'who made you?' 'Never mind who made me,' said Mark. 'Folks say you are a fool: how is it?' 'Do they?' responded the witness, 'thath nothign. Thome folkth thay't you wont cheat. Folkth will lie, you' thee.' 'Boy! no impertinence,' shouted Mark, glowering fiercely, as the Justice checked the subdued giggle that ran around the room. 'Suppose you were to commit perjury, do know what that means?' 'Yeth, thur, thwearing to a lie, jeth what you did lath Winter, aint it?' 'The witness is clearly incompetent,' appealed Mark to the Court. But the Court could not see it; and the learned Mark proceeded. 'Well, suppose you were to commit perjury and swear falsely, where would you go to?' 'To Thnipe Hill, I thuppothe, where you went, lath Winter.' The boy was admitted as a witness."

The law has always been a witty profession; and opportunities for saying good things have often been the temptation and excuse for violating the canons of politeness. A spinster of uncertain years being on the stand, as a witness, the cross-examining advocate deemed it material to inquire what her age might be. "I am not ashamed of my age," answered the lady, spitefully. The lawyer replied, "Certainly, Madam, you ought not to be ashamed of any thing you have had so long."

In a County Court, in the interior of this State, a gentlemen, in a soiled white cravat, having given valuable testimony in favor of the party calling him, the cross-examination commenced as follows: COUNSEL, "What is your occupation?" WITNESS, "I am a small candle in the house of the Lord." COUNSEL, "Oh yes, a dipped candle, I suppose."

I was present, some years since, at Binghamton, at the examination of a witness who was roughly handled by the opposing Counsel. At the end of it, he addressed his cross-examiner, facetiously, with a punning reference to his own trade, that of a dyer. "Now, may I go and die?" The response was, "Certainly, and be damned."

The public manners of the Bar and the Judiciary have, for their display, so conspicuous a theatre, and always so interested every class

of the multifarious throngs who attend the Courts, from compulsion or curiosity, that, necessarily, those manners must exert a decided influence upon the general manners of any community. It is not, then, for their own sake, merely, that the Bench and Bar should cultivate a high standard of decorum; but, also, as an example, affecting the tone of society itself.

I do not pretend that there exists any needful connection or inter-dependence between forensic manners and forensic morals. A coarse, crabbed, and insolent lawyer or Magistrate, may be honest. An urbane advocate or decorous Judge is, sometimes, corrupt. Nor, as to relative importance between purity and decorum, is any comparison admissible. The one is simply essential: the other is only important. The absence of the latter, in a community, like personal ugliness, in an individual, is a superficial, though a sad, defect. A want of the former, is rottenness at the core of the social fabric. Society can live with an uncivil administration of Justice, but is close on dissolution whenever the Bar and the Bench are given over to scoundrels, whether rough or polished.

The various offences which are embraced under the expressive head of "sharp-practice," are all peculiar to under-bred practitioners. Those offences are not committed by gentlemen. I could, therefore, without degression, if it suited me, observe upon the different forms of chicanery, which go by that generic name. But I prefer to consider these as belonging to the subject of morals rather than of manners; and thus to evade the discussion of a disagreeable topic.

Our theme is suggestive enough of other remarks and other illustrations. But, I have not undertaken a dissertation and must not be garrulous. The aim of what I have said has been, if possible, to deepen an impression which, I doubt not, is already fixed in the minds of the young gentlemen before me. I take it for granted that they look forward to the filling, worthily, of seats upon the Bench, or leading at the Bar, or, at all events, of maintaining a respectable standing in the profession. Either way, they may well set it down as a maxim, that courtesy is next, in importance, to character and knowledge. Good-breeding is, at least, as essential a quality to the lawyer or Judge, as to the man in any other condition or calling; and ill-breeding, if it does not positively soil the ermine or stain the gown, smirches and disfigures both.

X.—“VERMONT CONTROVERSY.”—CONTINUED.

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTESE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[4.—*Extract of Governor Wentworth's letter to Governor Tryon, October 19, 1771, disavowing and disapproving the outrages committed in Vermont, and asking the Governor of New York, "as a peculiar favor," to use the greatest severity in his punishment of the offenders.*]

Extract of Governor Wentworth's Letter to Governor Tryon of New York, dated 19th Oct: 1771—

The Information refer'd to in your [Excellency's Letter of 2^d Inst' altho' wholly different from the real fact, is not unexpected to me having been often menac'd by a Number of People on Connecticut River who have not only taken great pains to vilify & asperse me in that District, and by the most artful unjust Solicitations to obtain equally injurious Representations not hesitating to scatter Threats of Plans form'd to remove me from his Majesty's Service. These Things I shou'd have neglected in Silence: but their Attempts to convey such prejudicial Insinuations to your Excellency justify my Explanation.

The Surveyor General of the Northern District being in the Course of Duty station'd here for two years, and by the Winter's Rigor precluded from surveying the Sea Coast, I form'd a Design of obtaining thro' his Assistance a perfect and compleat Survey of this Province—such interior Surveys being recommended in his Official Instructions: Captain Holland very obligingly was dispos'd to employ himself & his party on this Service, if he cou'd be aided by three or four additional Men to assist in the Surveys; Whereupon I recommended to the Assembly but they refused to make any provision for the Expence, altho' it could not amount to fifty Guineas; but as the advantage was so evidently great, and such an invaluable Oppy might never again happen, to acquire a faithful & exact Map of the Province, unless at a far greater Expence, Capt Holland's Requisition was rais'd by subscription.

He undertook in person to survey the Eastern District— One Deputy, Mr Grant he sent to Connecticut River & one Deputy thro' the Middle of the province— In the Spring Each party made Return to Capt Holland, and this Winter the intermediate parts of those Divisions are to be perfected & a general Map composed—

These Gentlemen being strangers the people of the Country naturally jealous of evry thing they don't understand, and the whole Survey depending upon voluntary Assistance I wrote to some Gent^{ls} in this prov: a Circular Letter for Each party, to secure proper Reception & Assistance for them: which Letter in many Instances sav'd them much Distress & Difficulty.

Whether Mr Grant, Mr Whiting had no sort of power or Direction, but merely as One Hand hir'd pursu'd an Easterly Branch of Connect River instead of a Northerly Branch; or which of the Two is properly the Main River I know not; but am inclined to think, so skilful an Officer under the Strictest Injunctions of Care from his principal, and subject to his penetrating Examination, cou'd not well be mistaken. is such a material point as this; yet if it is, the Error is so much injurious to New Hampshire—

The ill tim'd parsimony of the late Assembly refus'd so useful & necessary a Grant altho' requisite to carry into Effect a royal Instruction. I confess it gave me pain, yet I could by no means sollicit Aid of the Governm^t of N: York towards surveying Connect^t River, w^{ch} by His Majesty's Order in Council (whereby the Western District was granted from this to that province) it establish'd expressly to be in N: Hampsh: to its Western Banks—more especially as it is part of a provincial Survey; w^{ch} hath not been forwarded to His Majesty's Ministers of State, neither will it be, until next Spring; when the whole prov: Map is finish'd, and must then obtain what Credit its own truth may merit.

Whatever may be the Consequences of the Conduct held by those people, whom y^r Excell^{cy} is informed are exciting Disturbances on the District formerly in this Province they can not in any Degree be ascrib'd to me; that my Name has been us'd therein, I consider as an Effort of those unworthy Wretches, who daily presume in that Country to calumniate me in y^r rudest & most indecent Terms—

To preclude all possibility of Mistake On my side, I have cautiously & unexceptionably avoided speaking to any man or men upon this Dispute, unless in the presence of some other persons; and have invariably recommended implicit Obedience to the Laws where his Majesty had been pleas'd to assign them, and upon All Occasions positively Disavow'd any Connection with them or even a Desire for their revesting to this Prov: But at all times told them that I have met with occasionally, that submission was their Duty & Interest. Upon Y^r Excell^{cy}'s Accession to the Government I was still more explicit & Earnest in public & private recommending those unhappy complaining

people, immediately to refer themselves & their Cause to y^r Decission & in abiding thereby— I was confident they would have Justice, neither might they expect me to reconsider or alter what might be y^r Determination even if that Country should ever be reannexed to this Province; an Event w^{ch} could not be expected, considering the great Disparity in Interest Wealth, Diligence & Ability w^{ch} I grieve to acknowledge is manifestly against N. Hampsh.

Hence it is my Wish to hear that Every Outrage & Violence committed under any pretence whatever may meet the severest Censure of Law w^{ch} I shall see without Concern, but on the contrary rejoice in, as the Avenger of those groundless Aspersions, and still more culpable Conduct practiced by many towards me; in defiance of all Law or Rectitude whatever: and I intreat as a peculiar favor, the greatest Severity may fall on those who presume in any way to ascribe their Conduct to me— The Merits of the Dispute are too tedious for me to enter into at this time— suffice it to Say, that the whole arose upon Representations & Plans from N: York in the year 1762, totally unsuspected & unknown to this province, containing many cruel Reflections on y^r late Governor & Council; whereon N: Hamp: sufferd the Loss, unheard; altho' they labor under a Tax to the year 1774 incurred in the defence of this very Land in Obedience to a royal Instruction, specifying it to be part of this province; and enjoyn^d a penalty of its loss to Massa-bay upon neglect, to obey: an Event further remarkd by a Dissolution of an Assembly who disapproving the mode of Defence rejected the Recommendation, w^{ch} was acceded to by the next Assembly, I am positively convinced that those people are to a Man certain of my Abhorrence of every species of Outrage or illigality, and that all pretences of my favor are made by a few disaffected persons, merely to vili me— Nor do they even venture openly to avow this among the people in general, who universally know the Contrary; therefore any public Act of mine can not in the least deceive them; but would be considered as an exterior Condescension to two or three wicked men who have been for three years past disseminating the most Mischivous Measures in that remote Country—

[5.— Governor Tryon's reply to Governor Wentworth's disavowal and disapproval of the outrages committed in Vermont, 23rd December, 1771.]

FORT GEORGE, NEW YORK 28^d Dec^r 1771.

SIR

Having been favored with your Letter of the 19th October I lost no Time in laying it before His Majesty's Council of this Province, by

whose Advice I issued a Proclamation setting forth the Proceedings that have passed, between our Governments, respecting the Lands lying in this Province to the Westward of Connecticut River—a Copy of which Proclamation I have the Honor to transmit to You; requesting if You Sir, see no Objection, that it may be inserted in the public Papers within your Government. The Facts stated therein are taken from original Letters & papers now in the Secretary's Office of this Province. It was thought necessary to prevent the malicious Insinuations of designing men from gaining Credit among the deluded Inhabitants in the Western Frontiers of this Colony to express in the proclamation Your Excellency's Disavowal & Disapprobation of the rash Conduct of those Rioters who so much disturb the Peace of this Government. I still hope You will upon further Reflection, make known by some public Act within your Government, your Dissatisfaction of such injurious Reflections, & that You will consider such a step, rather as a Compliance with my earnest Request, than as an exterior Condescension to a few wicked men.

The Commissioners appointed for runing the partition Line between this Government and the Province of Canada being prevented, this Season, from proceeding any further than Twenty two miles of the Course; I am desirous of informing Your Excellency, as You may possibly consider your Province in some measure effected thereby, that I have fixed upon the first day of March next, for the Commissioners to meet at the House of Col^d Christy's, on the River Cole, about two Leagues to the westward of Point Moore, from whence they are to proceed in Compleating the Extension of the Boundary Line between the two Governments agreeable to His Majestys Instruction.

I am truly sensible of the Politeness of your Sentiments towards me, & wish You may by an early Visit to this City, afford me an Opportunity of renewing an Acquaintance which was begun during your Short Stay in your Tour through North Carolina. I am with much Esteem,

Sir

Your Excellencys

Most Obedient Servant

WM TRYON

P. S. Our Correspondence being of a public Nature I shall communicate the Same to His Majesty's Secretary of State for American Affairs.

His Excellency JOHN WENTWORTH Esq^r Gov^r &c. &c.

[6.—*Declaration and Petition to the Continental Congress, by the insurgents in Vermont, January, 15, 1777.*]

15 Jan. 1777. To the Honble the Continental Congress.

The declaration and petition of the inhabitants of that part of North America, situate south of Canada Line, west of Connecticut River, North of the Massachusetts bay and east of a Twenty mile line from Hudson's River, containing about one hundred and forty four townships, of the contents of six miles square each, granted your petitioners by the authority of New Hampshire, besides several grants made by the authority of New York, and a quantity of vacant land.

Humbly sheweth :

That your petitioners, by virtue of the several Grants made them by the authorities aforesaid, have many years since, with their families become actual settlers and inhabitants of the said described premises, by which it is now become a respectable frontier to their neighbouring states, and is of great importance to our common barrier Ticonderoga, as it has furnished the army there with much provisions, and can muster more than five thousand hardy soldiers capable of bearing arms in defense of American liberty.

That shortly after your petitioners began their settlements, a party of land-jobbers in the city and State of New-York began to claim the lands, and took measures to have them declared to be within that jurisdiction.

That on the fourth day of July 1764 the king of Great-Britain did pass an order in council, extending the jurisdiction of New-York Government to Connecticut River, in consequence of a representation made by the late Lieutenant Governor Colden, that for the convenience of trade and administration of justice, the inhabitants were desirous of being annexed to said state.

That upon this alteration of jurisdiction the Lieutenant Governor Colden did grant several tracts of land in the above described limits, to certain persons living in the state of New-York, which were at that time in the actual possession of your petitioners, and under colour of the lawful authority of said state did proceed against your petitioners as lawless intruders upon the Crown-lands in their province. This produced an application to the king of Great-Britain from your petitioners, setting forth their claims under the Government of New-Hampshire, and the disturbance and interruption they had suffered from said post-claimants under New-York. And on the 24th day of July 1767 an order was passed at St

James prohibiting the the Governors of New-York, for the time being, from granting any part of the said described premises on pain of incurring his Majesty's highest displeasure. Nevertheless the same Lieutenant-Governour Colden, the Governours Dunmore and Tryon have each and every of them in their respective turns of administration, presumed to violate the said royal order, by making several Grants of the prohibited premises, and countenancing an actual invasion of your petitioners to drive them off from their possessions.

These violent proceedings, (with the solemn determination of the supreme Court of the State of New-York that the Charters; Conveyances &c, of your petitioners' lands were utterly null and void, on which they were founded,) reduced your petitioners to the disagreeable necessity of taking up arms as the only means left for the security of their possessions. The consequence of this step was the passing of twelve acts of outlawry by the legislature of New-York on the ninth day of March 1774 which were not intended for the State in general but only for part of the Counties of Albany and Charlotte, Viz such parts thereof as are covered by the New Hampshire charters.

Your petitioners having had no representative in that assembly when the acts were passed, they first came to the knowledge of them by the publick-papers in which they were inserted. By these they were informed, that if three or more of them assembled together to oppose what said assembly called legal authority, that such as should be found assembled to the number of three or more should be adjudged felons; and that in case they or any of them should not surrender himself or themselves to certain officers appointed for the purpose of securing them after a warning of seventy days, that then it should be lawful for the respective judges of the Supreme Court of the Province of New-York to award execution of Death, the same as though he or they had been attainted before a proper Court of Judicatory. These laws were evidently calculated to intimidate your petitioners into a tame surrender of their rights, and such a state of Vassalage as would entail misery to their latest posterity.

It appears to your petitioners that an infringement of their rights is still meditated by the State of New-York, as we find that in their General Convention at Haerlem the Second day of August last, it was unanimously voted "That all the quit-rents formerly due to the Crown of Great-Britain within this State are now due and owing to this Convention, or such future Government as may hereafter be established in this State."

By a submission to the claims of New-York your petitioners would be subjected to the payment of two Shillings and six pence Sterling on every hundred acres annually, which compared with the quit-rents of Livingston's, Philip's and Ransaeler's Manors, and many other enormous tracts in the best situations in the State would lay the most disproportionate Share of the publick expense on your petitioners in all respects the least able to bear it.

The Convention of New-York have now nearly completed a Code of laws for the future government of that State, which, should they be attempted to be put in execution will subject your petitioners to the fatal necessity of opposing them by every means in their power.

When the Declaration of the Honble the Continental Congress of the 4th of July last, reached your petitioners they communicated it throughout the whole of this District, and, being properly apprised of the proposed meeting delegates from the several Counties and towns in the District, described in the Preamble to this petition, did meet at Westminster in said district, and after several adjournments for the purpose of forming themselves into a distinct and separate State, did make and publish a declaration, "That they would at all times thereafter consider themselves as a free and independent State capable of regulating their own internal policies in all and every respect whatsoever; and that the people in said described district have the sole exclusive right of governing themselves in such manner and form as they, in their wisdom should chuse, not repugnant to any resolves of the Honble the Continental Congress; and for the mutual support of each other in the maintenance of the Freedom and Independence of the said district or separate State, the said delegates did jointly and severally pledge themselves to each other by all the ties that are held sacred among men, and resolve and declare, that they were at all times ready in Conjunction with their full proportion towards the maintaining and supporting the present just war against the Fleets and Armies of Great-Britain."

To convey this declaration and resolution to your Honble Body, the Grand representative of the United States were we, your more immediate petitioners, delegated by the united and unanimous voices of the representatives of the whole body of Settlers upon the described premises, in whose name and behalf we Humbly pray, that the said declaration may be received, and the district described therein be ranked by your Honours among the Free and Independent States and delegates there from admitted to

seats in the Grand Continental Congress. And your Petitioners, as in duty bound &c.

NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS, WESTMINSTER,
15th January 1777.—

Signed by order and in behalf of the
General Convention]

JONAS FAY

THOMAS CHITTENDEN

HEMAN ALLEN

REUBEN JONES.

} Delegates

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XI.—THE SIXTH ARMY CORPS, BEFORE FREDERICKSBURG, APRIL-MAY, 1863.

AN UNPUBLISHED REPORT OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SEDGEWICK.

COMMUNICATED BY MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM F. SMITH.

HEAD QUARTERS 6th ARMY CORPS.
May 1863.

Brig. Gen^l S. WILLIAMS,
Ass^d Adj^t Gen^l
Army of the Potomac,
GENERAL,

I respectfully submit the following report of operations on the left.

On Tuesday, the 28th ult, in compliance with the orders of the Comd'g Gen^l, received that morning, the 6th Corps moved to the vicinity of Franklin's crossing, near the mouth of Deep Run. The 1st Corps, Major-Gen^l Reynolds, to a position about one mile further down the river, and the 3^d Corps, Major-Gen^l Sickles, took position slightly to the rear and between the positions of the 6th and 1st Corps. All the troops camped that night without fires behind the heights, and concealed from the observation of the enemy. During the night the pontoons were carried to the river by hand. At the upper crossing, shortly before daylight, Brooks' Division of the 6th Corps crossed in the boats, Russell's Brigade taking the lead, and receiving the fire of the enemy's pickets and reserves. The enemy's rifle pits were immediately occupied, and three bridges were rapidly laid under the direction of Brig. Gen^l Benham. At Reynolds' crossing, one mile further down the passage was delayed by a severe fire from the enemy's sharp shooters, but was at length gallantly accomplished, Gen^l Wadsworth crossing with a portion of his Division in the boats, and driving the enemy from their rifle pits. During the day, Wednesday April 29th, the command was held in readiness to cross, while the enemy was rapidly entrenching on his entire front, and occasionally shelling Reynolds'

position on the left. On Thursday the 30th, Sickles' Corps was detached from my command and ordered to United States Ford, and during the night one of the bridges at the upper, and one at the lower crossing was taken up, under orders from Head Quarters, and sent to Banks' Ford.

On Friday, May 1st at 5 P. M., an order was received from the Comd'g Gen'l, to make a demonstration in force at one o'clock of that same day, to let it be as severe as possible, without being an attack to assume a threatening attitude, and maintain it until further orders. It was already some hours after the time fixed for the movement, but the last clause of the order as stated here determined me to execute it without delay. Reynolds' Corps was accordingly displayed in force. Gen'l Newton was directed to send one Division of the 6th Corps to Reynolds' support to cover his bridges in case of attack, and the Light Brigade across at the upper bridges to support Gen'l Brooks, who was to display his force as if for advance. When these movements had been executed, an order was received countermanding the order for the demonstration.

The following day, Saturday, May 2^d, Reynolds' Corps was withdrawn from my command, and ordered to proceed to Head Quarters of the Army, at or near Chancellorsville. One Division, Gen'l Wheaton's of the 6th Corps, being sent by Gen'l Newton to cover his crossing and take up his bridge. I was also ordered to take up all the bridges at Franklin's crossing and below, before daylight, this order was received after daylight, at 5.25 A. M., and could not of course be executed without attracting the observation of the enemy, and leaving him free to proceed against the forces under Gen'l Hooker. At 6.30 in the evening, the order to pursue the enemy by the Bowling Green road was repeated, and my command was immediately put under arms and advanced upon the right, driving the enemy from the Bowling Green road, pushing him back to the woods. That night, at 11 P. M., I received an order dated at 10.10 P. M., directing me to cross the Rappahannock at Fredericksburgh, immediately upon receipt of the order, and move in the direction of Chancellorsville, until I connected with the Major Gen'l commanding; to attack and destroy any force on the road, and be in vicinity of the Gen'l at daylight. I had been informed repeatedly by Maj. Gen'l. Butterfield, Chief of Staff, that the force in front of me was very small, and the whole tenor of his many despatches would have created the impression that the enemy had abandoned my point, and retired from the City and its defences, had there not been more tangible evidence than the despatches in question that the Chief of Staff was misinformed. The order to cross at Freder-

icksburgh found me with my entire command on the south side of the river, ready to pursue by the Bowling Green road. To recross for the purpose of crossing again at Fredericksburgh, where no bridges had been laid, would have occupied until long after daylight. I commenced therefore to move by the flank in the direction of Fredericksburgh, on the Bowling Green road, Gen'l Newton taking the advance, followed by the Light Brigade and Howe's Division. A sharp skirmish commenced as the head of the column moved from the immediate vicinity of the bridges, and continued all the way to the town, the enemy falling slowly back; at the same time a sudden attack was made upon the pickets in front of the Bernard House. When the head of the column entered the town, four Regiments from Wheaton's and Shaler's brigades were sent forward against the rifle-pits, and advanced within 20 yards of the enemy's works, when they received a sudden and destructive fire. An immediate assault was made, but repulsed by the fire of the rifle pits and the batteries on the heights. It was evident that the enemy's line of works was occupied in considerable force, and that his right, as it appeared from reports from Gen'l Brooks, extended beyond my left. It was now daylight, and batteries were placed in position to shell the enemy until the troops could be formed for another attack. Gen'l Gibbon was ordered to cross the river as soon as the bridge opposite the Lacy House was completed, and about 7 o'clock proceeded to take position on my right. Gen'l Howe was directed to move on the left of Hazel Run to turn the enemy's right. Upon advancing as directed he found that the works in his front were occupied, and that the character of the stream between his command and that of Gen'l Newton prevented any movement of his Division to the right. Gen'l Gibbon, upon moving forward to turn the left of the enemy, was checked by the canals and compelled to halt. Nothing remained but to carry the works by direct assault. Two storming columns were formed, composed as follows: Right column, commanded by Col. George C. Spear (who fell while gallantly leading it.) 61st Penn'a Vols., Major Dawson, 43^d New York, Col. Baker. This column was supported by the 67th New York (1st Long Island) Col. Cross, 82^d Penn'a, Major Bassett, under command of Col. Shaler. Left column, 7th Mass, Col. Johns (who fell severely wounded in the assault) and the 36th New York, Lt. Col. Walah. Line of battle commanded by Col. Burnham, 5th Wisconsin, Col. Allen, as skirmishers, 6th Maine, Lieut. Col. Harris, 81st New York, Col. Jones, and the 23^d Penn'a Vols., Col. Ely, (this latter regiment volunteering). The columns moved on the plank road, and to

the right of it, directly up the heights. The line of battle advanced on the double quick to the left of the plank road, against the rifle-pits, neither halting or firing a shot until they had driven the enemy from their lower line of works. In the mean time the storming columns had pressed forward to the crest, and carried the works in the rear of the rifle pits, capturing the guns and many prisoners. These movements were gallantly executed under a most destructive fire. Meantime, Howe advanced rapidly in three columns of assault on the left of Haze! Run, and forced the enemy from the crest in front, capturing five guns. The entire force was at once put in motion, and moved in pursuit. Considerable resistance was made on the next series of heights, but the position was carried without halting. A section of horse artillery on our right occupied every successive crest upon our line of march, and much annoyed our advance. At Salem Chapel the enemy were reinforced by a Brigade from Banks' Ford, and by troops from the direction of Chancellorsville, and made a determined resistance. Brooks' Division formed rapidly across the road, and Newton's upon his right, and advanced upon the woods, which were strongly held by the enemy. After a sharp and prolonged contest, we gained the heights, but were met by fresh troops pouring in upon the flank of the advanced position of the line. For a short time the crest was held by our troops with obstinate resistance, but at length the line was forced slowly back through the woods. The advance of the enemy is by checked by the splendid firing of our batteries, (Williston's, Ranson's and Butters') Wheaton still holds his position on the right, gallantly fighting. On the left, the troops are rapidly re-formed, and after a short interval again advance upon the woods. The enemy is once more forced back in much confusion on our right, but steadily resisting on the left. This is the condition of things when night puts an end to the battle. The troops rested on their arms until morning. During the night the enemy were reinforcing heavily, and our wounded as far as was practicable, were collected and sent to Fredericksburgh. The following morning at an early hour I was informed that a column of the enemy, 15,000 strong, coming from the direction of Richmond, had occupied the heights of Fredericksburgh, cutting off my communication with the town. Expecting a movement of this kind, I had already formed Howe's Division in line of battle to the rear; Genl Howe promptly extended his left to the river, and admirably checked an effort of the enemy to cut us off from Banks' Ford, where a pontoon bridge had been laid the day previous. In this affair he captured 200 prisoners and a battle-flag. While these things

were occurring on my left, I received a despatch from the Major-Genl Comdg, informing me that he had contracted his lines, that I must look well to the safety of my Corps, preserve my communications with Fredericksburgh and Banks' Ford, and suggesting that I fall back upon the latter place, or recross in preference at Banks' Ford, where I could more readily communicate with the main body. To fall back upon Fredericksburgh was out of the question, to adopt the other alternative, except under cover of night, was equally so, for the enemy still maintained his position on Salem Heights, and was threatening my flank and rear from the direction of Fredericksburgh.

My line was formed with the left resting on the river, about midway between Fredericksburgh and Banks' Ford, thence extending slightly beyond the plank road, where it turned at right angles to the right, following the direction of the plank road for a mile, and then again turning to the right, at right angles and recrossing the plank road, in front of Salem Heights, my right resting where it had been placed in the engagement of the previous evening. A line of battle of such length was necessarily weak, yet, to contract it, would inevitably provoke immediate attack from vastly superior forces. Batteries were skillfully posted by Col. Tompkins, Chief of Artillery, to maintain the weaker points, and rendered invaluable service. Thus fronting in 3 directions, I was compelled to wait attack, determined to hold the position until dark, and then to fall back upon Banks' Ford. A despatch from the Major-Genl comdg had informed me that he could not relieve me, as he was in position in which he hoped to be attacked, and that he was too far away to direct my operations. Subsequent despatches directed me to hold a position on the right bank of the river until the following morning. During the day there was more or less skirmishing on the whole front, and in the evening a most determined attack was made upon Howe's line, for the purpose of cutting our communication with the river, and, at the same time, Brooks was attacked further towards the right. The attack on Brooks was readily repulsed. That on Howe was of a more determined character, being made in echelon of battalions, and in column. It was gallantly resisted by our Infantry by a countercharge, while the artillery of the Division played with perfect effect upon their advance. At length our line was forced back upon the left, and Genl Howe directed his right to retire to a less advanced position. The movement was quietly executed, the enemy still pressing fiercely on his front. Wheaton's Brigade, and two regiments of the Light Brigade, had been sent from the extreme right to his support, and Butlers' Battery G. &

U. S. Arty, was sent rapidly by a road through the woods to his rear. The divisions reformed promptly, the batteries keeping up a most effective fire upon the woods. The advance of the enemy was checked, his troops were scattered, and driven back with fearful loss, and the new position easily maintained until nightfall. Several hundred prisoners, including one General officer, and many others of rank, and three battle flags were captured from the enemy in this engagement. As soon as it was dark, Newton's and Brooks' Divisions, with the Light Brigade fell rapidly back upon Banks' Ford, and took position on the Heights in that neighborhood and in the rifle pits. When these movements were completed, Howe was directed to fall back, and at once abandon his position, and move to the river, taking position on Newton's right. On Tuesday the 5th, at 2 o'clock A. M., I received the order of the Comdg Genl. to withdraw from my position, across the river, take up the bridges, and cover the Ford. The order was immediately executed, the enemy meanwhile shelling the bridges from commanding positions above us on the river. When the last of the command was on the bridge, I received a despatch from the Comdg Genl. countermanding the order to withdraw. My command was on the left bank. It could not recross before daylight, and must do it then, if at all, in the face of the enemy, whose batteries completely commanded the bridges. I accordingly went into camp in the vicinity of the Ford, sending an adequate force to guard the river, and watch the Ford.

The losses of the 6th Corps in these operations were 4925, killed, wounded and missing. We captured from the enemy, according to the best information we could obtain, five battle-flags, fifteen pieces of Artillery, and fourteen hundred prisoners, including many officers of rank. No material of any kind belonging to the Corps fell into the hands of the enemy, except two wagons and a forge that were passing through Fredericksburgh at the time of its reoccupation by his forces. I must add in closing that the conduct of the troops, from the first crossing of the river, until our return at Banks' Ford, was such as to merit my heartiest approbation.

(Although the copy of this Report from which we have printed it is unsigned, its authenticity is established in the fact that it was given to Major-general William F. Smith—so widely and so fondly honored as "Baldy"—by its lamented author, General Sedgewick, himself; and General Smith communicated it to us, for publication in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*.

Our readers need not be told that we are proud of the privilege, thus kindly afforded us by our distinguished friend, of presenting such a paper for their use. We have reason to hope that it will be followed by other papers of equal importance, from General Smith's files and pen.)

XII.—NOTABLE PLACES.—CONTINUED.

II.—THE GRAVE OF J. RODMAN DRAKE, M. D.

By THE EDITOR.*

In August, 1865, we availed ourself of one of those days of editorial rest which occasionally present themselves, and of the leisure of one of our sons who was well acquainted with the neighborhood, to visit one of the resting-places of Westchester's honored dead.

Leaving our home, on the eastern border of the village of Morrisania, we passed through the farm-lane which divided the estates of the late Thomas Richardson and William W. Fox, to the road which leads from the village of West Farms to Hunt's Point, on the Sound; and along the dusty line of the latter, skirted on either hand with the elegant country-seats of many of Westchester's wealthiest inhabitants, we continued our pilgrimage.

The heat and the dust were oppressive; and the walk which but for them had furnished an agreeable recreation, soon became a wearisome labor. Very few of those who occupied the neighboring mansions, ventured beyond their piazzas; and of those whose duties led them into the fields or the highway, we scarcely saw enough to give us the information we occasionally sought.

We passed, successively, the residence of the late Thomas Richardson, concealed from the passer-by, by its dense screen of magnificent evergreens, and that of the late William W. Fox, solid and substantial, yet everywhere exhibiting the cheering comforts of a plentifully supplied country home. The elegant mansions of William and John B. Simpson, in the midst of a carefully ornamented lawn which seemed to be held in common by the two well-known brothers, and the grounds of Richard M. Hoe and J. B. Herrick—the residence of the latter approached through a long vista of willows—were next admired, as we passed along the road; while that of Edward G. Faile, with its appropriate appendages of carefully arranged and scrupulously neat farm buildings, and the elegant but narrowly-confined residence of stone, in the style of the Tudors, lately owned by Peter S. Hoe; the densely wooded entrance to the ample grounds of Mr. Dickey; the large, square, old-fashioned frame house of Paul Spofford; and the elegant modern villa, surrounded by elaborately ornamented grounds, of Robert L. Kitching succe-

* This article was written in August, 1865, a few days after our visit to the grave-yard. We have not since visited it; but we understand from our sons, who frequently pass it, that no other change has since been made than that which time, the certain destroyer of all earthly things, has slowly produced.

sively arrested our attention and commanded our admiration. The distant chateau of our lamented friend, Benjamin M. Whitlock, whose memory is cherished by all who knew him in the broad and manly benevolence of his nature, was occasionally seen, in the distance, through the trees on our right; and, still farther, in the same direction, the business-like structures at Port Morris, flanked by the deep waters of the Sound, added to the varied beauties of the scene: on our left, the heavy foliage which gave an air of coolness and comfort to the carefully-kept grounds and cosey gate-house of Mr. Dickey and to the old-fashioned farm buildings of Mr. Spofford, concealed from our curious enquiries the wide marshes through which the distant Bronx steals its way to the Sound, and from the more distant high lands of the ancient Borough of Westchester.

A turn in the road, near Mr. Kitching's and the termination of the screen of woods on our left, to which we have alluded, suddenly opened, from that point, an extended view of the marshy meadows and the sluggish Bronx, with the unappropriated, if not the unappreciated beauties of Hunt's Point, bounded, in the distance, by the Sound and by the receding shores of Long Island; and, thence, leaving the estate of Francis Barretto, on our right, we descended from the highly cultivated ridge along which we had been passing, to the dreary waste below.

Near the western margin of the marsh, but entirely detached from the main land, by the meadows, frequently overflowed by the tide, which surrounded it, was an islet—a mere knoll, in fact—through which the roadway had been cut; and the northernmost portion of that knoll, on the eastern slope of which, also, a lonely cottage nestles beneath the overshadowing branches of a fine old oak, is mostly occupied by the ancient burial-place which was the object of our search.

A substantial, but unpainted, picket fence separated it from the marsh, and the door-yard of the cottage, and the sandy road; and the gate, without a fastening, offered no resistance to the entrance of those who sought the resting-place, within, of those who had gone before. Three or four stone steps, also, in pretty good order, led from the road to the wilderness above; and we approached the spot, not without some misgivings concerning the correctness of our supposition that this was one of most noteworthy of the shrines of old Westchester. The entire enclosure was covered with a mass of bushes and briars, interwoven with weeds and long coarse grass; and the moss-covered memorials of by-gone generations as well as those which record the names of the more recent occupants, were often obscured by the encroachments of these unbidden and unwelcome tenants.

We wandered over the greater part of the ground, picking our way among the bushes and briars and stopping to read the inscriptions which perpetuate the memory of the Leggetts, the Wards, and the Hunts, who, for more than a hundred years, have garnered their dead in this forbidding place; but we failed to see the stone which, more than all others, had attracted us to that spot. We pushed our way into the thicket on the right of the entrance, and we found, covered over with weeds and briars, only a line of posts and chains which enclosed the marble obelisk of a Leggett and the graves of other members of that ancient family and of the Wards, their neighbors; on the left of the entrance, on the highest spot of the enclosure, a dense mass of trees and bushes offered no apparent inducement for the labor which would be required to penetrate it.

At length, as a last resort, in our anxious search, we pushed through the obstructions, and we were rewarded for our labor by finding the particular object of our visit—a neat marble monument, about eight feet in height, enclosed with an iron, picket fence, overhung by a weeping willow, and bearing the following inscription:

SACRED

to the memory

of

JOSEPH R. DRAKE, M. D.

who died Sept. 21st.

1820,

aged 25 Years.

*None knew him, but to love him,
Nor named him, but to praise.*

The structure of this monument rests on a base or plinth of white marble, three feet four inches square, and nearly eight inches high. It is composed of a simple square paneled pedestal of grey clouded marble, with base moulding and cornice of white, three feet ten inches high and two feet square, from which springs an obelisk, also of grey marble, fourteen inches square at its base and seven at its vertex, with a rise, measured along the center of its face, of three feet six inches. Ten round pickets of iron, three feet five inches in height and three and a half inches distant, from center to center, are set into the white marble base, on each of its four sides, closely enclosing the structure; and a good-sized weeping willow, on the eastern side of the monument, droops over the whole and overtops the knotted moss of foliage which spontaneously conceals the neglected grave from the passer-by.

The monument began to need repair. The iron pickets, for want of paint, were rapidly rusting away, the white marble base being sadly disfigured with the stains; and the whole structure, slightly leaning toward the North, needed a little friendly care from some one of the Poet's many admirers. A few hours labor, bestowed, occasionally, by any of the wealthy and large-hearted citizens who live in the immediate vicinity of this ancient burial-place, would keep it in good order and render it more worthy of the neighborhood and of the youthful bard who rests within its borders—such an evidence of respect for the memory of one of Westchester's sweetest songsters, should at least be shown, by some one, as to secure the removal of the rubbish from his grave and secure his monument from premature destruction.

We have read of the delicate propriety of laying the Poet down on the margin of the Bronx, whose beauties he had made immortal; and we little suspected that so little foundation, in fact, existed for all such nonsense.

It would have been a pleasant close of the Poet's career and a consolation to his friends and admirers, if some shady nook, on the bank of the picturesque streamlet, had been selected as his burial-place: it is an insult to the good sense of the literary world and to the feelings of his dearest friends to insinuate that such a spot has been found in the dreary and deserted graveyard which is the subject of these remarks. There may be poetry as well as propriety in hiding the remains of a departed Poet, on the summit of a barren and useless sandy knoll, in the midst of a wide-spread salt marsh, with a lazy stream flowing in the distance; and it may, by an amazing stretch of imagination, be a very appropriate continuation of the imaginary compliment, to let the grave which such a spot contains, thenceforward take care of itself and become obscured, in every direction, by the bushes and weeds which surround it. All these, we say, may be proper and appropriate in the case of a Poet's bones;—we thank God, that we deal only in prose.

Having satisfied myself concerning the whereabouts and condition of the Poet's grave, we returned home by way of that shady, country-like lane which tradition points out as part of General La Fayette's route on his journey from New York to Boston; and, after a more agreeable walk than that which had led us to the grave, we settled down in our chair, a wiser if not a better man.

—The first railroad in America was built in 1826, to transport Quincy granite to tide water in Neponset-river, a distance of three miles.

XIII.—LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE ASSOCIATION OF THE ORDER OF THE CININNATI.

AN UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENT BELONGING TO THE DAUPHIN-COUNTY (PENN.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

COMMUNICATED BY DOCTOR WILLIAM H. EGLE, OF HARRISBURG, PENN.

TO JOHN PIERCE, ESQ., PAYMASTER GENERAL TO THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES:

SIR: Please pay to Brigadier Gen'l William Irvine, treasurer, or Colonel Francis Johnston, Assistant-treasurer for the Pennsylvania State Association of the Cincinnati, or his order, one month's pay of our several grades respectively, and deduct the same from the balance which shall be found due to us on the final liquidation of our accounts, for which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

John Armstrong, Lt. 3d Penn. Re.
Thos Wylie, Capt. P. arty artificers.
Francis White, Lieut. 1st Regt. Penna.
James M'Lean, Lt. Invalids.
Sam'l Doty, Capt. 1st, Penn'a arty.
W. Ferguson, Capt. Pennsylv'a artly.
David Ziegler, Capt.
P. Mentges, L. Col.
J. Pratt, Lt. 3d. Penns'a regt.
Rich'd Fullerton, Lt. and Adj't., 1st P. regt.
Geo. Bush, Capt'n 3d Pen'a regt.
John Stricker, Lt. 3d Penn'a regt.
Erkinus Beatty, Lt. 3d Penna regt.
Wm. Moore, Lt. 1st R. P.
Robert M'Connel, Capt. 2d arty.
Jas Weitzel, Lt. 1st P. regt.
Wm. Wilson, Capt. 1st Penn.
James Armstrong, Capt., Lee's Legion.
Jn. Bankson, Capt. 1st Penn. regt.
Jno. Bush, Capt. 3d P. regt.
Thos. Doyle, Lt. 3d P. regt.
Jos. Harmar, Lt. Col., 1st regt Penn'a.
R. Allison, S. M., 2d. P. regt.
And. Lytle, Lt., 1st P. regt.
J. Seely, Capt., 2d P. regm.
John Doyle, Capt., 1st P. regt.
Jas. F. McPherson, Lt., 1st P. regt.
William Magaw, Surgeon, 1st Penna. regt.
Ant'y Wayne, B. G.
Wm. M'hutton, Captain, Invl'd.
C. De Mariellin, Lt., 2d P. R.
Le Orry, Lt., 2d regt Penna.
Charlie De Laubert, Lieutenant, artillery.
W. Henly, Lieut., 1st P. regt.
Andrew Henderson, Lt. 2d P. regt.
Joseph Ashton, Capt. P. arty.
Edward Speer, Lieut., 1st regt. Penn.
Robt. M'Mordie, Chap'n 1st P. Brigade.

John Stoy, Capt. 2d regt.
 Walter Stewart, Col. Insp. North Army.
 Edwd. Reeves, Lieut. 1st regt. Penn.
 James Morris Jones, Lt. 1st P. R.
 Jno. McDowell, Surgn. P. Line.
 E. Edwards, Maj. 4th Penn. regt.
 J. Peres, Surgeon, German regt.
 Andrew Porter, Lt. Col. Comm. P. reg. arty.
 Francis Nichols, Lieut. Col.
 Francis Proctor, Major arty.
 William Murrin, Lt. 2d R. P.
 Hen^y D. Pursell, Lt. 2d. regt. Penn.
 And^w Walker, Capt. 3d P. regt.
 Stewart Herbert, Lt. 3d P. regt.
 J. Mac Kinney, Lt. 3d P. R.
 Francis Johnston, Colonel, Pa.
 Ja. Chrystie, Capt. 2d regt.
 Henry Bicker, Capt. 1st P. regt.
 Wilder Bevins, Lieut.
 Benj. Lodge, Lt. 1st P. R.
 Thomas Dungan, Lieut. 2d R. P.
 T. Robinson, Lt. Col. 2d Pen. regt.
 James Gamble, Lt. Penna. arty.
 Henry Peirce, Lieut. 2d P. regt.
 Alex. Parker, Capt. 2^d Penna Regt.
 Jas. Chambers, Col.
 Matthew Maus, Surgn. Invd. regt.
 Fred^k. Vernon, Major 1st Penn. regt.
 J. Grier, Major 3d R. P.
 John B. Webster, Capt.
 J. Moore, Major 1 P. regt.
 A. G. Claypoole, late Capt. 3d P. regt.
 Daniel Brodhead, Col. 1st regt. P.
 Mathew McConnell, Capt. Invalids.
 James Glentworth, Lt. 2d P. regt.
 J. Hake, Capt. 3d P. regt.
 W. Vanlear, Capt. late 5th P. regt.
 T. B. Bowen, Capt. 1st P. regt.
 W. Macpherson, Major.
 David S. Franks, Major.
 Jesse Crosley, Capt. Lt. P. artillery.
 John Stricker, Capt. late 4th regt. arty.
 Stephen Moylan, Col. 4th L. D.
 Zebⁿ Pike, Capt. 4th regt. dragoons.
 W. McDowell, Lieut. 1st P. regt.
 Edw. Crawford, Lieut. 3d P. regt.
 John Rose, Lieut. 3d P. regt.
 Wm. Martin, Capt. Pen. artillery.
 John Marshall, Capt. late 3d regt.
 Jas. Parr, Major.
 C. North, Lt. Col. 2d P. regt.
 Ln. Davis, Lt. 3d Pennsa. regt.
 Francis Murray, Lt. Col.
 Wm. Rogers, Chapln. 3d P. B.
 James R. Reid, Major.
 John Patterson, Capt.
 Jno. Van Court, Lt. arty.
 Jno. Stotesbury, Capt.
 Jas. Pettigrew, Lieut. 2d Penna regt.
 Peter Smith, Lt. late 3d Penna. regt.

John Armstrong, Jr., Major.
 Edmund Bourke, Capt 1 P. R.
 W. Boude, Capt. 1st Penna. regt.
 George Stevenson, Hospl. mate.
 Robt. Parker, Capt. 4 Penn. Arty.
 Jas. M^cMichael, Lt. 1 P. R. regt.
 Levi Griffith, Lt. 5th P. R.
 James Montgomery, Payt.
 Thomas Douglass, Capt. arty.
 Barnabas Binney, Hosl. Surgn., entered May
 1, 1776, Philada, and now in service, Decem^r
 6th, 1783.
 Thos. Bond, Jr., Purveyor, entd. in Aug.
 1776, and now in service, Dec 6, 1783.
 Edwd. Hand, Major Genl.
 T. Campbell, Captn.
 Wm. Lusk, Captn.
 Geo. North, Lieut.
 Andrew Irvine, Capt. 1st Penna. regt.
 John Nevell, Col. late 4th regt.
 Jno. Boyd, Capn. Lieut 3d P. R.
 Jacob Mytinger, Lt.
 Jno Mahon, Lieut., 2nd P. regt.
 Robt. Sample, Capt. 10th P. regt.
 Alex. Bensted, Lieut., 10th P. regt.
 Wm. Henderson, Capt., 1st P. regt.
 Robert Wilkin, Captn., 2d P. regt.
 Adm. Hubley, Jr., Lieut. Col., comd. of late
 11th P. R.
 Stanley Enes, Capn. of Penn. artillery.
 Nat Irish, Capt. Penn. artillery.
 Thomas H. M^cCalla, Surgn., 4 regt. Light
 Dragoons.
 Ezekiel Howell, Lieut. Penn. artillery.
 Robt. Coltman, Capt. Penna. artillery.
 John Davis, Capt.
 Isaac Craig, Major Penna. artillery.
 Stephen Bayard, Lt. Col. 3d P. regt.
 W. Finney, Capt. 1st regt Pennay.
 John R. B. Rodgers, Surgn., 3rd P. A.
 Wm. M^cCurdy, Capt., late 1st P. R.
 Jno. Reily, Capt., 2^d R.
 Thos. Proctor, Col., artillery.
 Chas. Turnbull, Capt., artillery.
 James Lloyd, Capt., Lt. artillery.
 James Hamilton, Major, late 2nd P. R.
 Jh. Lieberg, Cap., Penvahn.
 Jean Aug. De Florat, Capt. Assist. Surgeon.
 Jno. Wigton, Lieut. late of ye 3rd Penna.
 regt.
 John Harper, Lieut. 5th Penna. regt.
 John Christie, Capt. 3rd Penna. regt.
 Benjamin Bartholomew, Capt. late 5th Penna.
 regt.
 Samuel A. M^cCoskry, Surgeon, Pennsylvania
 Artillery Artificers.
 John Jordan, Capt. Pennsylvania Artillery
 Artificers.
 Isaac Van Horn, Capt. 2d Penna. regt.
 James Campbell, Lieut. 1st Penna regt..

Jno. McClellan, Capt. late 1st Penna. regt.
 Mich. Werley, Lieut. 1st Penna. regt.
 J. M'Cullam, Lieut. and Adjut. 4th Penna. regt.
 Reading Beatty, Surgeon Penna. Artillery.
 Wm. Sproat, Capt. 3rd Penna. regt.

XIV.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

THE AMERICAN FLAG IN CALIFORNIA.—In an interesting little work on the discovery of gold in California, Mr. Edward E. Dunbar, the author, gives an account of the raising of the, so-called "Bear Flag," at Sonoma, California, on Sunday, June 14, 1846. This flag was manufactured out of the white skirt of an old lady, and had painted upon it the semblance of a grizzly bear: the artist was so unfortunate in his effort that the Spaniards called it the "*Bandera Colechis*," or "Hog Flag." This flag, so Mr. Dunbar states, is now in the rooms of the Pioneer Society of San Francisco.

The army that raised this flag, and thus undertook to revolutionize a State, consisted, all told, of fourteen Americans. During this time, however, General John C. Fremont was encamped at Sonoma with the small exploring party with which he had just crossed the plains, the Rocky Mountains, the desert, and Sierra Nevada. Over his headquarters, at Sutter's Fort, there floated a flag with *one star*! On the fourth of July, 1846, he called a meeting of the Americans, at Sonoma; and, under advice from the General, they proclaimed the independence of California and declared War against Mexico. In all this, General Fremont was acting, perhaps, by orders from Washington, but without knowing that the United States were then actually at war with Mexico, or that, on the eighth or ninth of May, General Taylor had gained his decisive victory on the bank of the Rio Bravo. He was, therefore, totally unprepared to hear of the startling event of the raising of the stars and stripes, only three days later, at Monterey, on the seventh of July, by Commodore Sloat of the United States frigate *Savannah*. By direction of Commodore Sloat, Commander Montgomery of the United States sloop-of-war *Portsmouth*, then lying in San Francisco-bay, raised the United States flag, on the plaza of San Francisco, on the eighth of July. The log of the frigate *Savannah*, quoted by Dunbar, contains these particulars. Since that date, the flag of the Republic

has constantly waved over that distant region. On the fourteenth of July, only one week later, the British man-of-war *Collingwood*, Sir George Seymour, commander, arrived at Monterey for the very purpose of doing what Commodore Sloat had already accomplished. The British were too late: the Yankees were already in possession, and were not to be displaced, save at the cost of a War between the two nations.

But neither General Fremont nor Commodore Sloat was the first to raise the American flag, in California.

In 1842, Commodore Jones of the United States Navy, under the impression that the United States were at war with Mexico, took forcible possession of Monterey; hoisted the stars and stripes; and proclaimed California a territory of the United States. Discovering his mistake, the following day, he hauled down the flag and made such apology as the circumstances would admit.

There is still an earlier claimant, whose name has not passed into history. The first man to raise the stars and stripes, in California, was undoubtedly Captain James P. Arther, now a resident of Plymouth, in this State, who was assisted by Mr. George W. Greene, now of Milton, then a very young man, and by two others, now deceased. Captain Arther, originally from Holland, is known to many in this community as a respectable ship-master. Mr. Greene is also well known, having represented his town in our Legislature.

Captain Arther was up and down the coast of California, as early as 1825, in the brig *Harbinger*, Captain Steel; but the exploit above alluded to was performed in 1829, at which time he was in the employ of Messrs. Bryant and Sturgis, as Mate of the ship *Brookline*, Captain Locke. Mr. Arther and his little party were sent ashore, at San Diego, to cure hides. They had a barn-like structure of wood, provided by the ship's carpenter, which answered the purposes of storehouse, curing-shop, and residence. The life was lonesome enough. Upon the wide expanse of the Pacific, they occasionally discerned a distant ship. Sometimes a vessel sailed near the lower offing. It was thus that the idea of preparing and raising a flag, for the purpose of attracting attention, occurred to them. The flag was manufactured from some shirts; and Captain Arther writes, with the just accuracy of a historian, that Mr. Greene's calico shirt furnished the blue, while he furnished the red and white. "It was completed and raised on a Sunday, on the occasion of the arrival of the schooner *Washington*, Captain Thompson, of the Sandwich Islands, but sailing under the American flag. He had a Sailing-master with him. It was in the latter part of the year 1829, in San

"Diego." So writes honest Captain Arther. He further states that the same flag was afterwards frequently raised at Santa Barbara, whenever, in fact, there was a vessel coming into port. These men raised our national ensign, not in bravado, nor for war and conquest, of course, but, as honest men, to show they were American citizens and wanted company. And, while the act cannot be regarded as in the light of a claim to sovereignty, it is still interesting as a fact and as an unconscious indication of manifest destiny. —*Boston Spectator*.

CURIOSITIES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.—The periodical literature of this country affords a wide field for those who search for what are known as "Curiosities," among men of letters. Dr. Palfrey, in the *North American Review* for October, 1842, gave an interesting insight into the extent to which British periodicals pirated articles from American authors. He stated, with much force, that some lieges of her Britannic Majesty read an American book without being aware of the fact. He mentions ten articles which had been stolen from the *North American Review*, by a single English Review, during the short space of four years. Singularly enough, one of these articles was upon the subject of *Literary Property*. Some of these larcenies were of the boldest character, as the subjects of the articles were sure to arrest the attention of the American reader, viz.: *Fifty Years of Ohio*, and Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*.

An article entitled *Visit to Howe's Cave*, written by Professor North, of Union College, appeared in the *Knickerbocker*, March, 1851. It was soon stolen and was published, as original, in *Sharpe's London Magazine*, from which it was copied into *Littell's Living Age*, of November 8, 1851, and in the *New York Evening Post*, and several other American journals, without its American origin being suspected.

There is a remarkable coincidence of language between an article, by John S. C. Abbott, in *Harper's Magazine* of September last, entitled *Scenes in the life of Louis XIV.*, and an article in *Musée des Familles*, published in 1847, and translated, by Miss Annie T. Wilbur, for the *Living Age*, where it appeared May 26th, 1849, under the title of *The Palace of Marly*.

The Editor of the *Saturday Evening Gazette* of this city wrote a historical sketch of the Rothschild family, which appeared in his paper, about a year ago. It was published, as original, in several English papers, and was reprinted in New York, last fall, in the letter of a London correspondent. We copied it from this publication; and it is now going the rounds of the press, credited to the London letter. We saw it in two of our exchanges, last week.

One of the New York papers states that the leading article in the April number of *De Bow's Review*, on the *Cotton Trade of the World*, was written for *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, and originally published in the number of Hunt for January, 1854.—*Boston Weekly Transcript*, April 22, 1854.

DR. FRANKLIN.—The original of the following letter, from Dr. Franklin to his sister, was presented to the Editor of this paper by a near relation of the late Rev. Dr. Lathrop, of Boston, among whose papers it was found, after his decease.

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 20, 1787"

"DEAR SISTER,—I received your kind Letter of the 16th past, which gave me the great Pleasure of learning that you were well. I thought I before acknowledg'd the Receipt of yours by Colonel Serjeant.

"The Convention finish'd the 17th Instant. I attended the Business of it 5 hours in every Day from the Beginning, which is something more than four Months. You may judge from thence that my health continues; some tell me I look better, and they suppose the daily Exercise of going and returning from the State house, has done me good. You will see the Constitution we have propos'd in the Papers. The Forming of it so as to accommodate all the different Interests and Views was a difficult task; and perhaps after all it may not be receiv'd with the same Unanimity in the different States, that the Convention have given the Example of, in delivering it out for their Consideration. We have, however, done our best, and it must take its Chance.

"I agree with you perfectly in your Disapprobation of War. Abstracted from the Inhumanity of it, I think it wrong in Point of Human Providence, for whatever Advantage one Nation would obtain from another, whether it be Part of their Territory, the Liberty of Commerce with them, free Passage on their Rivers, &c &c.; it would be much cheaper to purchase such Advantages with ready Money, than to pay the expense of acquiring it by War. An Army is a devouring Monster, and when you have rais'd it, you have, in order to subsist it, not only the fair Charges of Pay, Clothing, Provision, Arms and Ammunition, with numberless other contingent and just Charges to answer and satisfy; but, you have all the additional Knavish Charges of the numerous Tribe of Contractors, to defray, with those of every other Dealer, who furnishes the Articles wanted for your Army, and takes advantage of that want to demand exorbitant Prices. It seems to

"me, that if Statesmen had a little more Arithmetic, or were more accustomed to Calculation, Wars would be much less frequent. I am confident that Canada might have been purchased from France, for a tenth Part of the Money England spent in the Conquest of it. And if, instead of fighting with us, for the Power of Taxing us, she had kept us in a good humour, by allowing us to dispose of our own Money, and, now and then, giving us a little of hers, by way of Donation to Colleges, or Hospitals, or for cutting Canals, or fortifying Posts; she might easily have drawn from us much more by our occasional voluntary Grants and Contributions, than ever she could by taxes. Sensible People will give a Bucket or two of Water to a dry Pump, that they may afterwards get from it all they have occasion for. Her Ministry were deficient in that little Point of Common Sense;—and so they spent 100 Millions of her Money, and after all lost what they contended for.

"I lament the Loss your Town has suffered this year by Fire. I sometimes think Men do not act like reasonable Creatures, when they build for themselves combustible Dwellings, in which they are every Day oblig'd to use Fire. In my new Buildings, I have taken a few Precautions, not generally us'd; to wit, none of the Wooden Work of one Room communicates with the Wooden Work of any other Room; and all the Floors, and even the Steps of the Stairs, are plastered close to the Boards, besides the Plaistering on the Laths under the Joints. There are also trap Doors to go out upon the Roofs, that one may go out and wet the Shingles in case of a neighbouring Fire. But, indeed, I think the Stair Cases should be Stone, and the Floors Tiled, as in Paris, and the Roofs either Tiled or Slated.

"I am much oblig'd to your Friend and Neighbour, Mr. Lathrop, for his kind present, and purpose writing to him. 'Tis a Discourse well written.

"I sent you lately a Barrel of Flour, and I blame myself for not sooner desiring you to lay in your Winter's Wood, and drawing upon me for it, as last year. But I have been so busy. To avoid such Neglect in future, I now make the Direction general, that you draw on me every year for the same purpose.

"Adieu, my dear Sister, and believe me ever,

"Your affectionate Brother,

"B. FRANKLIN."

—New York Traveller.

Letter has lately been made by Mr. Frederic Muller, bookseller, of Amsterdam, Holland; and we think our readers will be gratified to know that, through the agency of the Atlantic telegraph, we were so fortunate as to secure this most valuable work for a well-known collector in Providence, R. I. Had the order reached Amsterdam one day later it would have been missed. It is gratifying to be able to add that, although the book was catalogued without a fixed price, Mr. Muller sold at a very reasonable and moderate advance over its cost. Seeing that it is a book hitherto unknown and undescribed by any bibliographer, we add Mr. Muller's description of the work:

"*Americus Vespuccius*.—Letter on his 3d voyage, in Dutch. Antwerp (between 1506 and 1509), small 4to, 8 leaves or 16 pp., boards.

"Recto of the first leaf:

"Van der nieuwer werelt ost landtscap

"niewelicx gheuōdē vādē doorduch

"tighē cōn, vā Portugael door dē

"alderbcstē pyloet oste zeekender d'werelt."

"[Of the new world or landscape, newly found for the illustrious King of Portugal by the best pilot or mariner of the world.]

"Recto of the last leaf:

"Al dit v's. is ghetrāslateert cñ ouerghestelt |

"wt dat ytaliansch in laty. cñ voortd wtē |

"latyne | in duytscher spraken. op dat die

"meschen | weten moghē cñ v'staen wat

"grooter wonderlic | hedē daghelicx gheu-

"ondē werdē...

"Gheprent Thantwerpen aen

"Dyseren waghe. Bi

"Jā vā Doesborch.

"Ecelo descendit v'bum quod

"gnothochyauton.' [*Gnoti scauton*.]

"[All this foregoing is translated and brought over from the Italian into Latin, and further from Latin into Dutch, that men may know and understand, what great wonders daily are found...]

"Printed at Antwerp at the iron balance,

"by Jan van Doesborch.. E celo descen-

"dit verbum quod gnothochyauton. [*Know*

"[yourself.]]

"Collation: Eight unnumbered leaves, each of 30 or 31 lines, Gothic letter; small 4to, only leaf 5 with a signature (B); the verso of the last filled by a wood-engraving. Six woodcuts: on the recto of the first leaf; on the verso of leaf 1 (Jonas thrown into the mouth of the whale); recto of leaf 3 (four female aborigines); verso of leaf 4 (fighting Indians); verso of leaf 6 (repeated from the recto of leaf 1); and verso of the last leaf (repeated from the recto of leaf 3) One very slight wormhole

AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS.—A bibliographical discovery of an unknown edition of Vespuccius's

"in the inner margin of 4 leaves, else a tall and remarkably well-conditioned copy.

"This Dutch Vespuccius has remained entirely unknown down to the present time; it is mentioned neither by Harrise nor by any other bibliographer. I have found no notice whatever, anywhere, so that the present is the first copy known, and may justly be called Unique. It comes from an insignificant library, sold a year ago, at Antwerp, and was bound up with three other pieces, all printed there, in the first ten years of the sixteenth century; one of them, which seems to be likewise totally unknown, on the land of Priest John, may be found at the end of the catalogue, with the Voyages to Asia. The high interest of the work, which, perhaps, will never again be offered for sale, has induced me to prefix to this catalogue an exact fac-simile of the first page.

"The book itself is the translation of Vespuccius's famous letter to Laur. de Medicis, on his third American voyage, undertaken, in 1501, for the King of Portugal. It begins, beneath the wood-cut of the first page:

"Laureti goede vriet In voorleede daghe heb ic Albericus v gescreuen vā my wedercoest..."

"[Laurentius, good friend, in the past days I Albericus have written to you of my return.]

"At the third page, the relation of the voyage itself begins; and it is curious, that, while Harrise, in his extensive note to the first Latin edition (No. 22,) gives May 10 or 13th, or June 10, as the probable day of the departure, from Lisbon, here, Vespuccius himself names the first of May: 'Inde iare os herē als mē screes MCCCC' ('ā een dē yerstē dach vā Mey so zy wi wt gereyst.'—[In the year of our Lord 1501 the first day of May we have set sail.] I have found nowhere else this date mentioned.

"The book bears no date; but it is out of question that it has been printed in the period 1506-9, the time when all the separate editions of Vespuccius were published. It is one of the first productions of the famous printer, Jan van Doesborgh, at Antwerp, whose publications (principally romances of chivalry, with wood-cuts, curious popular books, etc.,) rank among the rarest of the Antwerp printers. Just the kind of his publications makes it easy to understand that they have disappeared, as it were, under the hands of the reading public."

Mr. Muller bought this book, expenses included, for eight hundred and thirty francs.—*American Bibliopolist*.

WAS BURNING AT THE STAKE EVER PRACTICED IN NEW YORK STATE?—A Johnstown correspondent writes: "I was once told by a very

"aged inhabitant of Johnstown, that he had witnessed the execution of the death penalty, in this village, by burning at the stake. The culprit was a colored woman. I had not known, before, that this mode of punishment was ever adopted in this State. Mentioning the fact to an intelligent gentleman of the County, he recalled that, in a search he had occasion to make among the records of the County, he found an audit of £2. 10s., to Sir John Johnson, for wood furnished for burning a criminal. No doubt this was the same transaction, and confirms the truth of my old friend's statement."

SCRAPS.—The temptation to indulge in the "hifalutin" style of writing was prevalent, at the beginning of the present century, as well as in later years. Thus the *Ulster County* (N. Y.) *Gazette*, on the fourth of January, 1800, in describing the funeral of General Washington, at Mount Vernon, indulged in the following language:

"There were the groves, the spacious avenues, the beautiful and the sublime scenes, the noble mansion—but alas! the august inhabitant was now no more. That great soul was gone. His mortal port was there indeed; but ah! how affecting! how awful the spectacle of such worth and greatness, thus, to mortal eyes, fallen! Yes! fallen! fallen!"

And again:

"The sun was now setting. Alas! the Son of GLORY was set forever. No, the name of WASHINGTON—the American President and General—will triumph over DEATH. The clouded brightness of his glory will illuminate the future ages."

—In the old Church-books of the First Baptist-church in Stamford, is the following antique record: "OCTOBER 8, 1797. Died, at Norwalk, Sybil Whitehead, aged one hundred and sixteen years—a member of this church, baptized October 5, 1780, in the ninety-ninth year of her age. She lived at Norwalk, where she kept school; and, for years, frequently, came on horseback to Stamford (a distance of thirteen miles from her home,) to attend public worship—coming on Saturdays and returning on Mondays. The last time she came to Stamford was in May, 1789, at which time she was one hundred and nine years old. She then walked nine miles, and also returning on foot. She was never married."

—The house in which Henry Clay was born, the twelfth of April, 1777, and which was recently burned, is thus described: "It was situ-

"ated on a small tract of ordinary land, near the old Slash Church, in the County of Hanover, about five miles distant from Ashland. A picture of it before us represents it as an old-fashioned, one-story, framed-house, with sloping roof. It has a large chimney at either end, which, according to the fashion of the times in which they were built, have material enough in them for three modern chimneys. At one end is a shed-room built over the chimney. This shed had, from age, settled and separated from the main building, thus leaving a gap into which dry leaves and other combustible matter had, from time to time, fallen. A spark dropping upon them, occasioned the fire which resulted in the destruction of the humble birth-place of the great American commander. At the time of its destruction, it was occupied by Mr. Cardwell, son-in-law of Mr. Howard, Clerk of the City Council."

—There is a town in New Hampshire, Alstead by name, which should receive the immediate attention of the Home Missionary Society. It has, it is true, five churches; but what are churches with no Ministers to preach and to pray in them? And not a Parson has Alstead. There is one comparatively enlightened gentleman there, who wanted to buy a Bible for his daughter; but in none of the shops of the town was there a Bible for sale. There was a Minister there, at the time, and the anxious father, calling upon him, was informed that the reverend person had only one Bible, but this he expressed his willingness to sell, remarking, at the same time, that it had been little used! We make these statements on the authority of *The Peterboro' Transcript*. The moral of the matter would seem to be that, in a small town, one Meeting-house may be better than five. What piety Alstead has, should consolidate itself.—*Exchange*.

—The history of the First Reformed Church of Paterson, (originally "First Reformed Dutch Church of Totowa") is interesting. It was organized between 1750 and 1756, during the ministry of the Rev. David Marinus, who had charge also of the churches at Acquackanonk and Pompton. In 1762, Rev. Cornelius Blauw became the joint Pastor of the three churches. His next Pastor was the Rev. Dr. Meyer, who preached until his death, in 1791. In October, 1816, the Rev. Wilhelmus Eltinge was engaged to give half of his service to this church. He continued to do so, until 1833, after which he confined his ministrations to the Paramus church. In 1834, Rev. John C. Vandevort became Pastor, and continued as such until 1837, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Wiggins, who remained until 1856. Early in 1857, the Rev. Philip Peltz, D.D., was called to the pastorate.

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He was succeeded, in 1860, by the Rev. Alexander McKelvey, who resigned in 1865. The present Pastor, Rev. John Steele, was called in the Autumn of 1865. His labors have been very acceptable; and the church, under his ministrations, has greatly prospered.

—The *New York Herald* affirms the entire accuracy of the report of General Sherman's late speech in New Orleans, which indeed, has not been impugned on any good authority. The *Herald* further declares that the following is a true copy of a letter written by General Sherman, in 1864:

"To J. A. R., BALTIMORE:

"SIR: Yours of August 29th, is received.

"Thank you for your kind expressions.

"Iron is iron and steel is steel; and all the popular clamor on earth will not impart to one the qualities of the other.

"So a nigger is not a white man, and all the Psalm-singing on earth won't make him so. It is strange to me that among a people, North and South, who have so much common sense, that you can't say 'nigger' till both parties make fools of themselves, and it is hard to say which are the worst. When we settle this little fight on hand, the great 'nigger' question will be found settled also.

"W. T. SHERMAN, M. G.

"ATLANTA, September 12."

—The following anecdote of John C. Calhoun is told on the authority of the late Abbott Lawrence:

Some time before 1840, Mr. Calhoun wrote to Mr. Lawrence that he had been adding to his landed estates, and would like to obtain a loan of ten thousand or fifteen thousand dollars in Boston, where money was more plenty than in South Carolina and the rate of interest is not so high, for the payment of which he would give his notes and a mortgage upon his estate, which would be ample security. Mr. Lawrence said he consulted Mr. Nathan Appleton and one or two other wealthy citizens of Boston upon the subject; and it was agreed to raise the money for him and take no security for the payment but his own note. Mr. Lawrence informed Mr. Calhoun of the arrangement which he had made, and expressed his gratification that it was in the power of himself and a few of his friends to do a kindness to one, so distinguished, whose life had been been devoted to the service of his country. Mr. Calhoun immediately wrote back, declining the offer, and withdrawing his original request. He said it did not agree with his sense of propriety to accept a loan on such terms; that in the discharge of his public duties he did not wish to be embarrassed by a sense of obligation to any one.

—General Grant is one of three Presidents of the United States who have passed their fiftieth birth-day in the Executive office, the other two being Mr. Polk, who entered the office about seven months before he was fifty years old, and General Pierce, who became President in his forty-ninth year. General Washington was in his fifty-eighth year when he became President; John Adams was in his sixty-second; Mr. Jefferson in his fifty-eighth; Mr. Madison in his fifty-eighth; Mr. Monroe in his fifty-ninth; John Quincy Adams in his fifty-eighth; General Jackson in his sixty-second; Mr. Van Buren in his fifty-fifth; General Harrison in his sixty-ninth; Mr. Tyler in his fifty-second; General Taylor in his sixty-fifth; Mr. Lincoln in his fifty-third; and Mr. Johnson in his fifty-seventh year. General Harrison was the oldest man ever elected to the Presidency, and General Grant is the youngest. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams were in their fifty-eighth years when they entered the Presidency; and Mr. Monroe completed his fifty-ninth year only fifty-five days after he became President; and Mr. Johnson was in his fifty-sixth year when he succeeded to President Lincoln. Four Presidents went out of office in their sixty-sixth year, namely, Washington, John Adams, Jefferson and Madison. President Jackson was the oldest of all our retiring Presidents, as he went out of office only eleven days before the completion of his seventieth year. Mr. Buchanan left office fifty days before he became seventy years old. The President who lived longest was John Adams, who died in his ninety-first year. The next oldest was Mr. Madison, who died in his eighty-sixth year. Mr. Jefferson died in his eighty-fourth year; Mr. John Quincy Adams in his eighty-first year; Mr. Van Buren in his eightieth year; General Jackson in his seventy-ninth year. The youngest retiring President was General Pierce, who went out of office not quite four months after he had completed his fifty-second year. Mr. Polk retired in his fifty-fourth year, and died in a little more than three months later, at the age of fifty-three years, seven months, and thirteen days, the youngest of all our Presidents in death.

—A curious reminiscence of revolutionary times has been brought to light in the recent application to Congress, by an aged lady, for payment of the services of her father, an officer in the old Continental Navy. It appears that the officer in question performed, in addition to his ordinary duty as a cruiser, some important services in England, for the Secret Committee of Congress, at the risk, if detected, of being subjected to the fate of some of his comrades. "They were "marched upon a floating machine, their bodies,

"legs, and arms so ironed that they could not bend either; the machine was towed, at high water, to a gallows erected by Government orders; the hangman made the halters fast to the gallows, and left them to die at leisure—that is, by inches, as the tide fell." The Committee considering the claim reported in favor of its payment.

—That veteran financier, Jacob Barker, died in Philadelphia, on the twenty-sixth of December, 1871, aged ninety-three years. He was born in Maine, his mother having been a Nantucket Quakeress. He began work in New York at the age of sixteen, and, before he was twenty-one, owned four ships and a brig. In his long life, he was prosperous and unfortunate, rich and poor, by turns. He was once tried for challenging a Mr. Rogers to a duel, and was disfranchised; but he was pardoned by Governor Clinton of New York. Of late years, he was in business in New Orleans.

—John Hatfield, who died in Troy, a few days ago, was the first maker of lucifer matches, in this country. He cut them, one by one, with his jack-knife. The chemical composition, necessary to insure combustion, was prepared by him, the ingredients, at that time, being known, in America, only to himself. This was in 1836.

XV.—NOTES.

EARLY BAPTISTS OF MAINE.

[The following, from the original, among the family papers of Hon. John Woodman, will be interesting to all who are concerned in the affairs of the Baptists, in Maine. It appears to relate to the origin of the Baptist Church in Buxton.

CONCORD, N. H.

W. F. GOODWIN.]

We the undersigning subscribers inhabitants of the Town of Buxton in the County of York having realized the solum importance of the greates priviledges of the preached Gospel its Doctrins & the adminstration of its ordinances in its primitive purity to ourselves our posterity & mankind in general; And beleaving it is a duty incumbent upon us to take sum lawful and reasonable meathod to support & promote the same

And when we shall do this it is our candid appinion that in attending to the great things of our Everlasting Concernment as the means to bring about the eand a Due & strict Conformity to the Disapline & Doctring of the Denomination of Christians call^d Baptists are necessary and most sacredly to be regarded.

That the first step to be attended to in this our Religious compacts is to agree and we do hearin most Sollumny agree to form ourselves into a Religious Society by the Denomination of Baptists

2^dly we do likewise agree to conform ourselves

to all those rules and regulations that is necessarily observed therein for the wellordering and Discipline of said Society

3^{ly} we do agree to use our best indeavours to provide and support a public teacher and suitable accommodations according to our several abilities

4^{ly} that when a respectable number to this agreement are procur^d we will make application to this Town to be set off from the Congregational Society under such regulations & upon such Conditions as other Towns in this Commonwealth has practiced on the like occasion

Buxton October 1798

BENJA BRADBURY	SAMUEL WORTH
JOSEPH HOBSON	JOSEPH ATKINSON
BENJA LEAVITT	JOHN THOMPSON
BENJA ELWELL	W ^m DAVIS
JONATHAN MARTIN	JOHN ROLFE
JACOB STEVENS	EBENEZER REDLON
JABEZ SAWYER JUN	JONATHAN BERRY
JOHN LORD	EDMUND KNIGHT
JOHN CAME	JOHN ROLFE JUN
NATHAN ELDEN JUN	NELSON FOGG
THEODER ELWELL	EDMUND FLOOD
HENRY L ROLFE	STEPHEN HOPKINSON
JOSEPH BILLINGS	JABEZ SAWYER
EPHRAIM WOODMAN	SAMUEL ROUNDS
JOHN DENNET	JOHN PALMER
JOHN ATKINSON	JACOB PALMER
LEMEUL NUTTER	JOSIAH LIBBEY
MOSES WOODMAN	EPHRAIM SANDS 3 ^d
CLEMENT DENNET	SAMUEL SANDS
STEPHEN PRESCUT	SAMUEL HOBSON
STEPHEN PRESCUT JUN	JOSEPH RANKINGS
THOMAS ATKINSON	JACOB DURBORN
BENJA BRADBURY JUN	JONATHAN BANGS
J ⁿ WOODMAN	NATHAN ELDEN
SAMUEL KNIGHT	ARNER WOODSUM
THOMAS HARMON	CALEB HOPKINSON
JOSEPH DURBORN	ABEL KNIGHT
DOMINECUS HARMON	DANIEL THOMBS
JABEZ BRADBURY	ENOCH WHITNEY
AMATHER WOODSUM	BRICE BOOTHBY
JOEL MILLIKEN	JEREMIAH SMITH
DANIEL HANSON	CHASE PARKER
JOSEPH HANSON	W ^m HASALTYNE
THEODER ATKINSON	STEPHEN WOODMAN

SALISBURY, N. H., IN THE OLDEN TIME.—The following extract from a paper in *Harpers' Magazine*, (xlii., 687, 688,) entitled, *Daniel Webster's Social Hours*, may interest your readers, partly because it is a picture of the hardships of the early settlers of New Hampshire and Vermont, and more especially because it contains the interesting information that the father of Daniel Webster was one of the Captains in the Bennington Battle.

BENNINGTON, VT.

Very truly yours,
L. JENNINGS.

Speaking of the settlement of Salisbury, New Hampshire, Mr. Webster said :

"It is situated at the head of the Merrimack-river, and very near the centre of the State. "My father joined this enterprise, under Colonel Stevens, and, about 1764, pushed into the wilderness. He had the discretion to take an ally, "the best of allies, along with him, a wife; "intending, whatever else he might want, not "to lack, at least, good company. The party "traveled out the road' or path (for it was "no better), and then were obliged to make "their way (not *finding* one) to their destined "places of habitation. My father camped a "little beyond the other comers; and, when he "had built his log-cabin and lighted his fire, his "smoke ascended nearer to the North Star than "that of any other of his Majesty's New England subjects.

"His story of this early settlement was deeply "interesting, at least to me. They doubtless "suffered much. War, on their own soil, and "even at their own doors, was no strange sight to "these hardy pioneers; and the arms which they "had laid aside, on conclusion of Peace with "the French, were easily resumed, and became "as effective, in their practiced hands, against a "still harsher foe. My father was their Captain; "he led them forth, with other New Hampshire "troops, almost every Campaign. He commanded his Company at Bennington, at White Plains, at West Point, and at the time of "Arnold's defection. There were not braver nor "better troops in Washington's Army. I have "some little articles, the *spolia prolii* of Bennington, which I keep in honor of my father. "The last time I ever saw General Stark, under "whom my father fought, at Bennington, he did "me the compliment of saying that my complexion was like that of my father; and that "his was of that color, so convenient to a soldier, "that burnt gunpowder did not change it!"

FIRST CHURCHES IN NEW ENGLAND.—"It is "a fact worthy of notice, that the five first "churches formed in New England, are now Unitarian churches, viz: Plymouth, Salem, Dorchester, Boston First Church, and Watertown. "Rev. Dr. Kendall, of Plymouth, is the oldest "Minister of the Unitarian denomination in this "country; and it is curious to note that he is at "the head of the oldest Pilgrim church formed "in America."

The above is from a letter in the New York *Christian Inquirer*, in 1853, by its Boston Correspondent, the late William Reed Deane, Esq. BOSTON, MASS. JOHN WARD DEAN.

THE FAYS, OF VERMONT.

[For the following copy of the "Family Record" of this noted family, we are indebted to our excellent friend, Rev. Isaac Jennings, Pastor of the First Church at Bennington.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

FAMILY RECORD.

John Fay, the elder, emigrated from England and settled in Mass., and married Elizabeth Wilmington. They had eight children.

Basheba married John Pratt—Dinah married Daniel Goodenough—John married Elizabeth Childs—Eunice married Isaac Pratt—James married Lydia Childs—Benjamin married Patty Miles—Mehitable married Fletcher—and Stephen Fay, the youngest son, married Ruth Childs, who died in the 89th year of her age.

Stephen Fay, one of the first settlers, had 11 children. John Fay, who was killed in Bennington battle, aged 48. Jonas Fay was Secretary to the Council of Safety, and author of the Declaration of Independence for Vermont and died in the 82d year of his age. He married Sarah Fassett, and afterwards Lydia Warner. Stephen Fay died at Hardwick, Mass., aged 65. Mary Fay married Gov. Moses Robinson, and died February, 1801. Beulah Fay married Maj. Samuel Billings, and died in the 89th year of her age. Elijah Fay married Deborah Lawrence, and died in the 88th year of his age. Benjamin Fay married Sarah Robinson, was the first Sheriff in the State, and died in 1786.

Joseph Fay married Margaret, daughter of the Rev. J. Dewey, and died in New York, of the yellow fever.

Sarah Fay married David Robinson, and died January 25th, 1801.

David Fay, youngest son, married Mary Stan-niford, daughter of John Stanniford, Windham, Conn., and died aged 67.

The John Fay that was killed in Bennington battle had five children—Susan, Nathan, John, Helen, and Henry.

Susan married Timothy Follett, and had five children—Mary, Susan, Timothy, Francis, and Sophia.

Nathan married Mary Safford, daughter of Gen. Samuel Safford, of Bennington, and had 8 children—John, Henry, Nathan, Polly, Safford, Hiram, Jonas and Truman.

John married Susan Fay, daughter of Jonas Fay, brother of the John Fay who was killed in Bennington battle,—and had 2 children, John J. and Caroline.

Helen married Bissell Case, and had a number of children not all known to the writer, among which were Sophia, Laura, Polly, Hiram, Susan, &c.

Henry Fay married Betsey Talcott, and had 10 children—Harriet, Henry, Betsey, Maria, Jona-

than, David, Nathan, Laura Anne, Mary and Caroline.

John Fay, son of Nathan, married Polly Bishop, and had 7 children—Roswell B., Electa, Roxana, Daniel B., Julius, Edith, and John H.

Henry married Catharine Vincent, and had 2 children—Emily and Dulcinea.

Nathan married Polly Murray; she had one child and died. His second wife's name was Polly Colby, who had 7 children, making 8 in all—Nathan M., Safford, Sally Anne, Martha, Harry, Enos, Elliot, and Arnold.

Polly married Eli Bronson, and had 6 children—Currance, Safford, Louisa, Miron, Mary, and Eli.

Hiram died and left no children.

Safford married Rhoda Betty, and had 2 children—Ruth, and Miranda.

Jonas married the widow of his brother Henry, and had 2 children—George and Adeliza.

Truman married Mary Thompson, and had children—Anne, Joseph, Caroline, Jerome, Beulah, Ralph, Rollin, Thomas, Louisa, and Charles.

Roswell B., son of John Fay, married Anne Cutler, and had 4 children—Marcia E., John M., Alfred C., and Cynthia R.

Electa married R. B. Brown, and had seven children—Polly Anne, Jackson, Bertram, Jane, Byron, Edith, and Roswell.

Roxana married Corey Thompson, and has 4 children—Frederick, Herbert, Eveline, and John J.

Daniel married Amelia Taylor, and has 2 children—Ransom and Ellory C.

Julius married Susan Swift, and has one child—Julia L.

John Hiram married Hester Moreton, and has one child—Rockwell M.

Nathan M. Fay, son of Nathan Fay, married Beulah Thompson; they have 4 children—Emerson, Roby, Ada, and Newton.

Safford Fay married Armina Bronson; they have 3 children—Ellen, Frances, and Franklin.

Sally Anne married Azariah C. Flagg; they have 3 children—Dora, Henry F., and Willard E.

Harry Fay married Nancy L. Skinner; they have 1 child—Lillie.

Enos Fay married Beulah Fay; they have 1 child—Anne Elizabeth.

Joseph Fay, son of Truman Fay, married Susan Chamberlain.

Anne married Timothy Kinney; they have one child.

Caroline married David Bronson, of Conn.

A MODERN ANCIENT-PROPHECY.

The following *jeu d'esprit* was printed in the *Boston Herald*, on the fourteenth of February, 1855. It was written by the late Frederic T.

Somerby of Boston, who was a frequent contributor to the newspapers under the signature of "CYMON." He wrote a few years previous an ingenious April-hoax, which was printed in the *Boston Post*, on the morning of the first of April, which is said to have deceived the senior publisher of that paper, so that he went to the Boston Common, to see the cave described as discovered there. Mr. Somerby was not much of an antiquary; and his spelling, though curious, does not much resemble that of Cotton Mather.

BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

"A RELIC OF YE OLDEN TIMES—A PROPHECY.—It was the poet Darwin that prophesied, in one of his compositions, the advent of the steam car; and in the following article we find a correct description of a modern steam-boat, written, or at least supposed to be so, nearly two centuries ago, by the veritable Cotton Mather, the wonder-loving Divine, and the author of the far-famed *Magnalia*, replete with witchy and ghostly narrations, and divers wonderments. The manuscript was said to be found amongst a lot of old and musty papers, in a heap of garret lumber, in one of the oldest houses in Newbury, not a great while since. Here is the matter as we find it: C.

"Boston, Iune ye 29th, 1602

"To my esteemed Friende—Iohn Moodie. Dear Sir:—

"I am now constrayned to write vnto you thys Epistel to informe you of a strayinge Dreme, ye whych I hadd on ye Lord his daie laste.—After Dyvine Seruices, I hied me homeward, & ye Daie it beinge sylvtrie, and myselfe feelynge somevvhat fateged, I tooke a fulle Glasse of Olde Iamaica Spiritts; then & therupon I betooke myself to mie bigge Arme Chaire. Ye oppressive heate of ye wether—mie greate fateges, to-gether wythe ye effect of ye rumme, alle combyned to lose & enwrappe me yn an all-powerfulle slepe.

"Methoughte I didd goe downe to ye seaside; & castynge myne eyne ouer ye wyde waters, I didd presentlie yspie a strayinge crafte, ye vvhych vvvas vnylike anie otherre that I hadde ever before behelde. Ye hulke of ye crafte vvvas fashionede & shapened verie lyke vntoe ye dyuers crafte thatt swimme yn our Seas & Rivers, alle exceptynge a mightie Chymnie, the vvhych vvvas sett vppe yn ye midel of ytte insted of a maste,—& ovt of ytte povred & belch't forthe Smoake in abundance. Vponne ye hytherre & ye thytherre syde thereof, vvvas plaiced a myghtie vvheele, lyke vntoe ye bigge one yn Deaconne Iewette his Sawe-Milne; ande they didd continvallie turne rounde & aboute, splashynge ye great Waterres to a greate commotionne, ande

"makyng a moste dyrefulle noyse, alle to our greate amaismente! Whyles vpon ye foremost parte of ye Boate, stooode a lyttel Howse, lyke vntoe an Howse of easemente, intoe vvhych stooode a Manne whose dyd seeze yponne ye spokes of a vvheele whych dyd muche resembl a Coten vvheele.

"Ye vvhyles I was lookynge vpon ye strayinge Crafte, we hearde a sovnde, lyke vntoe ye porte of heave Ordnanse, ande anon a vvhyte cloud of huge dimensiones, and of mvch density dydde o'ershadowe ye spotte, hydinge ye strange vision from mye astonysht sight—& I sawe ytte no more!

"I hayve, my Deare Sirr, benee muche exercised since, touchynge thys matterre; & I doe sometymes thynk that ye sayd strayinge craft was nothinge moer nor les thanne ye Dyuel, whose dydde essay to tayke vponne hymselfe thys forme & shape, inne orderre to goe over ye face of ye greate & mightie Waters to doe muche myschief vponne ye Sea as vvell as ye Lande;—& I verilie doe lykewyse thynke thatte ytte portendethe no goode, vvhatsoever,—butte that euil vvill come of ytte—& thatte ye Dyuel vvill shortlie goe aboute ouer ye Seas lyke a roarynge Lyonne, vvithout let or hyndrance.

"Thys from youre Olde Frende

"COTTON MATHER."

GENERAL ROSECRANS ON JUSTICE.

[The following interesting letter, from the original manuscript, which is now before us, tells its own story—it tells, too, the story of why some things were not done which should have been done, as General Rosecrans understood the subject.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

UNOFFICIAL

CORINTH Miss Sept 26, 62

MY DEAR GENERAL,

The Government has at last appointed me a Maj. Genl of Volunteers "for meritorious Services in Western Virginia" to "rank from the 17th of Sept, 1862." I have accepted it on the ground that when an unjust man who has the power to refuse to pay, offers to pay a part of what he owes one it is prudent to take it.

If fighting battles in person and winning them if defending successfully a mountainous region against a powerful active and determined force, if successfully commanding and restoring civil government to a vast department since overrun by rebels merited anything it merited my promotion in December last.

My new commission dates me probaly junior to almost all Major in the field. I am now in command of a Separate army and I write you privately to see if there be any mode of avoid-

ing the injustice of the position to which my junior rank would consign me.

Please let know before giving me any orders.

I think you will not refuse me this personal favor.

Very truly yours
W. S ROSECRANS

Maj GEN H. G. WRIGHT
Comd^r Dept of Ohio

[Endorsed:]

Rec^d Sep^r 26th 1862

THE EARLY DAYS OF THE MORRIS FAMILY.

[The following, from the original, in possession of the Bowne family, illustrates the early outlooks of the Morris tribe, for a resting-place in New York. We are indebted for it to our valued friend, John T. Bowne, Esqr., of Glen-Cove, L. I.—Ed. HIST. MAG.]

JOHN BOON [Bowne]

My kind frind I have of layt had thoughts of setting a habytation a mongst y^e and there four have sent my Brothar into thos pts to begin for me som setlment and be causes I bnge [knowing?] that his short time time of aboed ther cannot sofetiently acquaint him with the conveniet ies of the place and cust ums of the coun tray, thearfoer thought to Intreat thee and all thar [those?] frinds that In habit thear about to give him sartin and houlsom advies whear y^e would have me settel and bild a houses for my selfe to live in and what y^e advic is I hoep he will follow— he will tell thee wat land I have alreedy bought but I doe not beliv that I am willing to be Ruld by firines. I have heard a good Report of Mad [nans?] neck and Likewise of Matinick but what they aer I knowe not if a large quantitie of Land might be convenient I mean in Mad Nans neck [?] but I wont puint out any place I will leave that to frinds. I have not to enlarge forder than to subscribe my selfe thy true frind

LEWIS MORRIS

BARBATOES the 25th of the: 3th: 1665

THE SIEGE OF LOUISBURGH.

[The following unpublished papers, illustrative of the history of this important event, in Colonial History, are from the Archives of Massachusetts, and will, probably, serve some of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

CONCORD N. H.

W. F. GOODWIN.]

1.—PETITION OF CAPTAIN JOHN LANE.

From the Massachusetts Archives, lxxiii., 34, 35.

To his Excellency William Shirley Esq^r Cap^t General and Governor in Chief in & over his majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, To the Honorable his maj^{ty}

Council & the honorable the House of Representatives of s^d Province &c.—

The Petition of John Lane humbly sheweth that he was an officer in the last Indian War and was at Sumersett with Coll^o Harmon when the Indians was Kill^d thear, that he was at Norige-wock when the Indians was Kill^d thear by Coll^o Harmon & Coll^o Moulton; that he lived at St. Georges when this war began with the French & when the Province granted a bounty on Indian scalps, that he listed a number of volunteers and was out after the St. Johns' Indians all the winter before the Expedition to Louisburge, that he listed a Company & served as Cap^t in the said Expedition, that he was y^e first man that was wounded in the s^d expedition; that he was Taken Sick the middle of Sep^r after the Reduction of s^d Place & was careyed to Boston sick & lay thear sick till the last of April following, and that his sickness, nurses, watches & other expences Cost all his Wages besides what the Province allowed him; that on ap^l y^e 29th Your Excellency in your great goodness was pleased to give your Petitioner the command of a Comp^y of soldiers in the Service of this Province in y^e Eastern Frontear. That in going from Falmouth to Brunswick to post some of his Comp^y according to Your Excellencys Orders, that your Petitioner got cold & it threw him into a Relapse & your Poor Petitioner has been sick ever since and most of the time confined to his Bed and is now but just able to go from the Bed to the Fier; that your Petitioner had his house burnt by the Indians when the last war broke out; that your Petitioner has a wife and three small Children* and nothing in the world to Support himselfe nor them; withall your Poor Petitioner Begg that you will in your great goodness take him and his Poor miserable circumstances into your wise consideration and do Somthing to Relive your Poor Destressed Petitioner under his Destressed Condition, and your Petitioner as in Duitie Bound shall ever pray

YORK, Feb^r y^e 1^d 1747/8

JOHN LANE

A.—ACTION OF THE GENERAL COURT, THEREON.

In the House of Representatives Feb^r 23: 1747 Read and ordered that the Treasurer be directed to Pay out of the Publick Treasury to the Pet^r or his order the sum of Seven Pounds ten Shillings in consideration of his sufferings above mentioned. Sent up for concurrence

T. HUTCHINSON Spkr.

In Council Feb^r 23 1747 Read & concu^d

J WILLARD Secy

Consented to W. SHIRLEY.

* John, born July fourth, 1734; Joanna; Daniel, born in 1740; and Jabez, were his children.

1.—PETITION OF CAPTAIN JOHN LANE.

From the Massachusetts Archives, lxviii., 386.

To His Excellency William Shirley Esq' Cap^t General and Governour in Chief in and over His Majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. To the Honourable his Majestys Council and to the Honourable the House of Representatives &c

The Petition of John Lane Most Humbly Showeth

That your Petitioner served as a Captain in the Late Expedition against Louisburg and That he was taken sick at Louisburg The middle of Sept^r after the reduction of the Place & has bin sick ever since and is now so weeke that he can but just gitt out of his Roome this Eight months and your Poor Petitioner has nothing to Support himselfe withall Humbly begs that your Excellency and That Honourable Court will Take him into your wise Consideration and do Sumthing more to Relieve your Poor Destressed Petitioner. This call which Will I beleive Be the Last time that I shall have Occasion to Troubl that Honourable Court, being just worne out.

and your Poor Petitioner as in

Dutye Bound shall ever Pray

YORK march y^e 21^d 1749 JOHN LANE

A.—ACTION OF THE GENERAL COURT, THEREON.

In the House of Rep^lies april 20, 1749.

Read and Odered that the Treasurer be directed to pay to Cap Bragdon of York for the use of the Pet^r the Sum of five pounds in consideration of his Sufferings within mentioned.

sent up for concurrence

T. HUTCHINSON Spk^r.

In Council april 20 1749 Read and Concurred—

T. WILLARD—Secy—

1.—PETITION OF CAPTAIN JOHN LANE.

From the Massachusetts Archives, lxviii., 564.

To the Hon^{ble} Spencer Phips Esq' Lieu^t Governour and Commander in Chief in and over his Majestys Province of the Mass^{ch} Bay in New England to the Honble His maj^{ty} Councell and to the Honbles y^e House of Representatives &c.

The Petition of John Lane most Humbley Sheweth That your Petitioner served as a Cap^t in the late Expedition against Louisbuge and was taken Sick at Louisburg about the middle of Sept. after the reduction of s^d Place and has bin sick Eversince and still Remains in a Poor weeke and Low Condition but just able to go about the roome and has not one peney in the world to help himselfe, withall your poor Petitioner Beges that Hon^{ble} Court will be pleased once more to take the Destressed Circumstances

of your poor Destressed Petitioner under your wise consideration and do Sumthing more to Relive your Poor Destressed Petitioner, your Poor Petitioner Beges that Hon^{ble} Court will in theare great Goodness be pleased to give him a Small grant of Such a Number of acres of y^e vacant Land that Belongs to the Province as that Hon^{ble} Court shall think fitt; and your Poor Petitioner as in Dutie Bound shall ever Pray

YORK Nov^r y^e 21^d 1749.

JOHN LANE

A.—ACTION OF THE GENERAL COURT, THEREON.

In the House of Rep^lies Dec^r 7. 1749. Read and Ordered that the Treasurer be directed to Pay to Cap^t Thomas Bragdon Rep^l of York for the Pet^r four pounds out of the publick Treasury.

Sent up for concurrence

J. DWIGHT. Sp^k

In Council Dec^r 7. 1749, Read & Concur'd
SAM^l HOLBROOK Dep, Sec.

Consented to. S. PHIPS—

GENERALS BRAGG, D. H. HILL, AND POLK, C.S.A.

[The following interesting letter, descriptive of the quarrels in the Confederate States' Army, is printed from the original letter, now before us. We are indebted for it to our friend, Captain C.W. Elwell, of New York City.—Ed. HIST. MAG.]

CHARLOTTE N. C

Oct^r 26th 1863

GENERAL

I reached home on the 24th & expect to remain until I hear from Richmond. I met Gen^l Polk at Atlanta, who professed much friendship & kindness. I regret that I spoke unkindly of him in regard to the coalition Bragg proposed. I am satisfied that Polk is too much of a man to make a compromise. The plan was to make me responsible for Polk's supposed delinquency & give Pemberton the Corps. Polk's manliness and P's sense of propriety defeated the scheme. Bragg's great object was to please the President & at the same time account to the country for his failure. It pained me inexpressibly to part with the Corps & to be absent from the stirring incidents of the campaign. But it is all right. I hope that you may remain permanently in charge of the Corps. It is reported that Rosecrants has been relieved and Grant placed in charge. If so, you will have heavy odds against you as Grant will unite his Army to that of R. Surely, Johnston will be brought up to command at Chattanooga. It cant be possible that the destiny of the South will still be committed to Bragg.

Will always be glad to hear from you. I write now, not merely out of friendship, but to ask that you will forget what I said about the coalition. Please mention the matter to Genl Cleburne & tell him that I am now convinced that Genl Polk never became a party to it & that Pemberton also declined, when he found the Division Commanders adverse to him.

May great success & happiness attend you

Yours truly

D H HILL

Maj Genl BRECKINRIDGE

[Endorsed:]

Gen D H HILL

An^d Oct
1863

XVI.—QUERIES.

PURYSBURG: NEWBERN.—Can the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me where I can find a substantial account of *Purysburgh*, a place on the Savannah-river, founded by one *Purys*, a gentleman from Neuchâtel, Switzerland; and of another settlement of a Swiss Colony, at or near *New Bern*, N. C., headed by another gentleman named *Graffenried*, from Bern?

GEO. A. MATILE.

PATENT OFFICE, WASHINGTON.

†—A few days after the capture of Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, when the voice of the whole country was for war, we had a conversation with a gentleman who was an officer in the Mexican War, and who, besides, in Ohio, has obtained eminence as a civilian, that we have often thought of since. Said he to us: "I saw, 'to-day, an old comrade of mine in Mexico, a 'West Pointer, but who resigned his position in 'the army, a few years ago. I asked him why he 'was not in uniform; and expressed my surprise 'that he was not already a Colonel or General of 'Volunteers. His reply was: 'I think you and 'I have had fighting enough. What I want in 'this war is a place by which I can make some 'money.'" He sought to get that place here. He made an effort to be selected by the Government as a buyer of horses, but failed. He next endeavored to borrow a few hundred dollars of a military friend of ours, then and now in the regular army, for the purpose of entering into a business where he would get army patronage. Being refused, he applied as we understood, to General Burns, for a position in the Commissary Department, in this city, but failed also in getting it. There being nothing here to suit him, he wended his way back to Illinois, and became a sort of Secretary to Governor Yates; and, every-

thing else being unsuccessful, he chose, at last, to go into the army. But he did not want to go where there was fighting at all. It was money he was after, and money he has made, as General and President of the United States. If he had obtained the position he asked for, as a buyer of horses, the country would have had a competent, if not an honest, man in that place, and we should not now have had a bad President, who makes the filling of his purse his principal business.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

Can anybody tell us anything relative to this alleged incident in General Grant's career?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE CHARTER OF CONNECTICUT.—The recent publication of the second volume of Mr. Brodhead's *History of New York* rather casts doubts on the ordinarily-received opinion that the Charter of Connecticut, when jeopardized, in 1687, was sheltered in the celebrated "Charter-Oak" at Hartford.—(BRODHEAD, ii, 473, note.)

Be so kind as to throw some light on this subject.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

EARLY PRINTING, IN THE WEST.—Can any correspondent give titles of any works, earlier than these, printed West of the Alleghanies?

1.—*Ornemens de la Memoire*. 12mo. Detroit: 1811.

2.—*Fleury. Catechisme Historique*. French. English. 12mo. Detroit, 1812.

3.—*Epitres et Evangiles*. French. English. 12mo. Detroit, 1812.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. S.

XVII.—REPLIES.

INDIAN NAMES.—In the February, 1866, number of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, the signification is given of several Indian names in the Mohawk-valley and its vicinity. Having taken no little pains to obtain the most satisfactory definition of several of them, I give your readers the benefit of the investigation.

Says the writer in question, "CANAJOHARIE—'a kettle on a pole.'"

CANAJOHARIE signifies—the pot or kettle that washes itself. The origin of the word is as follows: A mill-stream runs into the Mohawk, at Canajoharie; and, nearly a mile above its mouth, may now be seen, in the bed of the stream, a large circular hole, perhaps ten feet in diameter, and nearly as many feet in depth—evidently cut by the action of water, with pebbles for its chisels. The basin will contain several hogsheds of water, and originated the name

which attached to the stream, and has very properly been extended to the flourishing village at its mouth.

"CAUGHNAWAGA—at the rapid."

If this were the true definition, it would apply, with equal force, to several other rifts in the river; but the name was purely a local one. It meant, literally—*Stone in the water*. In the river, opposite to the ancient village of Caughnawaga, and, perhaps, twenty-five feet from the southern or Fultonville shore, is a large boulder, which is the last stone seen when the water is rising, and, after a freshet, the first one visible when the water is falling.

"SCHENECTADA—at the other side of the pines."

This is so near the true meaning of the word, that I should not, perhaps, have spoken of it, but to correct its orthography. It means "*over, or beyond the pines*," and had reference to the point of entrance into the Mohawk-valley, from the valley of the Hudson, at Albany, whither the Indians had a well-defined and oft-travelled foot-path; the intervening distance having been covered with as dense a growth of pine timber as that sandy soil would bear. It is believed that the word was originated before the Dutch located there; and, after that period it was very properly retained.

Having satisfied myself, more than twenty years ago, that this name should be terminated with the letter *a* instead of *y*, I have since adopted that orthography. Fifty years ago, Canajoharie and Schoharie were terminated with the letter *y*, as were also other Indian names now closing with the letter *a* or the diphthong *ie*: and there would seem to be no good reason why Schenectada should remain one of the very few exceptions to the orthography of aboriginal names in this country. I would as soon end Canada, Cayuga, Cayadutta, Saratoga, Canastota, Garoga, Tioga, Unadilla, Niagara, Onondaga, Florida, Montezuma, Winona, Kenosha, Osceola, Mendota, Kasota, Minooka, and hundreds of other Indian names, in America, with the letter *y*. The termination of nearly all of this class of names with the letter *h*, would, no doubt, better give the sound of them, as when spoken by an Indian, with the emphasis usually on the last syllable—thus, Min-ne-so-tah, Os-ka-loo-sah, O-ma-hah, etc. Another exception to the termination of aboriginal names is found in Sandusky, which, with Milwaukee, I think, should terminate with the letters *ie*.

"SCHOHARIE—driftwood, in the river."

This is, in truth, the signification of the word; but a better idea of its whole meaning, as the name was local, would be "*the driftwood*," as to produce driftwood, a stream of water is implied. The word, agreeable to Webster, should

signify "a heap or body of forest timber driven together by the action of a flooded stream." According to most published definitions of the word, the notion became general that it simply meant timber moving by an unusual action of water. At the beginning of the last century, there was a vast accumulation of drift-wood, in the Schoharie, a short distance above the present village of Middleburgh, in Schoharie-county. At this point, the shores of the river were studded with a gigantic growth of elms and other timber; and, in the midst of it, into the Schoharie, ran two small streams, from opposite directions, which probably aided in the lodgment of timber. When the Dutch settled upon the West and the Germans upon the East side of the river, near this body of drift-wood, the natives were using it for the purposes of a foot-bridge; and the former shared with the latter in its benefits. How long it was thus used is unknown; but this natural bridge of dishonored lords of the forest originated this pretty Mohawk name, which is destined to last through countless ages of time.

Local euphonic Indian names should, in every possible instance, attach to their neighborhood—indeed, it seems sacriligious not to preserve them. Schoharie and Canajoharie have a similar termination; and both, as the reader will readily perceive, refer to the action of water, and neither of them to a pole.

FORT PLAIN, N. Y.

J. R. SIMMS.

MACKENZIE'S LIVES OF VAN BUREN, ETC.—[*H. M.*, II., ix., 44.] In your January number of the past year, page 44, there is an enquiry from a Westchester, N. Y., correspondent, (which I was shown by a friend, a few days ago) as to "what hand, besides Mr. Mackenzie's, engaged in the preparation of his *Life of Van Buren*, &c "published some quarter of a century or so ago."

At the time of the publication of the *Life and Opinions of Benjamin F. Butler and Jesse Hoyt*, in 1845, by Cook and Co., Boston, and of the *Life and Times of Martin Van Buren*, by the same publishers, in 1846, I was in correspondence with the writer, W. L. Mackenzie, and am fully satisfied no other pen than his own wrote the notes and criticisms attached to the letters which formed the text of what these publications contained. W. L. Mackenzie had been a conductor of one of the leading presses of Canada, from 1824 till the Canadian Insurrection of 1837-8, and was well acquainted with the career of the public men of New York and of the United States. His position as Actuary of the Mechanics' Institute, New York City, for a time, gave him access to files of newspapers, for many

years, which his industry enabled him to avail himself of, for these and other purposes. And what was written of public men, in these publications, was exclusively in his own style and language, and contained his own views of public matters. He was not a man to allow his name to be used as a cover for another's writings; and he did not need to borrow any such aid, for he was amply conversant with the lives of the men and matters he wrote about, and fully able to deal with his subject. These publications were much censured, then; but their good or evil was his own; as I know from his personal correspondence, at the time. But as the incentive was the exposure of public corruption, believed by him to be exceptional, in American politics, the mistake, in this respect, that dictated the publication, may be passed over, as one not now likely to be repeated, in the light of our history, since then, by either "Refugee" or Citizen.

LIMA, OHIO.

JAMES MACKENZIE.

THE OLD PARSONAGE IN NEWBURY.—[*H. M., II., ix., 119.*]

MR. EDITOR: This is done by my grandson, at my request, whose name is appended. I am the ninth Pastor of this Church, of which the whole number is ten. I shall have been Pastor of this Church—active and nominal—fifty-five years the last day of next October, if I live till then. The pulpit is now vacant. I endorse what my grandson has said; at least, as the Romans say, *Sic accessimus*.

Yours,

NEWBURY, CONN.

LEONARD WHITTINGTON.

Rev. James Noyes was born at Choulderton, in Wiltshire, in the year 1608. His father was a Minister of that town. His mother was sister of the Rev. Robert Parker. His education was chiefly superintended by Mr. Thomas Parker, son of Rev. Robert Parker.

The greatest friendship existed between Mr. Parker and Mr. Noyes. They came to New England in the same ship; were Pastors and Teachers in the same church; and, as Mr. Parker never married, they lived in the same house.

They arrived in New England, in May, 1634. Mr. Parker, with about one hundred others, settled at Ipswich, while Mr. Noyes preached at Medford.

In May, 1635, a large number of the inhabitants of Ipswich removed to Quascacunquen; and the town was incorporated under the name of NEWBURY. Mr. Parker was chosen Pastor and Mr. Noyes Teacher of the First Church, in Newbury.

About the year 1603, a house was erected, either by Mr. Parker or Mr. Noyes, it is very uncertain which (probably by both); this house still stands, on Parker-street, near High. The

house is, probably, the oldest one for miles around; and yet it is in such excellent repair that the observer, on the outside, would think that not more than half a century had passed over its head; but, as soon as you enter the house, all is changed—the massive oaken timbers and the chimney, which is itself large enough for a small house, attest to its antiquity. The house was originally built with three large rooms, each about 18 x 20 feet, on the first floor, and three chambers, of the same size, above them. These large rooms have, with the exception of the parlor and one chamber, been sub-divided into many smaller rooms.

Besides these rooms, there was a chimney, about 12 x 10 feet, and an entry, about 8 x 10 feet, which contained the stair-case.

The roof is very steep, giving a very large attic in which the first settlers used to store their corn, as was the fashion in those days; and the trap-door, in the ceiling, over the entry, can still be seen, through which the corn was raised.

In one place, we had the curiosity to measure one of the oaken beams that support the second floor, and found it to be eighteen inches square. How different from some of the houses of the present day?

The people who build modern houses are much troubled by the falling off of the plastering; but, in this house, the plastering has been on for about two hundred years and is now as firm as ever.

At the death of Mr. Parker, the house passed into the hands of Mr. Noyes's eldest son, Colonel Thomas Noyes, who left it to his son, Stephen. It next passed to Stephen's son, Eber, of whom it was bought by his cousin, the late Silas Noyes, who, at his death, bequeathed it to his children, Horace Pearson and Mary Coffin Noyes, who are the present owners.

NEWBURY, MASS. WILLIAM W. JAKES.

THE KEARNEY LETTERS AND THE NEW JERSEY TROOPS.—[*H. M., II., vii., 184-195.*]

H. B. DAWSON, Esq.,

DEAR SIR: Some time since, my attention was called to the "Kearney Letters," published in your Magazine. My first conclusion was to let it pass unnoticed; but, having been intimately acquainted with Major Kearney, and a member of the Eleventh Regiment, during its entire term of service, I thought I could not remain quiet without doing injustice to those whom, for a long time, I had the honor to command.

Major Kearney was a warm friend of mine, both in the camp and on the march; and I was an admirer of his bravery, energy, and ambition. At the time the letter was written, which speaks disparagingly of the Regiment and its com-

manding officer, Colonel McAllister, we were encamped near Alexandria, and suffering terribly from malarious diseases. It was natural, under these circumstances, that Major Kearney, ardent and ambitious, should feel dissatisfied; and an opinion, expressed at that time, in a private letter, was never intended by him for the public eye. Colonel McAllister had gone through a campaign: Major Kearney had just entered the service, and was hardly competent to pass judgment upon the merit or demerit of an old soldier; and I am quite certain that if Major Kearney had been spared to the close of the service, his opinion of the Eleventh Regiment and its commander would have greatly changed.

If it were possible to know his thoughts during the hour that we awaited the enemy's attack at Gettysburg, I am confident that they would have expressed nothing but the warmest admiration, both for the Regiment and its commanding officer.

Very Respectfully, Yours,
JOHN SCHOONOVER,
Late Lt. Col., 11th N.J. Vols.

OXFORD, N. J.

[NOTE TO THE ABOVE REPLY. —The letters of Major Kearney, referred to by Colonel Schoonover, were written by the Major, to his family, and evidently contained his *real* opinions of men and matters—whether they contained his *expressed* opinions on those subjects is entirely another question; and, if Colonel Schoonover desires to be considered a friend of the author of those letters, he will perceive, very distinctly, that it is not necessary for Major Kearney's reputation to insist on the possible fact that he had one set of opinions for *public* use and another for *private* purposes.]

Neither General McAllister nor the Eleventh New Jersey Regiment has any favor to ask of Major Kearney or those who represent him. Their respective records are complete without the Kearney letters; and all that the Major wrote to his mother, and all that he privately wrote elsewhere, or privately hugged within his own bosom, will not wilt a leaf of the laurels which both the General and the Regiment earned so gallantly.

Nor need Colonel Schoonover worry over the matter, at all, unless he is more interested in the matter of the Kearney reputation than we take him to be. The truth is, that the Kearneys—both the Major and the General—were misunderstood men, as far as their patriotism, *per se*, and their respect for their fellow-men, *as men*, were concerned; and the sooner New Jersey shall rub the scales off her eyes, and ascertain and acknowledge what kind of stuff those two of her heroes were really made of, the sooner will she do justice to other and less talked-of of

her defenders, who were not less meritorious soldiers than the Kearneys and infinitely better men than they could ever pretend to be.

The letters were sent to the Magazine, with a request for their publication, by a gentleman who is well known as the champion of General Kearney's reputation; and if the Major's family had seen any impropriety in the publication, we are sure they would never have been sent to us. —ED. HIST. MAG.]

BURR AND MONTGOMERY.—[*H. M., II., ix., 123.*]—The following may serve to throw some light on this subject:

I.—“The following incident would have been related in his *Memoirs*, if Colonel Burr had not forbidden its publication without accompanying evidence of the fact.”—MATTHEW L. DAVIS.

“My son, I must see Burr before I leave the city. I went through the woods with him, under Arnold. I stood by his side, on the Plains of Abram; and I have not seen him since the morning on which Montgomery fell. It was a heavy snow-storm. Montgomery had fallen. The British troops were advancing towards the dead body; and little Burr was hastening from the fire of the enemy, up to his knees in snow, with Montgomery's body on his shoulders.”—*Chaplain Spring's remarks to his son, while on a visit to the latter.*—*Rev. Gardner Spring's letter to Matthew L. Davis—Private Journal of Burr, i., 4.*

II.—“Now we saw Colonel Arnold returning, wounded in the leg, and supported by two gentlemen, a parson Spring was one, and, in my belief, a Mr. Ogden, the other. Arnold called to the troops, in a cheering voice, as we passed, urging us forward, yet it was observable among the soldiers, with whom it was my misfortune to be now placed, that the Colonel's retiring damped their spirits. * * * * * The admirable Montgomery, by this time, (though it was unknown to us,) was no more; yet we expected, momentarily, to join him.”—*HENRY's Account of the Campaign against Quebec in 1775, 115—17.*

III.—*General Arnold to General Wooster, December 31, 1775,*

“The loss of my Detachment before I left it, was about twenty men killed and wounded. Among the latter is Maj' Ogden, who, with Cap' Oswald, Cap' Burr, and the other Volunteers, behaved extremely well.”—*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., iv., 272; American Archives, Fourth Series., iv., 480.*

NEW YORK CITY.

W. KELBY.

SACRAMENTAL TOKENS.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 57.]—I have, before me, two small tokens, of lead; each about as large as an old-fashioned five-cent piece of silver; very rude in their construction; and bearing no inscription on the reverse. One of them bears no other inscription than a letter H. The other is inscribed S : C, in relief; both of them are perfectly plain, on the reverse. These tokens were sent to me, among other little curiosities, by my friend, Professor E. F. Rockwell, of Statesville, North Carolina, accompanied by the following memorandum: "Specimens of 'the Tokens, formerly in use, and probably now, 'in many parts of the country to admit communicants to the Lord's Table." By whom they were issued and on what terms, I am not informed.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

AMERICAN DUELS.—[*H. M.* III., i., 57.]—In reply to DICK's Query concerning duels at Hoboken, in which a member of General Hamilton's family participated, prior to the celebrated and fatal duel between himself and Colonel Burr, I have to say that two such duels were fought between George I. Eacker, a respectable lawyer and a Master in Chancery, on the one side, and a Mr. Price and Philip Hamilton, eldest son of General Alexander Hamilton, on the other, on Sunday and Monday, the twenty-second and twenty-third of November, 1801, the first between Mr. Eacker and Mr. Price—resulting without injury to either: the second between Mr. Eacker and Mr. Hamilton—resulting in the death of the latter.

The details of this remarkable affair, with all the correspondence and statements, are published in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for October, 1867.

MORRISANIA.

H. B. D.

THE FIRST BOUND BOOK PRINTED BETWEEN SENECA-LAKE AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN.—In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, [II., i., 194; ii., 43] a volume is mentioned as probably the first printed West of the Alleghanies. The following issued from the same press, that set up by the Rev. Mr. Richard, a Catholic Priest, at Detroit, is a year earlier, and, till something else turns up, must stand as the first:

LES ORNEMENS | DE | LA MEMOIRE; |
OU | LES TRAITS BRILLANS | DES POETES
FRANCOIS | LES PLUS CELEBRES; | avec des
Dissertations sur chaque | Genre de Style, | Pour
perfectionner l'education de la Jeunesse. | AU DE-
TROTIT. | IMPRIME' PAR A. COXSHAW. | 1811. |
12mo. ii., 132 pp. 2 pp.

"Proposals for printing, in French and English, the Epistles and Gospels, for all the Sun-

"days and Holidays throughout the year. The Editor of the *Historical Catechism* of Mr. Fleury returns thanks for the benevolent support afforded by the subscribers to that undertaking; and respectfully solicits a further continuance of their patronage for Printing another work, no less useful than the precedent.

"*The Epistles and Gospels for all Sundays and Holidays throughout the year*, will exhibit to the Readers, the best extracts from the Holy Scripture and the most excellent principles of morality ever taught by any Philosopher, either ancient or modern. At the same time, they will find in it the easiest method to learn and improve in either of the two languages, French or English.

"CONDITIONS.

"The work will contain more than 300 pages of the same size and paper as the *Historical Catechism*, and will be delivered to Subscribers for 8sh, half bound, or 10sh, whole bound, that is in leather and lettered."

These proposals are given also in French. They show that Fleury's *Catechism* also preceded the *Epistles and Gospels*, making it the third. Of this, I have seen only an imperfect copy: [*Mock title*] CATECHISME HISTORIQUE. HISTORICAL CATECHISM. [On the back] PETIT | CATECHISME HISTORIQUE, | CONTEN-
ANT | EN ABREGE | L' HISTOIRE SAINTE, |
ET LA | DOCTRINE CHRETIENNE | PAR
M. FLEURY, Prêtre, Prieur d' Ar- | genteuil.
| NOUVELLE EDITION. | DETROIT. | Imprimé
par Theophile Mettes. | 1812. | English title
wanting in this copy. 12mo. pp. 201. Con-
tents and approbation, 4 pp.

This book, like the *Epistles and Gospels*, has French on the left-hand pages and English on the right.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. SHEA.

XVIII.—BOOKS.**RECENT PUBLICATIONS.**

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 634 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*The Worship of the Body: A Ceremonial for the Laity.* Compiled from the best Anglican authorities, and adapted to the American Church. Second edition. New York; 1869. Duodeclmo, pp. 19,

This little hand-book, the result of careful and conscientious study, was prepared by and printed for an excellent layman, a valued per-

sonal friend of ours; and we have pleasure in referring to it, although it is not exactly a "recent publication."

It is a Manual, drawn from the best writers on Ritualistic matters and, generally, in their own language, for the government of those who attend Churches "in which much pains are taken with the Ritual;" and it instructs, concerning "Bowling to the Altar," "Prayer before and after Service," "Sign of the Cross," "Bowling during Service," "Kneeling, Standing, &c.," "Of Interrupting the Service," and "Rules for the guidance of Communicants," after the most approved style of what may be called English Catholic Ritualism. We are told that all these are founded "upon the custom of the Primitive Church;" and they have been collected and circulated, it is said, "to satisfy a loudly-expressed want which, though abundantly met in England, had as yet been ungratified in America."

We confess our ignorance of all such matters as these. We were not trained in any such school of the prophets as were those who have loudly expressed a want for any such a Manual as this; we have seen no mention made, either in the commands of the Savior or in the records of the practice of what we understand by "the primitive Church," of any such mode of "worship" as this Manual calls for; and, with every possible respect for our much respected friend, who evidently differs from us, we must say that we conceive the practices provided for in this Ceremonial are anything and everything but *Christian* worship. Recognizing the validity of no other rule for our own faith and practice than the Holy Scriptures, faithfully translated, we can recognize the validity of no other rule for the faith and practice, in worship, of others; and, until we shall find thus authoritatively commanded what this Manual seems to require, in Worship, our friend must excuse us for doubting, and for asking, in our ignorance, as the Prophet asked of Sodom and Gomorrah: "'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?' saith the Lord: 'I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, nor of lambs, nor of he-goats. When ye come to appear before me, who hath required THIS at your hand, to tread my Courts?'"

The little Manual is very neatly printed.

2.—*Parson Elder: A Biographical Sketch.* By WILLIAM H. Egle, M.D. Harrisburgh, Pa.: Theo. F. Scheffer, Printer. MDCCCLXXI. Large octavo, pp. 91.

"Parson Elder"—the Rev. John Elder, or Colonel John Elder, as shall best please the reader's taste—was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in

1706; was educated in the University in that City, and graduated therefrom with honor; was licensed to preach, in 1732; emigrated to Pennsylvania—whither his father and many of his friends had already emigrated—in the Spring of 1737; was called to the pastorate of Paxtang and Derry church, the constituency of which was of that noted race of Scotch-Irish which Judge Chambers and others have so ably eulogized, in April, 1738; participated, prominently, in the bitter quarrel which originated in the "great revival," and was the Pastor of "the Old-side" portion of the Derry congregation, until 1775, when the trouble was healed, and the people, re-united, again called him to the pastorate. When the French and Indian War obliged the frontiers-men to arm for the defence of their families and hearthstones, the Parson became their Captain and, finally, their Colonel, vested with command, under the Government of Pennsylvania, of the range of stockades and blockhouses extending from Easton to the Susquehannah; and, with his widely-celebrated "Paxtang-boys"—as his mounted Rangers were called—he rendered effective service to his adopted country in that terrible struggle.

The up-rising of the Paxtang Rangers against the Moravians' Indian converts at Conestoga, and the extermination of the latter, without legal authority, are well known to those who are familiar with the history of that period; and their commander, although not a participant in that sanguinary transaction, necessarily shared with them the condemnation of those who have disapproved their action.

In the Revolutionary struggle, Colonel Elder took no part in the field, his advanced age forbidding it; but he seems to have helped to arouse the Colonists and to organize the recruits, in the vicinity of the parsonage, with all the spirit displayed in his earlier years. He died in July, 1792, aged eighty-six years.

In the elegant tract before us, our respected friend, Doctor Egle, the efficient Secretary of the Dauphin-county Historical Society, has presented the leading features of this remarkable man's career, in an admirable manner—indeed, it is an excellent narrative of the "times" of Parson Elder as well as a memoir of his life and personal services—and it will be welcomed as an exceedingly interesting and quite as valuable an addition to the local history of Pennsylvania.

Its clear and handsome, letter-press, with carmine rules around each page, its magnificent margins, and its appropriate photographic illustrations, serve to make this tract one of the daintiest, as it is one of the most valuable, of recent privately-printed works; and as the edition was limited to thirty copies, it will be as scarce as it is handsome.

3.—*In Memoriam. John Cox, 1795-1871. Henry Oxward Preble, 1847-1871. Sine loco [Charlestown, Mass.] sine anno. [1871?] Octavo, pp. 84.*

A few months since, it was our lot to lose our eldest son; and, only a short time previous, our venerable and honored father-in-law was also carried to the old churchyard, at Sleepy-hollow, to join the long line of his ancestors who are reposing in that noted resting-place of Westchester-county's departed ones. We know, therefore, how sad the blow is, on the family of our honored friend, Captain George Henry Preble, U.S.N., and on our friend himself, which this tract commemorates; and we extend to them and to him our heart-felt sympathy.

The venerable John Cox, of Portland, the father of Mrs. Preble, was one of Portland's most honored citizens; a representative, in the fourth generation, of one of her earliest settlers; and, in his own person, one of her most intelligent and enterprising merchants. Henry Oxward Preble, was Captain Preble's eldest son and a grandson of Mr. Cox; a graduate of the Institute of Technology; an accomplished chemist; an active and beloved Sunday-school officer; a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society and of several other Societies of similar character; and beloved by all who enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance. Both the aged man and the young man have been called hence; and both now await, in their respective resting-places, the further orders of their Almighty Father.

In this neat tract we find an appropriate record of these lamented ones; and as it was our privilege to enjoy the pleasure of a brief correspondence with the younger of the two, it will be cherished as a memorial to his memory.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

4.—*A History of New England. With Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists. By Isaac Backus. Second Edition, with Notes, by David Weston. [In two volumes.] Newton, Mass.: Published by the Backus Historical Society, 1871. Octavo, pp. [I.] x., 586; [II.] ix., 586.*

We have pleasure in welcoming this reproduction of Backus's *History*; and we welcome, also, most of the features which distinguish this edition from the first—the correction of the original text, under the direction of the author's errata; the comparison of the quotations with the originals quoted from and the correction of the errors which had been made therein; the editorial foot-notes, where the Editor differed from the author or had other information than that employed by him; and the addition of a good Index. We are not so willing to approve the correction of grammatical errors and rhetorical

flourishes into which the author's incomplete education sometimes betrayed him; nor are we altogether satisfied that "the orthography of the work" has been necessarily improved where it was "made to conform more nearly to the present standard."

The great value of Backus, as a historical standard, is generally and justly recognized; and the Backus Historical Society has certainly displayed excellent judgment, not only in selecting his *History* for its first issue but in the excellent manner in which, as a whole, it has discharged its editorial duty.

The typography of the work is very fair; but the paper used has not afforded fair play to the printer, in displaying his work to the best advantage.

5.—*The Manual of the First Lutheran Church in the City of Albany. Albany: 1871. Duodecimo, pp. viii. 196.*

The Lutherans were among the earliest settlers in Albany—there is said, on Father Joques's authority, to have been a church, there, in 1644—and there some of them have continued to declare the truth, as that venerable denomination understands it, from that day until the present.

In the elegant little volume which is before us, we find the *Manual*—including the Ritual, the Rules and Regulations, the history of the Church (with its ancient Deeds) lists of its Pew-holders, in 1788, 1792, and 1871, a description of its church-edifice, lists of its communicants, 1788-1871, extracts from its records, etc., the whole illustrated with wood-cuts—and it is bound in muslin appropriately inscribed.

There is no positive evidence of the fact, but there are conclusive reasons for the belief, that the master hand, as an antiquary and Lutheran, as well as a printer, of our honored friend, Munsell, prepared this admirable little work for the press: whether we are right or wrong, in this supposition, the *Manual* is one of the very best of its class and, certainly, one of the handsomest. It is, besides, a "local" which those who feel interested in Albany cannot reasonably dispense with.

C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

6.—*Provincial Papers. Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire, from 1722 to 1787: containing important Records and Papers, pertaining to the Settlement of the Boundary line between New-Hampshire and Massachusetts. Published by authority of the Legislature of New Hampshire. Volume IV. Compiled and Edited by Nathaniel Bouton, D.D. Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1870. Octavo, pp. viii, 891.*

If this title-page means what it says, and if Doctor Bouton can be depended upon, as a

writer of common English, this volume is the fourth volume of the *Documents and Records relating to the Province of New-Hampshire, from 1722 to 1737*; and yet the merest school-boy who shall go over its pages will determine that it is no such thing; that the title-page is not a correct presentation of its contents; and that Doctor Bouton cannot be relied on, as a writer of history.

The volume before us evidently contains all that New Hampshire has of the records of her Government—Records of her Council, Journal of her General Assembly, Journal of her House of Representatives, Journal of her Council and Assembly, and official correspondence—from the twenty-first of June, 1722, until the twentieth of October, 1737; and that, instead of being the fourth volume which has been devoted to the Records of that period, as Doctor Bouton pretends, it is the *first* and there will be no other. We suppose Doctor Bouton intended to have put the reference, on the title page, to the dates and that to the papers contained in this particular volume, *below* the words "Volume IV.," instead of *above* them, but he did not; and so his title-page tells a falsehood concerning the contents of his volume and adds another link to the chain of evidence, which we have hitherto pointed out, concerning the unfitness of that gentleman to discharge the important duties which have devolved upon him, as the editor of the State's archives.

We have pleasure in saying, however, that the Editor seems to have taken advantage of our criticisms of his former volumes, and discontinued the habit which he then had of *doctoring* the text of the records before sending it to press, and so of giving to the world a mixture of fact and falsehood, in very uncertain proportions. He says, now, "in copying and preparing these 'Papers for the press, the editor *has adhered to the rules AT FIRST adopted*: to preserve the 'exact words and orthography, capitals, and 'abbreviations of the papers transcribed; even 'the punctuation has been for the most part left 'untouched.' Verily, the world moves.

1.—*Americanisms; the English of the New World.* By M. Schele De Vere, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 636.

"The American language" is not, necessarily, English; nor, very often, is it either English or anything else than *American*. Derived, mainly, from England, it is, certainly, nearer the English than any other language; but the aborigines have left their marks in it, and the prudent Dutch, the nervous French, the haughty Spaniard, the thrifty German, the humble Negro, and the cringing Chinese have each con-

tributed to that peculiar conglomerate which we know, hereabouts, as the English language. So, too, we, like the mother country, have our local dialects—East, West, North, and South—and the Church and the State, Trade and Commerce, and various other elements unite in undoing, in forming, and in corrupting, in this strange corner of the earth, what our fathers supposed to be the mother tongue of England, nearer the pure English than England herself could produce, in any of her own Counties.

In this beautiful volume, Professor De Vere considers and discusses the origin, character, and meaning of these, so-called, "Americanisms"—those American additions to the language which Burkespake and Milton and Shakespere scribbled: those expressive, not always elegant, expressions which would distinguish an American, the world over, from "English"-speaking persons, and indicate a Yankee, and betray a Southron, wherever they may be found.

It is a very welcome addition to the philology of America; and the handsome dress in which it appears will tend to increase the welcome which it will enjoy among discriminating book-buyers.

2.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students.* By John Peter Lange, D.D. Translated, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, D.D. Volume IV. of the Old Testament. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872.

The Book of Joshua. By F. R. Fay. Translated from the German, with additions, by George R. Bliss, D.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 168.

The Book of Judges. By Paulus Cassel, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by P. H. Steensma. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 261.

The Book of Ruth. By Paulus Cassel, D.D. Translated from the German, with additions, by P. H. Steensma. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 58.

Another of the volumes of this exceedingly elaborate work, which this well-known house is throwing before the world.

The general character of Lange's Commentary, revised and enlarged by the best biblical scholars in America, is now so widely known and so generally conceded that we need do nothing more than announce this accession to it of one of the most interesting of the series.

We perceive, too, that this volume is printed at the Riverside Press; and the great improvement in its typography, over other volumes of the series, is so very evident that we hope the remaining volumes will proceed from the same press.

9.—*Theological and Philosophical Library*: a series of text-books, original and translated, for Colleges and Theological Seminaries. Edited by Henry B. Smith, D.D., and Philip Schaff, D.D. Vols. I. and II. of the Philosophical Division: *Ueberweg's History of Philosophy*. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871.

A *History of Philosophy, from Thales to the present time*. By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg. Translated from the Fourth German Edition, by Geo. S. Morris, A.M. With Additions, by Noah Porter, D.D. With a Preface by the Editors of the Philosophical and Theological Library. Vol. I.—History of the Ancient and Medieval Philosophy. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. xv., 487.

Some months since, Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co. announced their intention to publish a series of text and reference books devoted to the main departments of philosophy and theology, under the editorial control of Professors Henry B. Smith and Philip Schaff. The aim of the Editors was announced to be "to furnish at least one condensed standard work on each of the scientific divisions of Theology and Philosophy, giving the results of the best critical investigation, excluding, however, such histories and commentaries as extend through many volumes."

The first volume of this proposed series is that referred to at the head of this notice—Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*, Volume I.—a work which has been selected as the representative, therein, of the History of Philosophy, only after the most careful comparison with other works on the same subject. It is more concise than Ritter's *General History*: it is more full and authentic than Schweigler's *Outline*: it is more extended, in its scope, than Ritter's *History of Christian Philosophy*: it is more recent than the works of Fries, Rixner, and Reinhold. Besides, no other work contains so complete a collection of authorities and citations and none is so full in its bibliographical apparatus. It is, also, a history, in fact; and not an apology for a particular theory. It presents the opinions of the various schools, as well as the views of individual philosophers, with remarkable precision, clearness, and impartiality, and without attempting to thrust the author's notions concerning them continually before the reader; and its authorities are perfectly overwhelming.

In this volume, we find the history of the philosophy of antiquity and that of the Christian era—the former including the successive periods of Grecian philosophy: the latter coming through the Patristic to the end of the Scholastic period. It was translated by Professor Morris of Michigan, and was revised, in the translation, by its learned author, just previous to his recent death; and President Porter of Yale-college has made additions to those portions which treat of English and American philosophy.

It is a most important addition to the working apparatus of students, everywhere; and the thanks of all such are due to those, Editors and Publishers, who have so boldly placed it within their reach.

Typographically considered, the volume is a very handsome one.

10.—*Lectures on the Science of Religion*: with a paper on Buddhist Nihilism, and a translation of the *Dhammapadam* or "*Path of Virtue*." By Max Muller, M.A. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1873. Small octavo, pp. iv., 800.

Another of the series of volumes, designed only for and useful only to the very learned few, which Professor Muller is sending through the Press, for the instruction of the world. It relates to the *Science of Religion*, especially to that portion of it which is illustrated by the religions of the East; and the religion of the Buddhists especially occupies the author's attention, throughout the volume, and one of their authoritative works—*The Path of Virtue*—is translated and closes the volume.

Those of our readers who are interested in this class of studies will not fail to look into this new volume from the pen of Max Muller.

11.—*Vick's Illustrated Catalogue and Floral Guide for 1873*. James Vick, Rochester, N. Y. Octavo, pp. 120.

Mr. Vick presents his beautiful Annual, this year, as a New Year's Gift; and a most acceptable one it must be to all who receive it. It includes an excellent paper, illustrated, on *Laying out grounds and improving homes*, one on *Plants for special purposes*, one on *Sowing and Transplanting*, and a list of seeds and plants, for sale by Mr. Vick, with directions for their culture, the whole carefully illustrated with two colored and more than three hundred wood engravings.

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12.—*Dogs and their doings*. By the Rev. F. O. Morris, B.A. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Octavo, pp. 164.

This exquisite volume, evidently prepared for the amusement of the young folks, contains a collection of anecdotes concerning dogs, illustrated with wood-cuts of dogs and their doings, in every conceivable form; and bound in all the elegance of modern book making. It is certainly one of the most interesting of works: and we seldom see one which is more attractive in its appearance.

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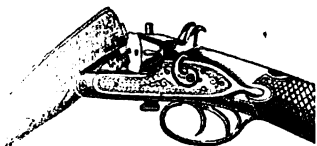
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THIRD SERIES,
VOL. I, No. III.

ESTABLISHED 1857.

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{ VOL. XX

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZ

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Bio

OF

AMERICA.

March, 1872.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.



BE TRADE SUPPLIED BY THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, 121 NASSAU ST

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

I.—Reference is respectfully made to the *Advertisement*, at the foot of page 192—the last page of the Number. It is one in which all are interested.

II.—We refer with unaffected pride to the contents of this number. The Report of General Ben McCulloch, of his operations in Arkansas and Missouri, in 1861, is a paper of unusual importance to all who desire to know the exact truth of that subject. It is now first published; and we are indebted to our friend and neighbor, General Franz Sigel, for our copy of it. That portion of *The Story of Fort Sumter* which relates to the events between the evacuation of Fort Moultrie, on the evening of the twenty-sixth of December, 1860, and the repulse of the *Star of the West*, on the morning of the ninth of January, 1861, which appears in this number of the Magazine, will be found both interesting and important. Particular attention is invited to that portion of it which presents the author's conclusions concerning Major Anderson's alleged zeal in the discharge of his duties; to that in which General Scott's character and conduct are examined; and to the remarkable misrepresentations of the subject of the paper, by several of those who have previously written concerning it.

III.—Because of the great length of that portion of the *Story of Fort Sumter* which appears in this number—which could not be divided without impairing its usefulness to the great body of our readers—we have laid over the Notes, Queries, and Replies, and some of the Book-notices which we had provided for this number. They will serve to make the next Number more varied in its contents.

IV.—The April number, which is in the printers' hands, will be ready early in April. It will be the first issue of the Magazine, under the new arrangement; and we reasonably hope that, in the character and variety of the articles which it will contain, it will be found entirely worthy of the confidence and respect which, even under the disadvantages under which we have so long labored, the Magazine has not failed, hitherto, to secure and to hold.

THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

MARCH, 1872.

[No.

I.—THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN MISSOURI, IN THE SUMMER AND AUTUMN OF 1861.

AN UNPUBLISHED REPORT OF GENERAL
BEN. MCCULLOCH, C. S. A.

COMMUNICATED BY GENERAL FRANZ SIGEL.

[DEAR MR. DAWSON :

I send you enclosed a copy of the Report of General Ben. McCulloch, which you desire to publish ; and think you will find it one of the most interesting documents of the late War. The original, written by McCulloch himself, was kindly furnished to me, in 1865 or '66, by Colonel . . . of the Confederate Army, with the understanding, that I could take a copy and use it for publication, whenever I should find it proper to do so. It is correct to the letter ; and even the orthographical errors of the writer are duly marked down. The document does not show to whom it was directed ; but, from its tenor, I suppose that it was addressed either to Jefferson Davis himself or to the Adjutant-general of the Confederate Army.

The Report comprises the period from the Battle of Carthage, July 6th, 1861, to the retreat of General Hunter from Southwest Missouri, in November of the same year, after Fremont had been relieved. It is so remarkable and, with a few exceptions, so accurate in its details, that it deserves a very careful perusal. If you compare this soldierlike, frank, and precise statement, the Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Volume III., Department of the West, Page 241, and Pope's Letters to Hunter, Page 246 and following, also what Polk says in his *First Year of the War*, Page 152, you will acquire a correct idea of the difference of facts and fancies. Public opinion was right, in declaring the evacuation of Southwest Missouri, just at that decisive moment, an act of treachery and infamy—and so it shall stand forever.

Very truly,

Your friend,

F. SIGEL.]

In reply to your telegraphic dispatch of Nov. 30th, I have the honor to submit the following report.

I must beg your indulgence and ask your permission to go somewhat into detail as to what occurred whilst I had any connection with the Missouri forces under Gen^l Price.

About the latter part of June Gen^l Price arrived near the southwest corner of Mo. with about 1700 mounted men, a part of whom were armed, at or near the same time I reached Gen^l Pearce's headquarters in the northwest corner of Ark, my whole force being en route from Fort Smith, consisting of Churchill's Reg. from Ark, and Co^l. Hebert from La. which did not reach that point until some days afterwards. In the mean time I learned that Gen^l Price had arrived in the neighborhood being some 12 miles distant. I immediately rode over to see if I could serve him at Mo. In a few days Gen^l Pearce and myself received a letter from Gen^l Price written by Brig. Gen^l Parsons from near the Osage river, to the effect that he was trying to form a junction with the other Brig. Gen^ls Slack and Rains ; that the Governor of the State was with them ; that they were endeavoring to march towards the southwest part of the State and were pursued by Gen^l Lyon in the rear, whilst Col. Sigel was in front. I at once rode over to General Pearce's headquarters and we agreed to march into Mo. to aid the Governor in cutting his way through his enemies ; whilst Co^l McRea of Ark. was ordered to go at once to Fayetteville, raise all the men possible in that neighborhood, and make a demonstration on Springfield by the telegraph road. This maneuver was well executed and had the effect of causing Gen^l Sweeney, then in camp at Springfield, to recall that portion of the force on its march to join Col. Sigel.

It would be well to mention here that the military board of Ark. had instructed Gen^l Pearce to cooperate with the forces under my com^d. At this time we loaned Gen^l Price some 615 muskets with ammunition for the same. On the next morning my mounted Reg. under Col. Churchill reached us by forced march and we entered the State of Mo. for the first time, and formed a junction with Gen^l Price it being the fourth of July. My com^d consisted of Col. Churchill's Reg. of mounted Riflemen, and Gen^l Pearce's of Col. Gratiot's Reg. of Infantry, Co^l Carroll's Reg. of mounted-men, and a battery under the command of Capt Woodruff. We marched as rapidly as possible, expecting to attack the forces under Co^l Sigel at Neosho, but

learned before reaching that point he had marched north, to meet the forces with the Gov. of the State, leaving over 100 men at Neosho, who were captured by the Reg. under the com^d of Col. Churchill, aided by Capt. McIntosh my Adj^t Gen^l. That night our whole mounted force reached that point, and after halting an hour or two resumed our march and met Gov. Jackson before 12 M. at the distance of 20 miles.

After a conference the Mo. Gen^ls concluded not to pursue the enemy, but to repair to the south-west corner of the State and organize their forces, as many of them were not formed into Companies or Reg^s.

Having accomplished the object for which we entered Mo. (viz. to assist the Gov. in cutting his way thro' the enemy,) Gen^l Pearce and myself repaired to our camp, and went to work to organize and drill our forces, advising Gen^l Price to the same course. Very soon we learned that Gen^l Lyon had arrived in Springfield with some 10,000 men, and at the same time were well aware of the scarcity of supplies among the Mo. forces and the disposition of some to leave Gen^l Price in consequence, in a word the country he occupied was too poor to sustain him and he was compelled to advance or disband his forces. After a conference with Gen^l Pearce I went to Gen^l Price's headquarters and offered to aid him in every possible way, even to marching on Springfield, which was agreed upon. I am particular in giving these details, hoping they will counteract the effect of the report often circulated to my injury, that I was not willing to assist Mo. It will be borne in mind that I was assigned to the Indian Territory with instructions to defend it from invasion from any quarter, and up to and long after this had no other instructions. Consequently I did what was done at my own risk, not knowing that Gov^t would approve my conduct.

A part of the agreement between Gen^l Price and myself was that all his unarmed men and campfollowers were to be left at his camp and under no circumstances permitted to march with the army.

When we formed a junction at Cassville some fifty miles distant I learned to my great regret that the whole crowd of camp followers had arrived also. I remonstrated with Gen^l Price on the violation of the agreement. He said they should be left where we then were, and that I might draw up the plan detailing the order of march upon Springfield, which I did and particularly said the unarmed men were to be left at that point. This order was submitted to Gen^ls Price and Pearce and met their approbation, and not until my division (being the advance) had marched, did I learn that Gen^l Clark of Mo. had refused to obey the order to leave his unarm-

ed men. I called on him at once and urged him in vain not to set such an example, stating the scarcity of supplies and the danger of a panic as a reason why they should be left. Knowing the danger of a divided command when brought in contact with one well united, well drilled and under one efficient leader, I considered it of vital importance to rid the army of these men until after the battle was fought, but failed to accomplish it as they all came with Gen^l Price to where I had halted, some thirty miles from Springfield, the enemy being a short distance in advance. It was at this point I first saw the total inefficiency of the Mo. mounted men under Brig. Gen. Rains, a thousand more or less of them composed the advance Guard, and whilst reconnoitering the enemy's position some 8 miles distant from our camp, were put to flight by a single cannon shot, running in the greatest confusion without the loss of a single man, except one who died of overheat or sunstroke, and bringing no reliable information as to the position or force of the enemy, nor were they of the slightest service as scouts or spies afterwards. As evidence of this I will mention here the fact of the enemy being allowed to leave his position 6 miles distant from us 20 hours before we knew it, thus causing us to make a night march to surprise an enemy, who were at that time entirely out of our reach. A day or two previous to this march, the Gen^ls of the Mo. forces by common consent on their part, and unasked on mine tendered me the command of their troops, which I at first declined, saying to them it was done to throw the responsibility of ordering a retreat upon me if one had to be ordered for the want of supplies, which seemed likely to be the case, their bread-stuffs giving out about this time; and in truth we would have been in a starving condition, had it not been for the young corn which was just in condition to be used. My troops and those under Gen^l Pearce were in a little better condition, though by no means burthened with commissary's stores.

At this juncture Maj. Dorn of Mo. arrived with a letter from Gen^l Polk saying Gen^l Pillow was advancing into Mo. from New Madrid with 12,000 men.

After further reflection upon our condition I consented to take the command, and to march upon the enemy; preparatory to doing so I asked of the Missourians (owing to their knowledge of the country) some reliable information of the strength & position of the enemy, repeatedly promised, but this they totally failed to furnish, though to urge them to it, I then and at subsequent periods declared, I would order the whole army back to Cassville, rather than bring on an engagement with an unknown enemy. It had no effect as we remained four days within 10

miles of Springfield and never learned whether the streets were barricaded or if any kinds of works of defence had been erected by the enemy. There was left only the choice at this time of a disastrous retreat or a blind attack upon Springfield. The latter was preferred and orders issued in the evening of the 9th of August to be ready for the march at 9 o'clock P. M. so as to bring on the attack at daylight on the 10th. At the hour named for the march there fell a little rain with strong indications of more, which caused the order to march to be countermanded. After a conference with Gen^l Price this was thought to be prudent, as we had an average of only 25 rounds of ammunition to the man and no more to be had short of Fort Smith or Baton Rouge. Not more than one man in four was furnished with anything better than bags, made of cotton cloth in which to carry their cartridges. The slightest rain or wet would have almost disarmed us, as many of the men had nothing but the common shot gun and Rifle of the country without bayonets. However the enemy unwisely concluded to attack us in our position, which was well selected, for the kind of arms we had to use against their long range rifled muskets.

On the morning of the 10th information of the approach of the enemy's advance down the creek was soon followed by the precipitate retreat of a portion of Gen. Rains mounted men mixed up with camp followers to the number of probably several thousand, and this too before the firing had begun. I mention these facts to show the unorganized condition of the Mo. forces and what great risk we ran of a panic being communicated to the fighting men of the army, by having such material among them. Very nearly at the same time the enemy opened upon us, both above and below on the creek, those two extremes of our camp being composed of mounted men from Mo. whose duty it was to have kept pickets on the roads both above and below, on which the enemy advanced.

I have never been able to learn, who ordered these Pickets to leave their posts or if they left them without orders when the time arrived to march the night before at 9 o'clock. Be that as it may, the fault was theirs and not mine that the enemy was allowed to approach so near before we were notified of it. However, I never considered anything lost by their manner of attack, as we were never in a better condition to make battle, every man being ready gun in hand to receive the enemy, when at other times thousands of our men would be miles from camp, hunting something to eat for themselves and horses. In thus going into detail on this subject, I wish to show how unreliable were a portion of the troops under Gen^l Price, but by no means do I wish to reflect upon the bravery of Gen^l Price

himself, his Infantry or Artillery, who fought heroically at the battle of Oak Hills.

The Battle over it was ascertained that the camp followers, whose presence I had so strongly objected to, had robbed our dead and wounded on the battlefield of their arms, and at the same time had taken those left by the enemy. I tried to recover the arms thus lost by my men and also a portion of those taken from the enemy, but in vain. Gen^l Pearce made an effort to get back those muskets loaned to Gen^l Price before we entered Mo. the first time. I was informed he only recovered 10 out of the 615. I then asked the battery to be given me, which was won by the La. Reg. at the point of the bayonet. The guns were turned over by order of Gen^l Price minus the horses and most of the harness. I would not have demanded these guns had Gen^l Price done the La. Reg. justice in his official report. The language used by him was calculated to make the impression, that the battery was captured by his men instead of that Reg. My official report was written after Gen^l Price's was printed in Springfield. Let them both be read and let unprejudiced men say, which was best calculated to keep up a feeling of friendship between the armies. It was with this purpose I refrained from mentioning facts in my official report, mentioned now in this communication. I always endeavored to prevent ill feeling between our forces, because it was to the interest of both to have them co-operate fully against a common foe.

A few days after the battle of Oak Hills Gen^l Price wrote me a note and then called on me in person requesting me to march with him to the Mo. river.— I declined to do so. 1st because my whole force fit for duty were required for the protection of the upper portion of Ark, and to keep the Federals in Kansas from gaining access to the Cherokee nation, which still occupied a neutral position, and secondly because I had very little ammunition, some of my officers having informed me, when ordered to be ready to pursue the enemy on the 10th of Aug. that some of their men had fired their last cartridge in the battle of that date, and thirdly because we could expect no cooperation on the part of Col. Hardee or Gen^l Pillow, I having just received a letter from Col. now Gen^l Hardee informing me that Gen^l Pillow had fallen back and in consequence he would be compelled to retire to his former position near the Ark. line. This information I imparted to Gen^l Price in this interview. On this day the Ark. State troops marched for home, leaving me with about 2500 men fit for duty, 2000 of whom were required to defend the northwest part of Ark. and the Indian Territory.

Whilst General Price and myself have ever

been on the most friendly terms personally, yet we never could agree as to the proper time of marching to the Mo. river. Had he thought proper to listen to my suggestions on the subject he would have been advised to fortify Springfield and hold it with his Infantry and Artillery, and post his mounted men so as to give protection against the jayhawkers from Kansas. The Legislature could then have been called together by the Gov. at Springfield, the State have seceded from the Union and her army turned over to the Confederacy. At the time she was admitted as a member, a commander over the State forces and those under me could have been appointed by the President, which would have secured co-operation in all their movements. Then if possible a considerable number of extra arms to give those who joined us and at the same time a force to have menaced St. Louis from below, would have been the time to march to the Mo. river, raise the strong secession element on both sides of the river, and march down upon St. Louis. At all events it could have been mustered into the Confederate service, and brought off to the Interior of the State and not abandoned after being raised, to be stripped of its arms and put in such condition by the Federal Gov't as to be of no sort of use in the future struggles in the State for Independence.

Soon after the battle was fought and won at Oak Hills, the forces engaged in its glorious achievement separated. Those under Gen'l Price for the Mo. river, those under Gen'l Pearce left for home, whilst those under my command moved off towards the Cherokee nation. I immediately used every exertion to increase my force for the purpose of attacking Forts Scott and Lincoln in Kansas, and just at the time I was concentrating my whole force near the Kansas border, Gen'l Price came down upon me bringing the intelligence of the approach of Gen'l Fremont upon Springfield with 30 or 40 thousand men.

This forced me to abandon my contemplated campaign and repair at once to the telegraph road which leads from Springfield to Fayetteville in Ark. where most of my supplies were kept at that time and were liable to be destroyed by a few bold horsemen. Before separating from Gen'l Price I called on him twice for the purpose of forming some plan upon which to meet the enemy. It was thought best for me to occupy some position between Pineville (where he was to fall back to, if the enemy advanced,) and the telegraph road. This I did and at the same time sent two Regiments under Co'l McIntosh one from Texas and one from Ark; to a point some 80 miles in advance of my position. From these Regiments scouts were thrown forward to and beyond Springfield, keeping me informed of the

movements and strength of the enemy's forces, as they arrived at that point. In the mean-time Gen'l Price came again into the centre of my column, without giving me the least notice of his intention. I rode in the direction of his head-quarters and met Gov. Jackson and suggested the propriety of a conference with Gen'l Price.

We met the next day at a point between the two armies, where it was agreed upon by all the Mo. Gen's that we should await an attack from the enemy, the ground to be selected by Gen'l Price and myself. The day after I went to see Gen'l Price and we arranged a plan to cooperate in the event either was attacked. Soon my scouts brought the information of the advance of the enemy 12000 strong under Gen'l Sigel, some ten miles on the telegraph road. I ordered back the two Reg's under Col. McIntosh with directions to destroy the forage near the road, having previously destroyed that around Springfield, also some mills that were useful to the enemy, preparing to give the enemy a warm reception, notwithstanding the disparity in our numbers, his being over 30,000 and mine about 5000 and Gen'l Price's about 12,000. At this time Gen'l Price had fallen back to Pineville in accordance with our agreement. I wrote him proposing to draw the enemy, if he did advance and would follow us, into Ark to what is called the Boston mountain. If we could have effected this it would have doubled my force by calling in my two regiments from Texas, then in the Indian nations and the Indian Reg's also. This he objected to, saying his men would not consent to go out of the State of Mo. at the same time expressing a desire to see me. I again met him and told him if we fought the enemy where we were it would amount to nothing but a repulse of his Infantry as he would never bring his baggage wagons and sutlery into so rough a country. Whereas if he could be got down to the Boston mountain, some 60 miles we could get all his cannon, 120, and most of his army with their arms. He said again his men would not leave the State. Whereupon I agreed to fight them in our present position, though I believed it would result in little good to Mo.

In a day or two my scouts brought me the news of the retreat of the enemy from Springfield, Gen'l Hunter towards Sedalia with over 15000 men Gen'l Lane towards Kansas with 4000 men, and Gen'l Sigel towards Rolla with 12000 men. Whilst I was making ready to make a forced march with my best shod horses to overtake the rear of Gen'l Sigel's column, who was three days behind the others in leaving Springfield, a note was handed me from Gen'l Price, asking me to join him in pursuing Gen'l Lane, who had carried off some 600 negroes, belonging

to the people of Missouri. I declined to join in the pursuit on the ground, that he could not be overtaken, he having some seven days and one hundred miles the start of us. I informed Gen' Price of my intention to make a forced march after Gen' Sigel, but received no reply nor did I hear anything more of his movements, except such as was brought by travelers, which are seldom to be relied upon.

It has been asked why I did not pursue the enemy.

In answering this question I will merely state facts and let my superiors say if it would have been advisable to advance under the circumstances.

In the first place my force was entirely inadequate for such an enterprise, it being about 5000 men including 14 pieces of Artillery. 500 of these men had been too much enfeebled by sickness, to be able to take the field, though they would have fought the enemy had he marched upon upon us. This would have reduced my force to 4500 men, 2000 of which it would have been indispensable necessary as recent events have shown to have left for the protection of that portion of Ark. and the Indian Territory. This would have further reduced my command to the small number of 2500. Would it have been prudent with this force to follow Gen' Sigel who had 12000 men to Rolla where Gen' Phelps was already with 2000 more, or would it have been any better to follow Gen' Hunter to Sedalia, who had over 15,000 men? At the same time it will be remembered that both Rolla and Sedalia are the termini of railroads leading from St. Louis, that supplies without trains could be had, and any number of men thrown to these points, long before I could have reached them, and this too when I had made half the distance before they knew of my approach. Again it will be remembered that these points Rolla & Sedalia are about the distance of 200 miles from the position held by me at the time the enemy retreated from Springfield. I had not exceeding three days rations for my men to start with and not a single extra mule or horse-shoe to replace those lost on the march, and this too at the season of the year, when the ground being frozen would render it impossible for our mules or horses to travel without being shod.

It may be asked also why I did not join my forces to those under Gen' Price. In answer to this question it will only be necessary to say, that it was impossible for us to march together, owing to the great number of animals in our commands, being not much short of 15000, all of which had to be fed as well as our men on what could be gathered on a march through a country already laid waste by the armies of both sides having repeatedly passed over it. Besides it

was always clear to my mind, that we could never maintain a position on the Missouri river, for any length of time owing to the great distance we would be from our resources and the close proximity of those of the enemy, we having to haul in wagon's three or four hundred miles supplies, which he could obtain by railroads or steamboats in a few hours, thus putting it in the power of the enemy to do so as much in twenty-four hours, as we could in as many days, to supply a want of men or means to make war.

It has been said both by individuals and by newspapers that I was unwilling to assist Missouri. Do the many efforts on my part recited above, to aid her, go to prove it, or can the accusation be proved by the fact of my having called on her Gen' in chief three times at his headquarters and met him at two other points for the purpose of bringing about concert of action against the large force under Gen' Fremont? Truth constrains me to say that neither he nor any officer under him ever visited my camp, though some of his Gen's were known to have passed within a few yards from my headquarters at the time.

In conclusion permit me to say, I have endeavored to give a plain statement of matters and things as they occurred, the dates and precise language of the notes and letters referred to cannot now be given, as they are at this time at my headquarters.

I have the honor to be

Respectfully, your ob'd't serv't

BEN McCULLOCH

Brig. Gen'l.

Dec. 22. 1861

REMARKS OF GENERAL SIGEL,

IN REGARD TO THE ABOVE REPORT OF GENERAL McCULLOCH.

In addition to what General McCulloch states and what General Hunter gave as his version, in the *Report on the Conduct of the War*, Volume III., Page 244, it seems to me proper to remark that, as far as I am concerned, my views were very positive and expressed so to General Hunter.

I had been in Springfield several days before Hunter and Pope made their appearance; and, when the question was discussed, in a Council of War, whether the Army should advance, I maintained, that General Price and General McCulloch had not left the State; and urged a movement against them. In a private conversation with General Hunter, which took place after the adjournment of the Council, I proposed to him to throw his Army into the rear of General McCulloch's position, at Cassville, for the purpose of separating the latter from Price and to cut him off from his natural line of retreat, in case

he was defeated. General Hunter seemed to regard this proposition favorably, and requested me to "work it out" and lay it before him, in writing. This was done with the assistance of my Chief of Staff and Assistant Adjutant-general; and the paper and diagram, showing the projected movement of all the Divisions, were handed to him, on the evening of the seventh or eighth of November. On the eighth, my Division was ordered to Wilson's-creek; but, on the ninth, to Little York and, on the tenth, BACK to Springfield, instead of continuing its march to Verona, as indicated in the diagram.

As soon as the retrograde movement of Generals Hunter and Pope became known, the Union people, who had embraced our cause with the greatest readiness, were struck with terror and despair. At a distance of more than fifty miles, the inhabitants fled from their homes and, generally, with nothing more than what they could carry about them, arrived within our lines and in the city of Springfield; while nearly every family in the city who had sympathized with the Army of the North, prepared itself to follow the troops, who had deserted them. So it happened, that the two Divisions under my command (my own and that of General Asboth) had to take care of an immense train of fugitives, whose homes became desolate, whose fortunes were ruined, and who, from that moment, lived the lives of refugees and beggars, often times deprived even of the most necessary articles of food and shelter.

Of course, it is too late to retrieve these misfortunes, but not too late to learn who is responsible for them. It was an outrage without parallel in history, which the letter of President Lincoln, addressed to General Hunter, cannot excuse (*Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, Volume III., Page 241*) because, in that letter, it was left discretionary with General Hunter, to follow Generals Price and McCulloch and to force them out of Missouri or to desert a beautiful country and highly patriotic people. In the Spring of 1862, after the Confederates had had it all their own way, for over three months, we marched "down hill," again; but this time the Army did not stop half way, but finished its task, as it should have been finished before, under even more propitious circumstances.

These remarks have nothing to do with the present condition of our political affairs, but relate simply to matters of fact and to the duties of those who have acted, or pretended to act, in the interest of the United States Government and people.

NEW YORK CITY.

F. S.

II.—"THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS" OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 85.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

N HAMPSHIRE GRANTS } at a General
Cephas Kents Dorset 25 Sep' 1776 } Convention
of the several Delagates from the Towns on the West side of the range of Green Mountains the 24th day of July last Consisting of fifty one Members Representing thirty five Towns; and held this day by Adjournment by the Representatives on the West and East side the said range of Green Mountains; the following Members being present at the Opening of the Meeting—

Captain Joseph Bowker in the Chair
Doct' Jonas Fay Clerk

Pownall	Capt. Sam ^l Wright Doct' Obadiah Dunham Mr Simeon Hathaway Doct' Jonas Fay
Bennington	Capt. John Burnham Nathan Clark Esq ^r Maj ^r Sam ^l Safford Col ^o Moses Robinson
Shaftsbury	Major Jeremiah Clarck Mr John Burnham
Sunderland	Lieut. Joseph Bradley Col ^o Timothy Brownson Col ^o W ^m Marsh
Manchester	Lieut. Martin Powell Lieut. Gideon Ormsby
Dorset	Mr John Manley Mr Abr ^m Underhill
Rupert	Mr Reuben Harmon Mr Amos Curtis
Pollet	Capt. W ^m Fitch Major Roger Rose
Wells	Zacheus Mallery Ogden Mallery
Poultney	Mr Nehemiah How Mr W ^m Ward
Castleton	Capt. Joseph Woodward
Bredport	Mr Sam ^l Benton
Addison	Mr David Vallance
Harnford	Mr Thomas Morgin
Williston	Col ^o Thomas Chittendon
Colchester	Lieut. Ira Allen
Middlebury	Mr Gamaliel Panthar
Burlington	Mr Lemuel Bradley

Nashobee	Capt. Timothy Barker Mr Thomas Tuttle
Rutland	Capt. Joseph Bowker Col ^o James Mead
N Wallingford	Mr Abraham Ives
Timnouth	Capt Ebenezar Allen Major Thomas Rice
Danby	Capt Micah Veal Mr William Gage
Panthorn	John Gale
Bromley	Capt. W ^m Utley Col ^o Seth Warner Present Capt. Heman Allen D ^o
East side Green Mountains	
Marlborough	Capt. Francis Whitmore Col ^o Benjamin Carpenter
Gulford	Major John Sheperdson
Windsor	Mr Ebenezar Hosington
Kent	Edward Akins Col ^o James Rogers
Rockingham	Doct ^r Reuben Jones
Dummerston	Mr Joseph Hildrith Lieut Leonard Spalding
Westminster	Mr Joshua Webb Nath ^l Robinson Esq ^r
Wilmington or Draper	by a Letter from S ^d Town
Cumberland	by a Letter
Hallifax	Col ^o Benj ^a Carpenter

The foregoing Members being organised proceeded to business

1st Voted that the Records & proceedings of this Convention held at this place from the 16th of January 1776 to this time be Read to give light to those Gentlemen Delagates from the east side of the Green Mountains in particular and the Whole in general.

2^d Voted that the words "That has been here-tofore Subscribed and returned or that" included in a Vote at the last sitting of this Convention be Erased, which is accordingly done.

3^d Voted to adjourn till 8 o'clock to morrow Morning at this place.

Thursday 8 o'clock in the Morning Meeting opened at time and place.

4th Voted to make a general List of the Names of those of the inhabitants of the several Towns, on the N Hampshire Grants, who have signed the General Associations, Voted by the last Convention to be signed.

5th Voted that no Member of this Convention be permitted to speak more than three times

to one case at (one sitting) without leave of the Board.

6th Voted. that the Association originally signed be returned to the Clerk of this Convention at their next Sitting.

7th Voted to take the following Vote passed in July 24th 1776 into consideration (viz) "Proceeded to the consideration of the fifth Article of the Warrant and Voted that suitable application be made to form that District of Land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants into a Seperate District; passed in the Affirmative not one dissenting Vote.

8th Voted Col^o W^m Marsh, Doct^r Jonas Fay, Doct^r Reuben Jones, Capt. Ira Allen, Col^o Thomas Chittenden, Col^o Benjamin Carpenter and Col^o James Rogers be a Committee to form a plan for future proceedings and report to this Convention as soon as may be.

9th Voted to adjourn this Meeting until half past 1 o'clock in the Afternoon at this place.

Meeting opened at time and place.

Report (as opinion) of a sub Committee.

A Covenant or Compact ought to be entered into by the Members of this Convention for themselves and Constituents to be Governed and Regulated by such Rules as may be Agreed on by the Majority (viz) to Regulate the Militia to furnish Troops according to our Ability for the defence of the Liberties of the United States of America.

To return the Numbers of the inhabitants on this district to the Continental Congress and at all times to be Govern'd by their Councils.—

A number of Men to be Elected to wait on the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress with such Petitions or directions as shall be agreed on by this Convention.

To make suitable provisions that the whole of the Inhabitants on S^d N. Hampshire Grants on each side of the Green Mountains be Notified and have proper opportunity to join and coincide with the Measures taken and to be hereafter taken for the benefit of forming s^d District into a separte State.

As the troublesome and aged Conflict subsisting between the State of N. York and that District of land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants relative to the Title of lands on s^d district has not as yet subsided.

We do therefore Vote that any Law, or Laws, Direction or Directions we may (for the time being) receive from S^d State of N York will not in future be Accepted neither shall we hold ourselves bound by them.

Some measures to be Entered into for the better securing the Tories on s^d District.

That the Militia Officers on each side the Mountains continue in their stations and after executing the Orders to them heretofore received from the State of N. York to be under the direction of this Convention.

The foregoing Propositions are humbly submitted to the Members of the General Convention now Assembled at Dorset.

✽

Benj^m Carpenter } Chairman
 } Committe

10th Voted to accept the above report of the sub Committee

11th Voted to adjourn this Meeting untill half past 1 o'clock in the Afternoon at this place.

Thursday half after 1 o'clock in the Afternoon Meeting opened.

12th Voted that a Covenant or Compact be made and subscribed by the Members of this Convention for themselves and Constituents for the security of their Common Liberties and Properties in conjunction with the Free and Independant States of America.

13th Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay, Col^o Moses Robinson, Col^o W^m Marsh, M^r Ebenezer Hosington, Doct^r Reuben Jones, Col^o Tho^s Chittenden and Doct^r Obadiah Dunham be and are a Committee to form the said Covenant or Compact and report to this Convention as soon as may be.

14th Voted to adjourn this Meeting until 8 o'clock to morrow morning.

Friday 27th September 1776 opened the Meeting at time and place.

The Covenant or Compact.

15th At a General Convention consisting of fifty six Delagates on the New Hampshire Grants on the east and west side of the range of green mountains representing thirty six Towns on S^d Grants held at Dorset the 25th day of September 1776 by adjournment

Whereas this Convention have for a series of Years had under their particular considerations the disengenuous Conduct of the former Colony (now State) of New York toward the inhabitants of that district of Land commonly called and known by the name of the New hampshire Grants and the several illegal unjustifiable and unreasonable Measures they have taken to Deprive by fraud violence and oppression those inhabitants of their property and in particular their Landed interest; and as this Convention have reason to expect a Continuance of the same kind

of disengenuity unless some measures effectually be taken to form the s^d District into a separte and Distinct one from New York and whereas it at present appears to this Convention that for the foregoing Reasons together with the distance of road which lies between this district and N. York that it will be very inconvenient for those inhabitants to Associate or Connect with them for the time being directly or indirectly.

Therefore this Convention being fully convinced that it is necessary that every individual in the United States of America should exert themselves to their utmost Abilities in the defence of the Liberties thereof and that this Convention may the better satisfy the Publick of their punctual Attachment to the s^d common Cause at present as well as heretofore we do make and subscribe the following Covenant (viz).

We the Subscribers inhabitants of that district of Lands commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants being legally Delegated and Authorised to transact the public and political affairs of the afforsaid District of Lands for ourselves and Constituents do solemnly Covenant and engage that for the time being we will strictly and Religiously Adhere to the several Resolves of this or a future Convention Constituted on s^d District by the free voice of the Friends to American Liberties that shall not be Repugnant to the Resolves of the hon^{ble} Continental Congress Relative to the General Cause of America.

16th Voted that Col^o Jacob Bailey Capt. Abner Seeley & Col^o Jacob Kent be a joint Committee to exhibit the Proceedings of this Meeting to the inhabitants of the County of Gloucester and request them to sign the Association left with them at their County Convention held at Thetford the 18th day of August Ultimo and return the same by their Delegate or Delegates chosen or to be chosen hereafter to meet and join this Convention at their next Sitting.

17th Voted that it be and it is hereby Recommended, to the several Chairmen of the several Committees of the several Towns on the West side of the Green Mountains on the N. Hampshire Grants, faithfully to see to it, that the Association made at the last sitting of this Convention be forth with signed, by every individual Mal inhabitant of each Town from 16 Years old and upward, and that for the future each person subscribe his own name or mark; and that the Association thus signed be Returned to Doct^r Jonas Fay Clerk of this Convention, before the next sitting of this Convention; and if any

refuse to sign the Association to take their Names and Reasons why they will not subscribe to it.

- 18th Voted to adjourn this Meeting one hour at this place.

Friday 2 o'Clock the Meeting opened at time and place.

- 19th Voted that Col^o W^m Marsh, & Capt. Ira Allen be a Committee to go into Cumberland, and Gloucester Counties, to carry the Proceedings of this Convention, and to Assist in getting the Association (form'd by this Convention) signed, and Collected to the Clerk of this Convention.

- 20th Voted, that Doct^r Jonas Fay, Doct^r Reuben Jones, & Col^o W^m Marsh, be a Committee, to draw a Remonstrance, or Petition to send to the Continental Congress, and Report to this Convention as soon as may be.

Report of the above sub Committee

The grounds of this Petition and Remonstrance, to be Exhibited to the Grand Council of America, by this Convention, to contain the following, (viz),

The several Measures taken by the Colony or State of New York, heretofore to Monopolize the Landed interest of the inhabitants on these Grants to themselves: Circumstances in particular of the conduct of N. York, on each side the Mountains to be particularly considered.

Distance from the Metropolis of any State &c.

Persons to be Appointed for making the Draught; a Committee to be appointed to examine the draught, with Authority from this Convention to Pass the same, in the Name of the whole of this Convention.

Persons to be appointed to exhibit the same properly Delegated to the hon^{ble} Board at the Continenta^l Congress.

The above submitted to the Consideration of the hon^{ble} Convention;

P^r William Marsh } Chairman
Committee

- 21st Voted, that the above Report of the sub Committee be Accepted.

- 22^d Voted, that Doct^r Jonas Fay write an answer to Mr John Wheelock.

- 23^d Voted, that the Committees of Safety, for the several Towns on the District of the N Hampshire Grants, be and are invested with the same Authority, as other Committees of Safety, for other Towns in any of the Free States of America.

- 24th Voted, that a sufficient Goal be built on the west side of the Range of Green Mountains,

at some place, that shall be hereafter agreed on, for securing Tories.

- 25th Voted, that Nathan Clark Esq^r, Capt Micah Veal, Lieut Samuel Benton, Major Jeremiah Clark, & C.^o James Mead be a Committee to Assign a place to erect a Goal as above, and prescribe some way to effect the same as soon as may; and Report to this Convention.

Report (as the Opinion) of the above sub Committee:

It is hereby Recommended to this Convention, that a Goal be erected in the Township of Manchester; twenty foot by thirty inside; s.^d Goal to be built with Loggs, and earth; s.^d Goal to be erected a few Rods east of the now dwelling house of Lieut. Martin Powel, in s.^d Town; for the confinement of Tories, and other Offenders, that may be adjudged to be confined: s.^d Goal to be built of a double wall of logs, not less than twelve inches through, laid eighteen inches distance, between s.^d walls, the vacancy to be filled up with earth; about 7 feet high, and then floored with loggs doubled, a good Roof, and a strong wooden door. &C &C.

And that some suitable person, or persons, be appointed to see the performance of the above strong hold; and to be retaliated therefore by this Convention, or as they in their great wisdom shall order

by order of Committee

Nathan Clark } Chairman

- 26th Voted to accept of the above Report.

- 27th Voted that Lieut. Martin Powell, Mr Gideon Ormsby, and Mr Thomas Bull be a Committee to build a Goal as above, proposed.

- 28th Voted that Lieut Martin Powel be Goal keeper.

- 29th Voted that Mr Simeon Hathaway, Doct^r Jonas Fay, Nathan Clark Esq^r, Lieut. Joseph Bradley, Lieut. Martin Powel, Mr Cephas Kent, Capt. Joseph Bowker, Capt. Joseph Woodward, and Nehemiah How be a Committee of War.

- 30th Voted that the several Colonels, on the west side of the Range of Green Mountains, issue their Orders immediately to their several Captains under them, to Muster their Companies, and to take the number of men gone in the service, and what service, and how many at home, and their Arms, Accoutrements, and Amunition, and the Colonels to make their Return to the Committee of War, and the Committee of war to this Convention.

- 31st Voted that the several Colonels give speccial orders to the Captains under them to raise

their Quota's of Men, to fill up the six Companies of Rangers.

- 32^d Voted that Nathan Clark Esq^r, Doct^r Obadiah Dunham, & M^r John Burnam be a Committee to affix fines on all delinquents in the Militia and make Returns to this Convention as soon as may be.

Report (as the opinion) of the above Committee

A Colonel Refusing or neglecting to Comply with any orders from this Convention to pay a Fine of..... 33 Dollars

A Lieutenant Colonel Refusing or neglecting to obey his Commanding Officer...	25	D ^o	
Major.....	20	D ^o	
Captain.....	10	D ^o	
Lieutenant, Adjutant, Quarter Master, & Ensign.....	7	D ^o	Each
Serjeant, and Clark.....	2	D ^o	Each
Corporal.....	1½	D ^o	
Drum, and Fife.....	1½	D ^o	Each
Private.....	1	D ^o	

If a Soldier drafted in any particular service, and absconding shall be subject to pay a fine of twenty five dollars and an Officer in proportion as above.

That the Committee of War have full power to hear any complaint against any Field Officer for neglect of their duty and to proceed against them or either of them to collect by warrant or execution from under their hands such fine or fines as is appointed by this Convention; in like manner the Field Officers to try all the Commissioned Officers in their Respective Regiments for the time being directed to some suitable person to collect the same. and in like manner two Commission'd Officers of each Company to try all non commissioned Officers and privates to award in the manner abovesaid; said fines to be used or applied to furnish those men in s,^d Company's that are not able to furnish themselves with arms and Ammunition and Accoutrements as required and that each non commission'd Officer and private provide himself with a suitable Gun and one pound powder four pound of Bullets fit for his gun six flints, powder horn, cartouch box or bullet pouch a sword bayonet or tomahawk and for want of a gun to pay a fine of two dollars on each time so required to appear under arms and for want of each other Accoutrement the sum of half a dollar when required as aforesaid.

Fines for each days neglect.

A Colonel.....	£ 1.16.0
Lieutenant Colonel.....	1.10.0

Major.....	0.18.0
Captain.....	0.16.0
Lieutenant.....	0.14.0
Adjutant & Ensign each.....	..12.0
Quartermaster.....	0.10.0
Serjeant.....	0. 8.0
Corporal.....	0. 6.0
Drum and Fife.....	0. 4.0
Private.....	0. 3.6

by Order of Committee

Nathan Clark } Chairman

- 33^d Voted to accept of the above Report.

34th Voted that the Committee of War be and are empowered to issue their warrants in the name and by the Authority of this Convention to the several Field Officers of the Militia on the district of the N Hampshire Grants that on any sufficient notice Received from the General or Commander in Chief of any of the Armies of the United States of America, the Honourable Continental Congress, or on any Sudden Emergency that shall be Judged by s^d Committee of War to be for the immediate Safety of the Grants requesting the Assistance of the Militia and march immediately to the Relief of such part of the Continent as they may be Required to. And in case any person legally Notified justly belonging to any or either the Companies of the Militia on s,^d District shall refuse on such Notifications to attend and perform the Duty enjoined on him or them by the Officers of the Regiment to which he or they do or may belong that they be fined unless sufficient excuse be rendered to the Committee of War.

- 35th Voted that Doct^r Reuben Jones, and Lieut. Leonard Spalding wait and take the proceedings of this Convention and deliver to their Constituents.

- 36 Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay, Capt Samuel Wright, Major Jer^m Clark, Col^o Timothy Brownson, Col^o William Marsh, Capt Joseph Bowker, Col^o Thomas Chittenden, Capt Heman Allen, Capt Wil^m Fitch, Capt Micah Veal, Lieut Sam^l Benton, and Capt. Ira Allen be a Committee to attend this Convention at their next Sitting. And it is Recommended for each Town to send one more Delagate.

- 37th Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay Col^o William Marsh and Doct^r Reuben Jones be a Committee to draw a Petition to send to the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress; and Report to a Committee to be appointed to examine the same.

- 38th Voted that Nathan Clark Esq^r, Col^o Seth Warner, Captain Heman Allen,

be a Committee to examine the aforesaid Petition.

- 39th Voted to adjourn to 8 o'clock to morrow morning at this place

Saturday morning 8 o'clock Sept. 28th 1776 the Meeting opened at time and place.

- 40th Voted to Refer the examination of the Petition to the Continental Congress till our next Meeting then to fill up the Committee for that purpose
- 41st Voted that four Men be appointed as Delegates to go to the Continental Congress with a Petition or such Directions as this Convention shall give them.
- 42^d Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay Col^o Thomas Chittenden in Conjunction with two more to be appointed be a Committee for that purpose.
- 43^d Voted that Col^o Seth Warner, Capt Heman Allen, Capt Gideon Brownson M^r Ebenezer Hosington, Capt. Abner Seeley, & Doct^r Jonas Fay be a Committee to prepare a Situation to send to the State of New York to know if they have any Objection against our being a Separate State from them: and make Report as soon as may be.
- 44th Voted that as it appears that the Town of Arlington are principally Tories, yet the Friends of Liberty are Ordered to warn a Meeting and choose a Committee of Safety and Conduct as other Towns, if they meet with opposition to make application to the Committees of Safety of the neighbouring Towns for Assistance.
- 45th Voted that no person be admitted to act in choosing Committees of Safety but those that sign the Association from this Convention and Acknowledge the authority of the Committees of Safety.
- 46th Voted Col^o Benj^a Carpenter of Guilford do notify Guilford Hinsdale & Hallifax. Capt Francis Whitmore of Marlborough notify Draper, Cumberland, Marlborough & Brattleborough. Lieut Leonard Spalding of Dummerston & Capt Sam^l Fletcher notify Townsend Putney, New Fane, & Dummerston. M^r Ebenezer Hosington of Windsor notify Windsor, Hertford, Woodstock, Hartford, & Pomphret. Nath^l Robinson Esq^r of Westminster notify Westminster & Weathersfield Doct^r Reuben Jones of Rockingham notify Rockingham & Springfield M^r Edward Akins of Kent notify Kent and Chester.
- 47th Voted to adjourn this Convention to Wednesday the 30th Oct^r next to be held at the

Court House in Westminster at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

Joseph Bowker } Chairman
Attest Jonas Fay Clerk
A true Copy from the Original
[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—THE CONFLICTS OF THE WAR OF SECESSION.

I.—THE STORY OF FORT SUMTER.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 52.

2.—From the occupation of Fort Sumter to the repulse of the Star of the West.

The dawn of day, on the morning of Thursday, the twenty-seventh of December, revealed to the astonished watch, on the decks of the *Nina* and *General Clinch*, the important truth that Fort Sumter was occupied by a military force. It was not understood whence the garrison had come, but its presence was not to be doubted; and, while the *General Clinch* promptly steamed to the bar,* outside the harbor, probably to ascertain what, if anything, which would explain the mystery, was to be seen in that direction, the *Nina* as promptly steamed to Charleston,† and reported the new departure. In the absence of accurate and reliable information, beyond the naked fact of the military occupation of the fort, all kinds of rumors were thrown out to the intensely excited and noisy multitude who thronged the streets;‡ and, until later in the

* General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

General Davis has subsequently referred to the subject, in frequent conversations; and both he and General Seymour have read this paragraph, in the proof-sheets, and pronounced the statement accurate.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

General Davis has subsequently referred to this subject, in frequent conversations; and both he and General Seymour have read and approved, as perfectly accurate, proof-sheets of this portion of our narrative.

‡ *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860; * *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860; † Correspondence of *The New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861; Correspondence of *The New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *Tribune* of December 31, 1860; Governor Pickens's Message, No. 1, January 2, 1861—*Senate Journal*, Session of 1860, 149; *House Journal*, Session of 1860, 270.

* As it appeared, re-printed, in *The New York Daily Times* and in *The Richmond Whig*, both of January 1, 1861.

† As it appeared, re-printed, in *The New York World*, of January 1, 1861.

forenoon, when some stragglers from one of the Engineer working-parties reached the city, it was not known, with certainty, what was the exact situation.* Soon after, as we shall see, Captain Foster reached the city; and from that gentleman, also,† and from the passengers who came up the harbor, from Moultrieville,‡ the nervous burghers of Charleston were enabled to gather some information, more or less reliable in its character; while the column of smoke, arising from that portion of the ramparts of Fort Moultrie which faced Fort Sumter, and, a schooner, discharging her cargo, at the gorge of the latter—both distinctly seen from the city—indicated, clearly enough, to every thoughtful observer, the character and purpose of this unexpected movement.§

While the guard-boats were thus employed and the populace, in Charleston, thus becoming excited because of the unexpected occupation of Fort Sumter, by the garrison of the post, the latter was curiously examining its new position and quietly discussing its defensibility. In some of its features, Fort Sumter, was, certainly, a more secure position and more readily defensible than Fort Moultrie;|| but, notwithstanding all its defects, the construction of the latter was finished;¶ its armament was mounted; ** its barracks inhabitable; †† and, generally, against an undisciplined assailant, at least, it was readily defensible; ‡‡ while the former afforded no com-

fortable shelter for the enlisted-men; * it was without some projectiles which would be most needed, in case of an attack, of any kind; † all, or nearly all, its armament rested on skids, in different parts of the work; ‡ its gun-car-

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Truman Seymour are our authorities for this statement.

† Ibid.

It was their knowledge of this important fact which led the officers in Fort Moultrie to remove the large shot from that place, on the day after the garrison evacuated it, as is elsewhere related.

‡ General Abner Doubleday in a letter to us, dated October 31, 1870, says, "probably there were three guns mounted, on the gorge, when we entered the work." In a postscript to that letter, he appears to have reviewed the subject, however, saying, "We had no guns mounted, when the garrison entered the fort."

General John G. Foster, in his reply to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 3, 1865, said, also, there was not a gun mounted, when the garrison entered the fort; but in a letter to us, dated Washington, August 16, 1873, he reviewed that statement and said that "In one [of the embrasures] "on the right flank, a gun was mounted, at that time.

General Jefferson C. Davis, in repeated conversations, has told us there was not a single gun mounted, at that time; and that the entire armament rested on skids within the work.

On the contrary, General Truman Seymour said, in a letter to us dated "Fort Preble, Me., August 28, 1873," in reply to our inquiry on the subject under consideration: "I can say, definitely, Three 24-pdrs were mounted on the barquette tier in the left gorge angle [S. W. part of the fort]: One 32-pdr. was mounted on the right flank, second tier of casemates & Eleven 32-pdrs on the left face, lower tier of casemates. Total 15 guns."

In view of the fact that three of the surviving officers of the garrison, without any comparison of information, have concurred in the statement that, when the main body of the garrison was moved into the fort, if any, not more than a single gun, was then mounted—with all possible respect for General Seymour's recollections on the subject—we must, at present, follow the weight of testimony now before us, and, finally, abide the result of further inquiries which we have instituted.

We have not overlooked, in this connection, the statement of Mr. Loosing (*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, I., 118) that, "during the latter part of December, 1860," "for some time, a large number of men had been employed at mounting ordnance there and otherwise putting the fort in order for defence."

We are also not insensible of the fact that the excited Carolinians who went up the harbor, to the city, on the morning after the occupation of Fort Sumter, terrified the equally excited burghers of Charleston, and thereby intensified the prevailing excitement, by stating that the guns of the fort were turned on the city and that an opening of a fire might be looked for, at any moment (*Correspondence of The New York World, Charleston, December 27, 1860—in The World, Volume I., No. 179, January 2, 1861*); but we have not considered such wild reports, when unsupported

* Correspondence of *The New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 27, 1860—in the *Tribune* of December 31, 1860.

† General John G. Foster to Henry B. Dawson, February 8, 1873.

See, also, the Correspondence of *The New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 29, 1860, in the *Tribune* of January 1, 1861.

‡ Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World*, January 2, 1861.

§ *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860.

|| Major Anderson to his brother Larz, December 29, 1860.

¶ Manuscript Inspection Report, November 11, 1860.

** Ibid. †† Ibid.

‡‡ Vide pages 36, 45, 46, ante, and Notes thereon.

In General John G. Foster's letter to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 3, 1865, that gentleman said, on this subject: "As the Engineer-officer in charge of the forts in Charleston-harbor, I received the authority of the Engineer Department to strengthen the defences of Fort Moultrie, where the garrison of the harbor, two Companies of the First Artillery, under command of Colonel Gardner, were stationed; and, notwithstanding the heat of the Summer, commenced work, with a large force, in the month of August, 1860. The work was pushed, vigorously, under my personal supervision, so that, by the end of December, this fort was so much strengthened as to be unassailable except by an overpowering force, well supplied with scaling-ladders."

riages, from long exposure, presented a sorry array of checked and warped chassis, and were, consequently, useless, without an outlay of considerable skilled labor; * not more than four or five of the embrasures, in the second tier, were completed, and the openings which had been left for the others, in the walls of the fort, presented no other obstructions to the entrance of an intelligent and well-directed assaulting party than temporary screens of thin boards, which a few blows

by better evidence, as trustworthy data for veritable history, and have, therefore, disregarded them.

We are also aware of the fact that Mr. Lossing, while relating the story of the seizure of Fort Moultrie, by the Carolinians, on the evening of the day after the main body of the garrison left it, says "the people in Charleston looked on, with the greatest anxiety, for they thought the guns of Fort Sumter might open fire upon their friends, when they should land on the beach of Sullivan's Island"—an "anxiety," on their part, which was one of the results, it may be, of the passengers' false reports, already alluded to—but he gives no other reason for the groundlessness of that "anxiety," than "they did not know how tightly Major Anderson's hands were tied, by instructions from his Government."—*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, I, 137—without alluding to the greater, if not the only, reason that none of the guns referred to were then mounted, unless, possibly, one, which was not bearing on Fort Moultrie and could not, therefore, inflict any damage on the incoming insurgents.

Again, while describing Fort Moultrie, on the evening on which the Carolinians seized it, Mr. Lossing says, "December 27, 1860," "the guns of Sumter looked directly into the dismantled fort" [Moultrie] "and a few shots from them would have driven De Saussure and his men" [the Carolinians who seized the fort] "out among the sand-hills. But," he continues, "Anderson was compelled to keep them silent; * and the South Carolinians quietly took possession of the abandoned fortress,† and hung out, over its desolated area, the Palmetto flag."—*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, I, 138.—and Mr. Whitney says that, at noon, on the twenty-seventh of December, the Carolinians "saw that the guns of the fort were mounted and pointing, silently, towards the abandoned walls of Fort Moultrie."—*History of the War*, I, 135.

Because of what we conceive to be better testimony, already cited, we consider both Mr. Lossing and Mr. Whitney in error, and, for that reason, have not followed them.

Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Truman Seymour are our authorities for this statement.

* If Mr. Lossing means to say that Major Anderson's official instructions prevented him from opening a fire on the Carolinians whenever he, himself, should incline to do so, he is equally in error. The Major had no such instructions, as we shall show, hereafter.

† Messrs. Lossing and Whitney err, also, in their respective statements, above quoted, that Fort Moultrie was an abandoned work, when the Carolinians seized it. On the contrary, it was held, officially, by an Ordnance-sergeant, as was usual in such cases.

with an axe would have readily removed; * and the lines of defense were so extended that the handful of enlisted-men composing the garrison, even when reinforced by those of the Engineer-working-party who remained in the work, by the Regimental Band, and by all other non-combatants, afforded no more than a single man for the defence of each embrasure, with not more than a dozen or so in reserve; without affording one for either of the fatigue-parties engaged in the preparation of the work for a vigorous defence.† Besides, it was not provided with grenades or other supplies which would be necessary to resist an assault;‡ it was so constructed that there was not a single flanking-defense, of any kind, in any part of it, from which a near-by assailant could be effectively resisted;§ and, unfortunately, the insurgents were quite as well informed, concerning its incapacity for defense, as the garrison itself could be.¶ It was necessary, therefore, that the garrison and all who were within the ramparts should become, at once, a garrison and a working-party—that they should labor, constantly and earnestly, while they should, also, as constantly and earnestly, be in readiness, arms in hand, to repel an assailant; and our readers may understand with what doubts, what anxieties, what hopes—we will not say, what fears—

* General Abner Doubleday, in a letter to Henry B. Dawson, dated "San Francisco, October 31, 1870," stated, as his belief, that not a single embrasure was finished, and General Davis, in conversation, inclined to the same opinion; but General Foster, who was the Engineer in charge and, therefore, most likely to be accurate in his recollections, on this particular subject, says, in a letter to us, dated August 16, 1872, "this an error; four or five were completed; and in one, on the right flank, a gun was mounted."

General Doubleday was our original authority concerning the temporary screens with which the unfinished embrasures were then closed—vide the General's letter, quoted above—but Generals Foster, Seymour, and Davis, either in conversations or by letters, have subsequently confirmed the statement.

† General Abner Doubleday to Henry B. Dawson, October 31, 1870.

Generals Davis, Seymour, and Foster have, subsequently, confirmed the statement.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis is our authority for this statement.

§ General Foster, in his reply to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1866, also alluded to this subject.

¶ An examination of the plan of the fort will afford the best evidence of this important fact, to any careful reader. Besides, our attention has been especially called to it by General Doubleday, in a letter dated October 31, 1870, and, in conversation, by Generals Davis and Foster.

¶ This was, necessarily, the case, inasmuch as the intercourse between the fort and the city had been constant and unrestricted, during several years.

this gallant little party, combatants and non-combatants, surveyed its newly-found responsibilities, sternly resolved to meet them, and manfully prepared for the discharge of whatever duties, either as artificers or soldiers, might thenceforth devolve upon them.*

In the meanwhile, the withdrawal of the insurgents' guard-boats had left the waters of the harbor without obstruction; and, soon after sunrise, inasmuch as it would become necessary for Captain Foster to pay the workmen whom the garrison had abandoned, so abruptly, when it evacuated Fort Moultrie, on the preceding evening, an armed guard, commanded by Lieutenant Davis, was sent from Fort Sumter, to protect him, while doing so.† Doctor Crawford accompanied the Lieutenant; ‡ and the fort, and its occupants—the relief on post, the Ordnance-sergeant, and the working-party whom Captain Foster had charge of—and the greater portion of the public property were found in the same good order in which they had been left, on the preceding evening, undisturbed by either insurgents or pilferers—even the schooner on which the workmen had been sent from Fort Sumter, was moored at the wharf, in the rear of the fort, awaiting such further employment as the Engineer-in-charge should assign her to.§ The guns of the fort had been spiked, during the night, by Captain Foster's direction; | and he

had, also, dispatched two schooner-loads of stores and other public property to Fort Sumter, at an early hour in the morning, besides getting ready for shipment, by the remaining schooner, a portion of what remained;* but, besides these, there was no change whatever in the fort or its contents; and no one had attempted to disturb either the one or the other.† There was, then, no enemy in sight: there was, then, no obstruction to prevent a free intercourse between the two forts: no one, Carolinian or stranger, seemed disposed to disturb the garrison and the working-parties, either within Fort Moultrie or, beyond the channel, within Fort Sumter.‡ The Captain and the Lieutenant, therefore, promptly accepted the situation; and the armed guard and the unarmed working-party, enlisted-men and civilians, under their direction, respectively, continued what the latter had commenced, during the night; loaded the schooner which laid at the wharf, with ammunition, and stores, and other property; and dispatched her to Fort Sumter.§ Every man worked heartily; and not until the greater portion of the more valuable of the movable property, public and private, which had been left, on the preceding evening,

the garrison left Fort Moultrie, on the preceding evening. Mr. Pollard (*Lost Cause*, 88), Mr. Buchanan (*Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 180), and Mr. Moore (*Rebellion Record*, I., 6), among others, have also served to mislead the public, on this particular subject.

* General Jefferson C. Davis supposed that nothing had been sent to Fort Sumter, from Fort Moultrie, before he crossed to the latter work, with the guard, as already stated, on the morning of the twenty-seventh; but General Foster states that "one schooner went with Lieutenant 'Hall,' [to take the women and children]" "the other two 'loaded, and got out of the creek' [in the rear of the fort]" "before full day-light, the next morning. I believe 'some of them,' [the schooners]" "but which or how 'many I do not recollect, returned for a second load during the day.'"—*Letter to Henry B. Dawson*, August 16, 1872.

The *Charleston Courier* of December 28th, 1860, in a most carefully-prepared description of the movement, says the schooners crossed the channel, to Fort Sumter, during the night of the twenty-sixth (Vide Supplement, No. Va) and the *Charleston Mercury* of the same date, in a similar description (Vide Supplement, No. Vb) says a schooner was discharging a cargo at the gorge of Fort Sumter, at eight o'clock on the morning of the twenty-seventh; which statements confirm General Foster's recollections.

† Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford are our authorities for this statement.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

§ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

Generals John G. Foster and Samuel W. Crawford, at personal interviews with those officers, at different times, have confirmed the statement.

* General Truman Seymour to his father, December 26, 1860; General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

General John G. Foster and General Samuel W. Crawford, in frequent conversations, have confirmed the statement.

‡ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

General Samuel W. Crawford—the gentleman referred to, in the text—in a prolonged examination of this general subject, in our own house, confirmed the statement.

The Doctor does not seem to have done anything, however, to assist either the soldiers or the working-party, in their removal of the public property to Fort Sumter; and it is not improbable that the sketches of the burning gun-carriages and of other portions of Fort Moultrie, as they then appeared, which subsequently served to illustrate *Harpers' Weekly*, constituted the principal result of his visit to Sullivan's Island, on the occasion referred to.

§ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

| General John G. Foster, in person, is our authority for this statement; and it is confirmed by the recollections of General Jefferson C. Davis.

There is no portion of this story which is more frequently misrepresented than this.

The Associated Press dispatches, in the New York papers of December 28th, stated that the guns were spiked before

had been thus removed, was the labor of removal suspended*—indeed, it is said by an eye-witness, that, as lately as the afternoon of the twenty-seventh, "on all hands, the process of removing goods, furniture, and munitions was yet going on.†" Among the articles which were thus removed, was a quantity of large shot, of a size of which Fort Sumter was deficient;‡ and when, in the afternoon, the labor was suspended, there seems to have been little left, in the abandoned work, except the guns, and piles of heavy shot, and a quantity of unserviceable powder—the latter drenched with water—and portions of the Engineers' implements and materials which could not be conveniently transported by so small a force.§ In this work, as we have said, the Engineer working-parties and the detachment from the garrison, headed by their respective officers, labored manfully, side by side;|| and, during the morning, Captain Foster and Lieutenant Davis, with portions of their respective commands, civilians and soldiers, also burned the carriages of those guns which bore on Fort Sumter; destroyed as much of the works as was possible; and cut down the flag-staff¶—"the ladies of the officers' families, who had been left behind, if they did not actually take a hand in the work of demolition, seeming to enjoy the excitement,**" and inspiring the

men in their hurried labors.*

During the morning, while the two parties were thus jointly employed in Fort Moultrie, Captain Foster went to Charleston in his barge, for the purpose of closing his business, there; and his appearance in that city, at that time, was the signal for increased excitement—it was said he had been seen engaged in burning the Fort; it was reported that he had visited the city in order to blow up the arsenal; and his arrest was loudly demanded by many of the more excited of the assembled multitude. He was not meddled with, however; and he quietly closed his office, drew his money from the Bank, paid some outstanding bills, and returned to the fort.†

During the afternoon, the working-parties were paid by Captain Foster and discharged from the service;‡ and, about four o'clock,§ leaving the abandoned work "littered up with the odds, ends, and fragments of War's desolation,||" and occupied, formally, only by an Ordnance-sergeant,¶ by special orders from Major Anderson,** the garrison finally abandoned the Fort.

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford are our authorities for this statement.

† General John G. Foster, by letter, dated "Nashua, N. H., Feb. 3, 1872," and in person, is our authority for this statement; and if any confirmation shall be considered necessary by any one, it may be found in the Charleston papers of the next day (Vide, Supplement Nos. Va and Vb).

It is amusing to read the various versions of this portion of the "story of Fort Sumter" which have appeared in the various newspapers of the day and in the writings of some of those who have preceded us—some of them stating that Captain Foster was sent to the city, by Major Anderson, to make explanations to the Carolinians—*Frank Leslie's Pictorial History*, i., xvi., etc.—and others attributing other, and even more inconsistent, purposes to that visit.

‡ General John G. Foster is our authority for this statement; and General Jefferson C. Davis, who was also present, has confirmed General Foster's recollections.

§ In a letter to us, dated "Washington, August, 1872," General Foster informs us that, after paying and discharging his men, while he was crossing the channel to Fort Sumter, with Lieutenant Jefferson C. Davis, the Carolinians were distinctly seen embarking on the *Nina* for the purpose of setting Castle Pinckney—which embarkation, the Charleston newspapers of the next day state, occurred about four, P. M.—and General Davis, both in frequent conversations and in correspondence, entirely concurs in that statement.

|| *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860.

¶ See, also, Correspondence of *New York World*, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

** Generals Jefferson C. Davis and John G. Foster are our authorities for this statement.

** General Davis informs us that Major Anderson sent an Order over the channel, directing them to withdraw from Fort Moultrie; and General John G. Foster, in his reply to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November

* General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

† In a report of a visit to the fort, at that hour, by a reporter, published in the *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Va.

See, also, Correspondence of *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World*, January 2, 1861.

‡ Generals Jefferson C. Davis and John G. Foster concur in their recollections of this shipment of shot.

§ Generals Jefferson C. Davis and John G. Foster are our authorities for this statement.

|| See, also, the Annual Report of the Engineer in Chief, November 20, 1861; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861; Correspondence of the *New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *Tribune* of January 1, 1861.

¶ General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

Generals John G. Foster and Samuel W. Crawford, in repeated conversations, have confirmed this statement.

* General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865; General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

General John G. Foster, in a letter to us, dated "Nashua, N. H., Feb. 3, 1872," and in several conversations, has fully confirmed these statements; but General Samuel W. Crawford, differing from his associates, strenuously insists that the flag-staff was cut down on the preceding evening, before the last boat left Fort Moultrie for Fort Sumter.

** General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

While Captain Foster and his working-party and Lieutenant Davis and those of the garrison who were under his command were thus busily and usefully employed, at Fort Moultrie, Major Anderson seems to have remained at Fort Sumter without, in person, taking any part whatever in their doings.* As a citizen, his sympathies and his associations, as well as his love of home and the strength of existing family ties, had led him to hope for a solution of the questions in dispute, between the North and the South, by further concessions, by the North, to the unwarrantable, inconsistent, and, not unfrequently, arrogant demands of the dominant slave-power in the South, rather than by an impartial enforcement of the unquestionable constitutional obligations of the several States, on the one hand, and as impartial a protection, on the other, of their

ber 3, 1865, and in a letter to Henry B. Dawson, dated "Nashua, N. H., Feb. 3, 1873," has confirmed that information.

* In his comments on the proof-sheets of this portion of this paper, General Truman Seymour emphatically dissented from us, in what he very properly supposed we should have said that a *zealous* officer would have done, under the peculiar circumstances referred to in the text, had we said anything on that subject; although, in fact, we neither said anything nor intended to say anything, on that subject, in the words under consideration.

The General said of the words of the text, "To a military man," [they are] "entirely wrong. Maj. A. would have failed in his immediate duty had he not have remained at Ft Sumter"—*MS. Memorandum on a proof-sheet of the words of the text*—and General Jefferson C. Davis inclines, also, to the same opinion of the Major's duty. In the words of text, however, we have done nothing else than state a fact, which no one pretends to dispute,—indeed, we have not even hinted at an opinion—and we might refer to that circumstance and rest our case. But we do not incline to avoid the impeachment presented by General Seymour; and, inasmuch as he has raised the issue of the Major's "duty," in the case before us, we beg to say, in reply, that, as we are not a "military man," we must judge of military matters by the standard of common sense and the practice of those "military men" who are recognized as having known what their "immediate duty" was, in cases of extraordinary importance. That *standard* tells us that an *earnest* man, in such an emergency, would not only have "sent a man" but, also, he would have "gone himself;" and that *practice* was displayed by Montgomery, at Quebec, by Wayne, at Stony-point, by Arnold, at Saratoga, by Napoleon, at Lodi, by Lyons, at Wilson's-creek, and by divers others.

The *Army Regulations* and the etiquette of the service, in those cases, we imagine, looked to a different conduct, in those several commanders; but, unlike Major Anderson, at Fort Sumter, they severally led their men, *in person*; and the wide world has long since decided that, in doing so, each of them did just what was required of him—call it what you will—and honors them, accordingly.

equally unquestionable rights:* he determined, therefore, as a soldier, to intrench himself behind that portion of the President's Instructions, delivered by Major Buell, which had directed him, "carefully, to avoid every act which would, "NEEDLESSLY, tend to provoke aggression, and, "for that reason, not, WITHOUT EVIDENT AND IMMINENT NECESSITY, to take up any position "which could be construed into the assumption "of a hostile attitude," in order that he might be sheltered from the censure of those who should consider that the "evident and imminent "necessity" which had already arisen demanded more prompt and energetic action, on his part, than he was inclined to give; although, in doing so, he openly disregarded the peremptory Order, contained in the same paragraph of those Instructions, "BUT," [notwithstanding the above caution against "needless" action, on his part] "you are to hold possession of the forts in this "harbor and, if attacked, you are to defend "yourself until no reasonable hope shall remain "for defending them. YOU ARE ALSO AUTHORIZED to take SIMILAR defensive steps when you "shall have TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF A DESIGN TO "PROCEED TO A HOSTILE ACT"—a contingency which had already occurred; been recognized by the Major, himself; and prompted him, a

* General Truman Seymour says of this sentence: "All "this is so contradictory to my long established knowledge "and belief, that I am unable to express any other opinion "than that it is ridiculous"—*MS. Memorandum on a proof-sheet of the paragraph*—but that gentleman was, evidently, not as well acquainted with Major Anderson, as a citizen and a politician, as he assumes to have been.

Major Anderson, illustrative of the subject, said, in a letter to J. Peck, Northfield Church, Conn., dated "Fort "Sumter, S. C., January 21st, 1861," "I trust in God "that *time may now be gained*; and that, instead of resorting to the arbitrament of the sword, *reason and good "sense will regulate the action of those in authority*." In a letter to a gentleman in Cincinnati, dated January 11, he said: "Whether a bloodless separation can now be effected after her foolishly firing upon a vessel bearing "our flag, the other day, I think very doubtful. I was "sorely tempted to open my battery; but, perhaps, fortunately for the chance of having matters settled without bloodshed."—*Cincinnati Commercial*, copied by the *New York Tribune*, January 29, 1861.—In a letter to the Adjutant-general of the Army, dated "Fort Sumter, S. C., "April 8, 1861," he said: "I frankly say that my heart is "not in this War, which I see is to be thus commenced. "That God will still avert it and cause us to resort to pacific means to maintain our rights, is my ardent prayer." We imagine that we have presented sufficient evidence to sustain the simple averment in the text; and, with that evidence before them, we trust that we may reasonably leave our readers to determine which of the two statements—our own or General Seymour's—is the most "ridiculous."

few hours before, to carry the main body of the garrison into a more secure position, in order to prevent such an effusion of blood as an expected attack on the garrison, in Fort Moultrie, would, undoubtedly, have produced. In fact, his unquestionable duty, as a soldier in front of an avowed enemy, who was, then, openly and actively preparing for an early assault on the three forts which he had been thus peremptorily instructed to "hold possession of" and to "defend until no reasonable hope should remain of saving them"—two of which forts were actually assaulted and carried by that enemy, before midnight, on that very day—was interfered with and stifled by his sympathies, as a citizen, and his desires, as a politician; and, only because of those sympathies and desires, the insurgents, then and afterwards, were also allowed, although they were within the range of his own guns, to mature their plans and to execute them—even to the extent of disposing the garrison of two of the three forts which he had been specifically instructed to occupy and defend—without the least attempt at resistance and almost without a protest. That he was, at all times, strictly loyal to his country, however, very few will have the hardihood to deny: * that he was zealous in her service, in the particular duty to which she had, then, called him, as few will have the hardihood to maintain.† As a necessary consequence, he

had been slow to perceive any immediate necessity for the transfer of the garrison to Fort Sumter; * and, it is said, by some who ought to know and, unquestionably, do know, that he had given no orders, whatever, for, nor had he authorized the destruction of any of the public prop-

erty as much trying labor or been pursued under as many discouragements.

Some of those who have been so situated as to see and to know the Major, as he really was, have been among those who have most bitterly denounced him: some of his letters, as well as some portions of his official conduct, unexplained, seriously serve to confirm many of those denunciations: and those who best know and who can most certainly establish the exact truth of the matter have been especially reticent and most sensitive on the subject—in one case forgetting the civility which civility is always entitled to. On the other hand, warm personal friends of the Major, both in the Army of the United States and in that of the Confederate States,—friends and correspondents, also, of our own—insist that there is no just reason for many of the adverse criticisms of the man and the officer which have been made in portions of the Press and by some of his command; that his weakness was rather physical, or the result of physical causes, than political in its character; and that much which is censurable in him must be attributed to his bodily infirmity. We have weighed the testimony of both, with all the care and all the impartiality which we can control; but, until *other* and *better* testimony than we have yet seen shall establish the contrary, we shall continue to measure Major Anderson, both as a man and an officer, by the standard described in the text—whenever *such* testimony shall be presented, we shall cheerfully review our opinion, herein expressed, and follow the new light which shall be thus thrown on the subject, whithersoever it shall lead us.

* These words were written, and are printed, with due knowledge of their importance; and we are not insensible of the fact that, in presenting them as our well-considered conclusion—reversing what was our own conviction, when we commenced the examination of the subject, and controverting the openly-expressed opinion of at least one of the surviving officers of the garrison—we hazard the open contradiction of one who has assumed the honorable duty of becoming, at some future day, the historian of this portion of the history of the Civil War. We are content to await, however, the presentation of such testimony as shall clearly establish the alleged disloyalty of Major Anderson; and, until that shall be presented, we must be allowed to adhere to the opinion of that gentleman's entire loyalty which we have expressed in the text.

† As an examination of this particular subject has been already made, in connection with General Seymour's notice of another portion of this paper, we need only refer the reader to Page 144, Note *, *ante*, where it may be found. We may be excused, however, for placing on record, in this place, a few general remarks concerning the difficulties we have encountered in our effort to ascertain the exact truth concerning the Major's general character and conduct, as a man and an officer.

There is no portion of our labor, on this paper, which has been more carefully performed than this, because of its grave importance and of the serious differences which exist concerning the subject discussed; and none has cost

It is proper for us to acknowledge, in this place, the important assistance which we have enjoyed, in this portion of our labors, from, among others, Larz Anderson, Esqr., a brother of the Major; from William H. Aspinwall, Esqr., a confidential friend of the widow of Major Anderson; from General Joseph Holt, the Secretary of War under both Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lincoln; from General Fitz-John Porter, a very intimate friend of the Major; from Generals Jefferson C. Davis, Abner Doubleday, Truman Seymour, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford, the surviving officers of the post; and from General G. T. Beauregard, the General commanding the assailants of Fort Sumter, when it was bombarded. From the greater number of these gentlemen it is our fortune to differ, radically, in our conclusions concerning the Major's character and his conduct, as the commander of that particular post, at that particular time; but, notwithstanding that difference—so patiently and carefully discussed by all of them, but, especially, by Generals Holt, Porter, Doubleday, Seymour, and Davis, and by Mr. Anderson—we are not less grateful to each of them, for his kindness, nor any less anxious to make this public acknowledgement of it.

* This, too, is an important matter and has been carefully examined.

he Major assumed the command of the post on the

erty which had been abandoned, on the preceding evening, in Fort Moultrie.* Indeed, we have what seems to be unquestionable authority for saying that, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, the gun-carriages were burned and the flag-staff was cut down, at Fort Moultrie, by Captain Foster, and Lieutenant Davis, and their respective commands, entirely on the responsibility of those officers, and without an Order or a suggestion from Major Anderson—"to destroy the batteries of Moultrie was not 'the object of our visit, when we left Fort 'Sumter,'" says one of those officers, in a letter now before us, "but was an afterthought, when 'we reached there, a consequence' of the circumstances in which they then found themselves.† On the contrary, while the Captain and the Lieutenant were thus busily engaged, in Fort Moultrie, in securing, for the use of the garrison, whatever they could handle and transport to Fort Sumter, the Major quietly remained in his

twenty-first of November: two days after, he wrote to the Adjutant-general of the Army, "That there is a settled determination to leave the Union and to obtain possession of this work" [Fort Moultrie] "is apparent to all,"—Major Anderson to the Adjutant-general, November 23, 1860—and urged the Government to strengthen the works and to reinforce the garrison. On the sixth of December, he advised the Adjutant-general that the Mayor of Charleston and other leading citizens of that city had assured him that the forts "must be their's, after secession."—Letter to the Adjutant-general, December 6, 1860. On the eleventh of December, the general authority which, as commander of the post, he had had, from the beginning, was especially confirmed and extended, by special instructions transmitted to him by the Secretary of War, through Major Buell—*vide page 43*, ante—and, thenceforth, with this new warrant in his possession, there could be no room for doubt as to his entire authority, in law and in fact, to remove his command, at his pleasure. On the twenty-second of December, eleven days after Major Buell's visit, he still hesitated, notwithstanding the more open hostility of the insurgents, of which he then made another formal report to the Government—Letter to the Adjutant-general, December 23, 1860—and it was not until four days after the dispatch of his last letter, that he exercised the judgment which he had been authorized to exercise, from the beginning; acted, as he had been authorized to act, from the beginning; and abandoned the weaker and occupied the stronger work, both of which, from the beginning, had been equally within his jurisdiction and subject to his control.

* Generals Jefferson C. Davis and Samuel W. Crawford agree on this subject and are our authorities for this statement: General John G. Foster says the Major ordered him to spike the guns and to secure and send to Fort Sumter as much of the public property as possible.—*vide page 50, ante*—but that Order really involved no destruction of property.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872.

new quarters;* and he seems to have been engaged, as we shall see, hereafter, not as much in directing the labors or in personally inspiring the toilers, in Fort Moultrie, as he was in writing and transmitting a letter to the Convention of South Carolina, then in session at Charleston; † in receiving and tamely responding, to an insolent message from Governor Pickens; ‡ in organ-

* All the surviving officers of the garrison agree in this; and no one, any where, has ever pretended that the Major either left Fort Sumter, while this work was going on, at Fort Moultrie, or shared in the responsibility for that action by either issuing an Order or, personally, participating in it.

We are not insensible of the fact that the Major was not strictly called on, by the *Army Regulations*, to go, in person, away from his quarters; but, as we have already done—page 144, column 1, note *, ante—we submit anew to the reader, the suggestion that, also, those *Regulations* did not forbid it; and that no one who was zealously engaged in the service, and who was not disabled, would have remained within sight of the scene of these earnest and important labors, as Major Anderson was, without joining his more zealous subordinates who were thus usefully employed and, personally, assisting them and, personally, sharing their responsibility.

† "Mr. R. N. Gourdin asked and obtained leave to read 'a communication from Major Anderson, Commandant at 'Fort Sumter; and, 'On motion of Mr. Memminger, Mr. R. N. Gourdin was 'appointed a Committee to transmit the communication 'to his Excellency the Governor.'"—*Journal of the Convention of the People*, Secret Session, Thursday, December 27, 1860, pages 114, 115.

General Seymour informs us that, on that morning, he carried a letter from the Major to Mr. Gourdin, at Charleston, which was supposed to be merely introductory and for the purpose of facilitating the transit, northward, of Mr. Seymour, who was then in Charleston; but it is doubtful if a letter which contained no other matter than that, would have been submitted to the Convention and thus treated by that body.

‡ The character of both the Governor's letter and the Major's reply may be ascertained by the reader on reference to Governor Pickens's Message, No. 1, sent to the General Assembly, on the third and fourth of January—*Journal of the Senate, Session of 1860*, 148; *Journal of the House, Session of 1860*, 269—where both are described in detail; and we have also faithfully described both, on page 148, *post*.

General Seymour, in his comments on this portion of our paper, says of it: "This reflection—the use of the word 'tamely' in connection with the 'insolent,' following—"is an insult to Maj. Anderson's memory. It is not history, as Mr. Dawson professes to write history; and it is a great wrong to Maj. A. to thus state what Mr. D. believes, possibly, to be true. Such epithets are not necessary, surely!"—*MS. Memorandum on a proof-sheet of this paragraph*.

Inasmuch as this matter is not a military question, our readers are quite as capable of judging of the Governor's message and Major Anderson's reply as either General

izing and executing an extraordinary noon-day flag-raising; * and in writing a second dispatch to the War Department, descriptive of the causes which had led to the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and, probably, descriptive, also, of the evacuation itself.† Not an authoritative word has been found, anywhere, indicating that the Major participated, ever so slightly, in the work in which the Lieutenant of Artillery, and the Captain of Engineers, and their respective commands, were thus manfully engaged; nor is there the least evidence, as far as our observation has extended, that he sympathized with those officers, in the work in which they were so earnestly and so usefully employed.

The extraordinary ‡ noon-day flag-raising, in Fort Sumter, on the twenty-seventh of December, to which allusion has been made, because of its notoriety rather than for any intrinsic importance which it possessed, deserves a passing notice.

The garrison-flag of the post had been raised on the flag-staff of Fort Sumter, at day-break, in accordance with the time-honored custom and the recognized rules of the service; § and there seems to have been no existing necessity for striking the

colors, hours afterwards, either for the purpose of doing, in better style, what, with all the soldierly precision acquired by long practice, had been done, already, nor for that of asking a blessing, *nunc pro tunc*, at noon, on what had been done, hours before, at day-break, without any such supplications. For some reason which has not been disclosed, however, it was resolved to lower the garrison-flag which already floated from the flag-staff of the fort and to raise it again, at noon, with ceremonies other than those which are known to the *Army Regulations*, in such cases, although they are not inconsistent, when performed unostentatiously, with the duty which all men owe to Him who is, at once, the God of Battles and the Prince of Peace. About noon, therefore, Chaplain Matthias Harris went over to Fort Sumter from Moultrieville, on Sullivan's-island, where his family resided; that portion of the garrison which was within the fort, and not on post, was paraded, under arms, and the non-

in the reveille of the morning—*Army Regulations*, § 685, 587, page 84.

General Jefferson C. Davis says the colors were thus raised, in Fort Sumter, at day-break, on the morning after the evacuation of Fort Moultrie; and, although he does not like the word "extraordinary" to describe the noon-day ceremonies, he does not deny any of the facts, *per se*, which have been stated in the text.

General Truman Seymour says; "My impression is that 'the flag was not raised until noon. I do not believe Maj. A. 'forbid' its being raised, at reveille, but that, in the 'hurry of preparation for defence (immediate defence) it 'was, probably, found inconvenient or, perhaps, impossible to do so.'—*Letter to Henry B. Dawson, dated Fort Preble, Me., Aug. 28th, 1873.*

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Lossing (*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, 1, 180) has made a different statement—"his" [Major Anderson's] "companions" were anxious to hoist the Northern ensign *before the dawn of the 27th*," we are told, "but the Major would 'not consent to the act before the return of the Chaplain. 'He came at noon," he continues—and so he leads his readers to suppose that, until noon of the twenty-seventh, the garrison occupied Fort Sumter without hoisting the garrison-flag of the post, as required both by propriety, by the usage of the service, and by the *Army Regulations*.

Major Anderson was too much of a soldier to commit so serious a breach of duty, for a mere sentiment; and the testimony of his "companions" and friends, Generals Davis and Seymour—the latter his room-mate and confidential friend, in Fort Sumter—clearly indicates that he did not do so. The flag was formally raised, at reveille; informally lowered, just before noon; and formally, but ostentatiously, raised again, at high noon—as we have stated—where it remained until, at "the retreat," in the evening, the Sergeant-of-the-guard, with his two attendants, formally lowered it a second time; folded it; and laid it on the tressle, behind the arms of the guard, where it remained until the reveille of the next day-break called it forth again.

Seymour or we can be; and we very cheerfully submit to the arbitrament of their common sense and candor the question which the General has so emphatically raised between us, concerning the Major's spirit, in replying to the Governor's "insolence."

The country has already determined that what we present as history, is really history, as the General may learn on making inquiry. *That is no longer an open question.*

* On this subject, so generally known, we need only refer to the Major's own statement, in his letter to his brother, Lars Anderson, December 29, 1860.

† This dispatch is particularly referred to and quoted from, by Mr. Buchanan, in his autobiographical volume, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, page 185. Beyond that reference to it, we know nothing of its contents.

‡ The word "extraordinary" having displeased General Seymour, it may, also, displease others; but we confess that this was so far out of the ordinary fashion of official flag-raising, in a permanent military post, that we cannot find a more appropriate word to describe it.

§ Our readers need not be told that, at day-break, in every department of the service, the drum-beat, known as the "reveille," announces the beginning of the duties of another day—*Army Regulations*, § 284, page 40—and every soldier knows that, before the first tap of the drum has been beaten, in that noisy duty, the Sergeant-of-the-guard, with two men, very formally removes the folded colors of the command from the tressle, in the rear of the arms, where he had placed them, with similar formalities, when "the retreat" was beaten, at the close of the preceding day; and that, when the first tap of the reveille officially announces the opening of another official day, the Sergeant commences to hoist the colors to "its place," on the flag-staff of the post—the rise of the colors, to "its place," being simultaneous with the beat of the drums,

combatants who were there were also assembled; the garrison-flag of the post was tied, again, to the balyards of the flag-staff; the Chaplain delivered a very appropriate thanksgiving and prayer; and, while the garrison presented arms and the Band played *The Star-spangled Banner*,* the colors were run up, and again thrown to the breeze.† Three hearty cheers were given "for the flag," by the assembled party, officers and men, and three more for "our Union;" and the ceremony, which is said to have been "a very imposing one," was concluded.‡

While the garrison and its working-parties were thus employed, Charleston, as we have already said,§ boiled in excitement, as rumor after rumor, concerning the garrison and its operations, added fuel to the flame.

As soon as the report of the occupation of Fort Sumter reached the city,|| Governor Pickens sent one of his Aides to ascertain Major An-

derson's authority for thus occupying that work; to inform the Major that the Federal Government "was pledged to keep the forces as "they were, in the different forts;" and, arrogantly, to require that officer to return, with his entire command, to Fort Moultrie—a message to which the Major dispassionately replied that, in his occupation of Fort Sumter, he "had acted on his own responsibility, with a "view to prevent the effusion of blood;" that "he did not know of any such pledge," by the Federal authorities, as that to which the Governor had referred; and that "he declined to "return" to the position, in Fort Moultrie, which he had abandoned on the preceding evening.* Soon after,† without any other authority than that of the Governor, whose zeal very far outran his legal authority, if not the desire of the greater number of those who assumed to be, and really were, the leaders of the great body of the inhabitants of South Carolina, State officers seized and occupied the Custom-house, Post-office, and Treasury of the United States, in Charleston, the Federal officers who had previously occupied them promptly resigning, in order to make room for the new regime;‡ and, imme-

* The story having been spread over the country that the flag was raised while the Band was playing *Hail to the Chief*, Major Anderson particularly noticed and contradicted it, in a letter written by him to Rev. Frederic Dennison, on the third of February, 1861; and he also expressly noticed the fact that the Band played *The Star-spangled Banner*—a much more appropriate tune, for that occasion, than the other—both in the letter written to Mr. Dennison, above referred to, and in one sent to his brother, Larz Anderson, on the twenty-ninth of December, a copy of which is before us.

† The Correspondent of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27—in the *World* of January 2, 1861—says it was raised at ten minutes past twelve.

‡ Major Anderson to his brother, Larz Anderson, December 29, 1860.

§ Descriptions of this flag-raising, more or less accurate, may be found in Harpers' *Pictorial History*, I., 28, 29, (in which the Chaplain is made to do nothing else than pray, and the Band is said to have played *Hail Columbia*, instead of *The Star-spangled Banner*); in Lossing's *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, I., 120, 121, (in which the same errors are repeated); etc.

|| Vide pages 129, 140, 142, ante.

! Message No. 1. to the General Assembly, January 8, 1861—*Senate Journal*, Session of 1860, 149; *House Journal*, Session of 1860, 269, 270.

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Lossing has stated (*Pictorial History of the Civil War*, I., 121) that this Aide visited the fort after the flag had been raised, at noon—his words are, "While this impressive scene [the flag-raising] "was occurring in the fort, about was approaching from Charleston. It contained a messenger "from the Governor of South Carolina, conveying a "demand, in courteous but peremptory phrase, for Major "Anderson's immediate withdrawal from Sumter and "return to Moultrie;"—but, inasmuch as the Governor, in his Message, above referred to, said it was "in the "early morning" when he heard of the occupation of Fort Sumter; that he then "sent off an aide-de-camp" to ascertain the facts concerning it; that on the return of the

Aide, Orders were issued to the Militia to assemble—we learn, elsewhere, that it was ordered to assemble at two o'clock, and that at four o'clock, the soldiers, fully equipped and supplied, were embarked on the steamboats and carried to Castle Pinckney; which would have been clearly impossible if, as is stated by Mr. Lossing, not until "while this impressive scene was occurring in the fort, a "boat was approaching from Charleston," bearing the Governor's message of inquiry, requiring opportunity to present the message to the Major and sufficient time for the preparation of his answer—to say nothing of the time consumed by the messenger in his return to the city, of the time necessary for the subsequent preparation of the Order and its promulgation, nor of the time which would be necessary for the men to return to their homes, change their clothes, and repair to the Citadel—and, for these reasons, among others, we are constrained to believe that Mr. Lossing has mistaken the news-boat of the *Charleston Courier*, which really did approach the fort, in search of news, at the time mentioned by him—vide *Charleston Courier*, December 28, 1860, Supplement, Va.—for the boat which had conveyed the Governor's Aide, on a similar errand, several hours before.

* Message, No. 1., to the General Assembly, January 3, 1861—*Senate Journal*, Session of 1860, 149; *House Journal*, Session of 1860, 269, 270.

† The *New York Tribune*, Friday, December 28, 1860, says they were thus seized, early in the day; and the Correspondent of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, in the *World* of January 2, 1861, says they were seized at ten o'clock in the morning, and that the palmetto flag was raised at ten minutes past ten.

‡ Letter from W. F. Colcock, Collector of the Port, to the President of the Convention of the People, December 28, 1860; *The Charleston Courier*, Friday, December 28, 1860.

diately after the receipt of Major Anderson's reply to the Governor's letter,* already alluded to, Orders were issued, also, under the same incompetent authority, to Colonel Pettigrew, of the State Militia, to occupy Castle Pinckney, with the Washington Light Infantry and the Meagher Guards; † while similar Orders were issued, with no more authority, to Lieutenant-colonel Wilmot G. De Saussure, to occupy Fort Moultrie with the Washington Artillery, La Fayette Artillery, German Artillery, and Marion Artillery—four Companies, numbering, in the aggregate, one hundred and seventy men—and thirty Riflemen from Colonel Pettigrew's Regiment. ‡

In the face of all the excitement and violence which, at that time, prevailed in the streets of the city and within the Executive Chamber, however, the Convention of the People—that notable assembly of South Carolina's leading citizens which, seven days before, had adopted and published the Ordinance of her secession from the Union—presented, in its action, an example of dignity and unbending conservatism which was the more remarkable because of the intense ex-

citement which, outside of its own chamber, at the same time prevailed; and we refer to it with the greater pleasure because it has pleased those who have preceded us in the examination of the history of those events,* either to falsify the record of the doings of that body and to make

* We are not insensible of the gravity of this charge; but a decent respect for the truth compels us to make it, regardless of its effect on those to whom it refers. We can afford space for no more than specimens of these apparently studied attempts at misrepresentation.

Mr. Lossing, in his *Pictorial History of the Civil War*, i., 113, says, "On the 26th, the Convention agreed to send a Commissioner to each Slaveholding State that might hold a Convention; to bear to them a copy of the South Carolina Ordinance of Secession; to ask their co-operation;" etc.; but the Journal of the Convention shows the fact that no such Order was really made, although it was proposed by Mr. Rhett. He says, also, "on the following day, the Governor was authorized to receive emissaries, ministers, consuls, &c., from foreign countries and to appoint the same officers to represent South Carolina, abroad;" but the Journals, both of the open and the Secret Sessions, are entirely silent on the subject. He says, also, "It was also decreed" (on the twenty-seventh) "that all citizens of the United States who were living within the limits of South Carolina, at the time of the passage of the Ordinance of Secession, should be considered citizens of the new 'nation';" but an examination of the Journals of the Convention will satisfy any reader that no such decree was made or considered. He says, also, "On the 29th, the Convention, which assumed supreme dignity in the State, transferred to the Legislature the powers lately vested in Congress, excepting during the Session of the Convention;" but the Convention did not even consider the subject, as the Journals will show, much less adopt such an Ordinance. He says, also, (*Ibid*, 131) that "the Major was denounced in the Secession Convention, in the South Carolina Legislature," etc., for transferring the garrison to Fort Sumter; but the Legislature was not then in session; and, as its Journals show, the Convention promptly sent to the table, without debate, every attempt which was made, therein, to exert any opinion whatever from that body. He tells, too, (*Ibid*, 181) of a Resolution, offered by Mr. Spain, in the Secret Session, requesting the Governor to communicate information concerning the forts, leaving, by innuendo, his readers to suppose it was "considered" favorably, by the Convention; whereas the Journals (pages 96, 97) show that it was sent to the table, without debate, and kept there. He says, too, while writing of the Convention and unassembled Legislature, "It was afterwards known that these conspirators intended to seize Castle Pinckney and Fort Sumter, within twenty-four hours from that time; but their plans were frustrated by the timely movement of Anderson" (page 181); but, while the Legislature was not then in session, as we shall show, hereafter, an exactly opposite temper prevailed in both the bodies referred to, as is clearly indicated in all that they did, subsequently. He says, too, (pages 186, 187) while describing the excitement in Charleston, on the morning of the twenty-seventh of December, "the Secession Convention at once requested

—Supplement Va; Correspondent of *The New York Tribune*, Charleston, December 29, 1860, in *The Tribune* of January 1, 1861; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

We are not insensible of the fact that, after describing "a letter written" [by Major Anderson] "to Adjutant-general Cooper, on the 28th," and making extracts from it, Mr. Lossing says, in his *Pictorial History*, i., 139, "on the same day, the authorities of South Carolina seized and appropriated to the uses of the State, the Custom-house, and the Post-office kept within its walls;" that Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, i., 409, places the record of the seizure of these offices after that of the seizure of the Arsenal, which did not occur until the thirtieth—three days later; that Mr. Moore, in his *Rebellion Record*, i., 7, states that the Custom-house and Post-office were seized early in the afternoon of the twenty-eighth; and that Messrs. Alden and Guernsey, in *Harpers' Pictorial History*, i., 29, state that those offices were seized on the twenty-eighth; but we prefer the positive avowal of the Collector, officially made to the Convention, sustained by other reliable testimony, that all this occurred on the twenty-seventh, and, therefore, disregard what has been stated by our respected contemporaries.

* Governor Pickens's Message, No. 1, January 8, 1861.

† Governor Pickens to Colonel Pettigrew, December 27, 1860.

‡ *The Charleston Courier*, Friday, December 28, 1860.

See, also, General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

Mr. Lossing—*Pictorial History*, i., 187—says the four Companies of Artillery numbered "about two hundred and twenty-five;" but we have preferred the statement of their strength which was made by the Governor in his official communication to the General commanding the insurgents on Sullivan's Island, a day or two afterwards.

the Convention, itself, seem to have been just what it was not and to do what it did not, or, by remaining wholly silent on the subject, to leave its character and conduct to be inferred and judged of from those of the frantic masses which everywhere surrounded it—as an instance of its

"Governor Pickens to take military possession of Forts 'Moultrie and Johnson and Castle Pinckney;' whereas the fact was that, when that measure was proposed by Mr. De Treville, his Resolution was promptly laid on the table, without debate, (*Journal*, 114) and never taken from it, and never considered in any other form.

Mr. Greeley, too, while writing what is called History—*American Conflict*, i, 414—said "The Convention of 'South Carolina called (December 27th) on motion of Mr. R. Barnwell Rhett, a Convention of such slaveholding States as should, meanwhile, have seceded from the Union, to meet at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4th, which was acceded to." The official records of that Convention completely disprove every portion of this statement; and, for Mr. Greeley's information, we subjoin the following synopsis of the action of the Convention on that subject: On Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of December, Mr. Withers "presented the Report of the Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States of North America, on 'the various Resolutions referred to them.'" (*Journal of the Convention*, 87). That Report embodied four Resolutions—the first, appointing a Commissioner to visit each Slaveholding State, for the purpose of presenting the Ordinance of Secession and inviting its co-operation in forming "a Southern Confederacy;" the second, proposing the Constitution of the United States as the basis of a Provisional Government; but limiting the term of such Provisional Government to two years from the first of July, 1861; the third, authorizing the Commissioners to invite "the seceding States" to meet in Convention, at such time and place as should be agreed on, for the purpose of forming such Provisional Government and of preparing a permanent Constitution for the consideration of the several constituent States; and the fourth, providing for the appointment of eight "Deputies" to represent South Carolina in such Convention as should be thus agreed on; with recommendations concerning votes therein, etc. (*Report and Resolutions*—Appendix of the *Journal*, 349-353.) On motion of Mr. Smith, this Report and the Resolutions accompanying it were made the Special Order for the next day [December 26th]. On the following day, as related by Mr. Greeley, Mr. Rhett presented an Ordinance recommending such of the seceded States as should then be "prepared to unite with South Carolina in the formation of a Southern Confederacy," to meet in Convention, at Montgomery, on the thirteenth of February, "to agree 'on the terms of Confederacy,'" with several recommendations of details; which was ordered to be considered "in connection with the Report of the Committee on Relations with the Slaveholding States," already referred to. —(*Journal*, 99, 100.) Although the Report and Resolutions were made the Special Order for the twenty-sixth of December, it was not until the twenty-eighth that they were really taken up (*Journal*, 128) when Mr. Memminger, who was evidently dissatisfied with the Report, which left every thing open for consideration by other disaffected

doings, reference need only be made to the fact that it promptly laid on the table, without approval, a Resolution which was offered, at the beginning of its Secret Session, in the morning, authorizing and requesting the Governor "to take immediate possession of Fort Moultrie

States, proposed to strike out the Resolutions reported by the Committee, and to substitute the Ordinance which Mr. Rhett had offered, which fixed the time and place of the proposed Convention and otherwise set the ball in motion, definitely.—(*Journal*, 125.) On motion of Mr. Hayne, however, "the Ordinance was ordered to lie on the table" (*Journal*, 126) and, without further action on the Report and Resolutions, the Convention adjourned. On the following day [December 29th] Mr. Rhett moved the consideration of his Ordinance, again, in connection with the Committee's Report and Resolutions; but the Convention again manifested its stern conservatism by laying the Ordinance on the table, again, by a vote of seventy-six to fifty-five (*Journal*, 133, 134) and proceeded to consider the Committee's Resolutions, unencumbered with the incubus of Mr. Rhett's revolutionary Ordinance. Several amendments were offered, but they were, generally, laid on the table; and the first of the four Resolutions was finally adopted. An attempt was made to lay the second of the Resolutions on the table—the Constitution of the United States being too offensive to some, to be used as a basis—but the motion was rejected, by a vote of fifty-six to seventy-three; and, after a desperate struggle, in which amendment after amendment was offered and rejected, the Convention adjourned without having been brought to a final vote.—(*Journal*, 134-141.) There seems to have been no more opposition to the Committee's Resolutions; and, on the thirty-first of December, "after various amendments," none of which appear to have been distasteful to the conservative majority, the remaining three Resolutions were adopted.—(*Journal*, 151.)

Our readers will perceive how loosely Mr. Greeley has read and recorded this very important portion of the history of the period of which he assumed to be an historian.

The *Rebellion Record*, edited by Mr. Frank Moore, also tells of the offer, by Mr. Rhett, of the Ordinance calling a Convention; but it is entirely silent concerning the rejection of that offer, by a strong vote of the Convention, which seems to us to have been, by far, the most noteworthy of the transactions on that subject.—(*Record*, i, 6.) Not a word appears in the *Record* concerning anything which was done by the Convention in opposition to the extremists among the insurgents.

Harpers' Pictorial History, generally fair and unusually accurate in details, makes a point on what it assumes to have been a verbal peculiarity in the oath of office prescribed by the Convention for the State officials (*Pictorial History*, i, 38); but a reference to the oath referred to, as it appears in the *Journal of the Convention* (page 51), will show to any one that no such words as those which are thus ridiculed were employed by the Convention or appear in the official oath.

Mr. Squire (*Frank Leslie's Pictorial History*, i, x) says, "Dec. 25—South Carolina Convention adopted Resolutions 'to form a Confederate Government of slaveholding States.'" We need not repeat what we have already

"and Castle Pinckney, and to make the necessary preparation for the recapture or destruction of Fort Sumter.*" It is, indeed, true at the Convention subsequently invited the Governor to participate in its secret deliberations,† and that that zealous officer promptly accepted the invitation and addressed it, undoubtedly, on the great question of the day;‡ but it is evident the Governor was thus called, in person, within the Bar of the Convention, in order that he might impart to that body the information which he had received, sooner than he could have done so by a formal Message, in writing;§ and it is matter of record that the only extraordinary authority which he succeeded in obtaining from that Convention, on that extraordinary occasion, was that to take possession of the telegraph-office, in Charleston, and that to prevent all intercourse with Fort Sumter. | Strange as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, true that, at that juncture, while the Convention was yet in Secret Session, "a Communication from Major Anderson, Commandant at Fort Sumter," was laid before it; and that that body immediately transmitted it to the Governor, by a Special Committee appointed for that particular purpose. ¶ The character and object of that communication—more remarkable because of the extraordinary movement, under the Major's orders, which had taken place within the preceding twenty-four hours—are among the hidden things of the past, although some one, more favored than we have been, may, sometime, enjoy more information concerning it; ** but it is peculiarly noticable, in this connection, that, although the Convention continued to sit in Secret Session, after that letter was received, it

said, in reply to Mr. Greeley, showing that no such action was taken by the Convention.

Need any further evidence be adduced to sustain the statement, made in the text, concerning the infidelity to the truth of history of some of those who have preceded us in examining and presenting this subject to the world?

* Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 114.

† Ibid. See, also, the Governor's Message to the Convention, December 28, 1860—*Journal*, 129.

‡ Ibid.

§ Governor's Message to the Convention, December 28, 1860—*Journal*, 129.

| Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 114.

¶ Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 114, 115. See, also, page 144, ante.

** It is due to myself to say that we have made every proper effort to obtain either a copy of this letter or a statement of its purport; and that we have entirely failed—indeed, a respectful inquiry relative to it was made to that member of the Major's family who is most interested in his public reputation and who controls, if she does not possess, his papers and letter-books; and our application was uncivilly, if not rudely, rejected.

promptly tabled propositions which were made, successively, to declare "it is the sense of this Convention that the occupation of Fort Sumter ought, at once, to be regarded as an authorized occupation and that vigorous military defences should be provided, immediately;" * to request the Governor "to adopt measures to prevent any reinforcements from being introduced into any one of the forts of Charleston-harbor, and that he cause batteries to be erected on Sullivan's-island, Morris'-island, and James'-island, in order to prevent the entrance of any vessel of war belonging to the late Government of the United States;" † to require him to take possession of Castle Pinckney and Fort Johnson; ‡ and that "immediate vigorous military measures should be taken by the Governor;" § while a delicately-framed motion, offered by Mr. Memminger, declaring, as a mere "opinion of the Convention," that it was *advisable* that any volunteers who might arrive in Charleston from sister States, should be united with the South Carolina troops, in any movement which the Governor might deem advisable for taking possession of Sullivan's-island, found so little favor among the members that it was withdrawn by its mover, without being voted on |—indeed, the Convention sternly refused to do any act, or to authorize any, which, by any one, could be construed as an overt act of insurrection—and, at half past three o'clock, in the afternoon, it adjourned. ¶

With the most frigid disregard of the expressed will of the excited masses by whom it was surrounded, as that will was noisily presented by the tumultuous crowds, in the streets of the city of Charleston, the Convention, it will be seen, determined to do nothing whatever which could be fairly construed as an hostile act; and as the greater number of the leaders of the insurgents occupied seats in that body, at that time, and were then present, its action, on these several motions, may justly be regarded not only as the official action of the State, as such, thereon, but the carefully-considered judgment of the solid men of South Carolina, after an interchange of opinions and due deliberation, concerning the most urgent demands of the hour.

As we have said, although the Convention was then in session and had formally declined to give him authority to do so, Governor Pickens assumed the responsibility, without that authority—hitherto assumed to be necessary—to order Colonel Pettigrew, with portions of his command, to enter and occupy Castle

* Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 115.

† Ibid, 118.

‡ Ibid, 118.

§ Ibid, 118.

| Ibid, 118.

¶ Ibid, 118.

Pinckney,* a property of the United States, which had been duly ceded by South Carolina† and never reclaimed by her; while similar Orders were issued, with no more authority, to Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, to enter and occupy Fort Moultrie,‡ also a property of the United States, which had been duly ceded to the Confederacy, by the State;§ was then occupied by Federal troops; and had not been reclaimed. As Castle Pinckney was near the city, and was occupied only by an Ordnance-sergeant, in whose official custody the armament was,|| and by a party of thirty workmen, who, under Lieutenant Richard K. Meade, of the Engineers, “were engaged in repairing the “cisterns, replacing decayed banquettes, and “attending to other matters of detail,¶” the Order relative to the occupation of that work was easily executed, in the afternoon of the day**—the walls having been scaled with ladders;†† the Ordnance-sergeant taken prison-

* Vide page 149, *ante*.

See, also, Governor Pickens's letter to Colonel Pettigrew, December 27, 1860, and his General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

† Vide page 163, *post*.

‡ Vide page 149, *ante*.

See, also, General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

§ Vide page 163, *post*.

|| Vide pages 36, 37, *ante*.

On page 117 of the first volume of his *Pictorial History*, Mr. Lossing very accurately stated, in his description of Castle Pinckney, that there were certain stores “within “its walls, but no garrison to use them;” and yet, on page 187 of the same volume, when describing the events of the same period, he inaccurately writes of “the commander of the garrison, Lieutenant R. K. Mead”—who was really an assistant of the Engineer in charge of the work, and so would have been without any authority whatever in “the garrison,” even if “a garrison” had then really occupied the Castle; but he was especially so when, as was then the case, the only “garrison” within the work was Ordnance-sergeant Skillen and his daughter Katie.

¶ Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, November 14, 1860; General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865.

** *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

†† General John G. Foster to Henry B. Dawson, February 8, 1872.

See, also, *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861; General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865.

On page 187, of the first volume of his *Pictorial History*, among other events said to have occurred at Castle Pinckney, on that eventful day, Mr. Lossing says of “the com-

er; * Lieutenant Meade retired to Fort Sumter† and the non-combatant workmen scattered by the incoming militia-men;‡ and, under the jeers of Katie Skillen, the Sergeant's handsome daughter,§ the flag of the steam-

“mandant of the garrison, Lieutenant R. K. Mead,” “his “men so strongly barricaded the door of the Castle “that the assailants were compelled to enter it by a “calade.” The exact truth is, “the door of the Castle” was ordinarily barricaded, leaving only the sally-port for ordinary use; and it needed no other “garrison” than the Ordnance-sergeant to make that inlet to the work as secure as need be. Besides, Lieutenant Meade's “men” were civilians, employed as artificers, who had as little to do with the defense of the work as any other strangers would have had, and who did as little.

The assailants scaled the walls because they had nothing but their small-arms and a few tomahawks with which to force an entrance; and scaling-ladders afforded the readiest means for securing access to the work.

* General Jefferson C. Davis informs us that both Sergeant Skillen, who occupied Castle Pinckney, and the Sergeant who occupied Fort Moultrie, were taken prisoners by the insurgents, and sent to the North.

† General Jefferson C. Davis to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1872; General John G. Foster to Henry B. Dawson, February 8, 1872.

See, also, *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb.

‡ *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb.

§ The incident referred to in the text is one of the most notable of the minor events of that eventful day and it has been called to our attention by participants on both sides of the contest.

General Jefferson C. Davis first referred to it, during one of our many agreeable interviews; and, subsequently, in his *Memoranda upon The Story of Fort Sumter, March 15, 1873*, General Truman Seymour again called our attention to it in these words; “The Ordnance Sergt (Skillen) at “Castle Pinckney was blessed with a pretty wife and still “prettier daughter, a bright girl of some 16 or 17 years. “When the Rebels overran the work (Dec. 27 or 28th) and “hoisted their flag, this girl was observed by one of their “officers to be crying. ‘Don't be afraid,’ said he, ‘nobody “shall hurt you.’ ‘I'm not at all afraid,’ was her reply, “‘I'm mad, to see our flag go down and that dirty thing “take its place.’

“A good story, true or not; but it was told to me as “fact.”

Within a few days, a well-known member of the Charleston Bar—a member of one of South Carolina's most distinguished families—who was one of the first to scale the walls of Castle Pinckney and was present throughout the entire afternoon and night under consideration, during an extended conversation on the events of that period, told us, also, of Katie Skillen's taunt that they must have been a pretty set of fellows, when so many of them were required to take a fort which was occupied by only two men (her father and Lieutenant Meade) and a girl.

It is reported that old Sergeant Skillen, since the close of the War, has been reinstated in his old quarters, in

boat *Nina* which had carried them there—a red one, with a single white star*—hoisted on the flag-staff of the work.† There seems, however, to have been some delay in the execution of the Order to occupy Fort Moultrie; and not until seven in the evening were the troops, under Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, which had been detailed for that service, enabled to leave Charleston,‡ and not until a much later hour, because of the extraordinary caution, both of the Governor and of their commanding officer, concerning certain supposed mines and other concealed dangers which the fugitive garrison was said to have constructed, did they venture to enter the work; make a prisoner of the Ordnance-sergeant in charge of the work; raise the “national flag or “ensign” of the State of South Carolina over the ungarrisoned fort; and send up the three rockets which had been designated as the signal of their success.§

Castle Pinckney; and that Katie, the wife of a respectable citizen of South Carolina, is now a respected resident of the city of Charleston.

* *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb.

We have noticed this peculiarity in the device of the colors raised over Castle Pinckney, in order to correct an error, on that subject, into which Mr. Loessing has fallen, in his *Pictorial History*, I., 137, where, concerning it, he said: “Borrowing a *Palmetto flag* from the Captain of “one of the steamers” (there was no more than one, the *Nina*) “Pettigrew unfurled it over the Castle.”

† *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

The *World* correspondent says the halyards were unrove; and that it was necessary to send a man up the flag-staff to reeve another, before the new flag could be hoisted.

We are not insensible of the fact that Mr. Loessing states, in his *Pictorial History*, I., 137, that the assailants “found “the cannon spiked, the carriages ruined, the ammunition “removed, and the flag-staff prostrated,”—in which he is carefully followed by Mr. Whitney, in his *History of the War*, I., 124—but, while all this was quite true of *Fort Moultrie*, no one, besides Mr. Loessing and Mr. Whitney, says so of *Castle Pinckney*; and, on the authority of all the survivors of the officers of the garrison whose attention we have called to the subject, and on that, also, of one of the most widely known of the assailants—the Sergeant of the first guard which Colonel Pettigrew established in the captured work—we prefer to disregard the statements which we have quoted and referred to, in all their parts, because of their entire inaccuracy.

‡ *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb; Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 27, 1860, in the *World* of January 2, 1861.

§ *Charleston Mercury*, December 28, 1860—Supplement, No. Vb.

The *Rebellion Record*, I., 7, says all this occurred on the twenty-eighth of December; and Messrs. Guernsey and

The events of that memorable day are peculiarly noteworthy in the history of the Republic. Federal property was seized by State officials: Federal territory was militarily occupied, with hostile intent, by State troops: a strange flag, by the hands of those bearing only State Commissions and acting under no other instructions than those of a State officer, was raised on flag-staffs, within Federal fortifications, whence the Federal flag, by the same unauthorized hands, had, previously, been ignominiously hauled down: and, in fact as well as in name, a State was brought into open hostility against the United States. We may be pardoned, therefore, for briefly noticing so important a series of occurrences.

In the course of events, the United States, either by grant or purchase, had duly become the undisputed proprietors, in law, of certain properties within the territory of the State of South Carolina; * that State had duly ceded to the United States, as such proprietors, general jurisdiction within those properties, subject only to some minor rights which are generally reserved, in such cases, to the local sovereignty; † and the United States, as such proprietors, had occupied those properties, for public purposes, and were then in possession—some of them being occupied for military and some for civic purposes. ‡ Those of them which were thus employed for military purposes, had been duly placed, by the President of the United States, as the Commander-in-chief of their Army, under the control of Major Anderson, the duly appointed and legal commander of the post; § and, as such commander,

Alden, in *Harpers' Pictorial History*, I., 29, say it occurred on the thirtieth of December.

* This fact is distinctly recognized by a Committee of the Convention of the People, in a Report presented by Judge Magrath, on that subject, in Secret Session of that Convention, on the twenty-second of December, 1860.—*Journals of that Convention*, 70-73.

See, also, the President's Message to Congress, December 8, 1860; and Secretary of War Holt's letter to Attorney-general Hayne, February 6, 1861.

† President Buchanan's Annual Message, December 8, 1860; the same to Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr, Commissioners, December 30, 1860.

See, also, the Report of the Committee of the Convention of the People, referred to in the last Note, in which this session is distinctly recognized; and Secretary Holt's letter to Attorney-general Hayne, February 6, 1861, in which it is asserted and described.

‡ Besides the three forts—Moultrie, Sumter, and Castle Pinckney—there were the Arsenal, at Charleston; the Custom-house and Post-office, in the same city; and several lighthouses, on the coast.—*Report of the Committee to the Convention*, December 22, 1860.

§ Vide pages 87, 88, ante.

that officer possessed, generally, authority, in law and in fact, in the absence of any instructions forbidding him, to occupy, at his pleasure, any, or either, or all portions of those properties of the United States which were within his particular jurisdiction,* provided only that, in this particular case, agreeably to his special instructions, in every such occupation, he should not "needlessly" "provoke aggression," and that, unless in case of "evident and imminent necessity"—of which, however, HE was to be the sole judge—he should not occupy any portion of such properties the occupation of which, *per se*, "could be construed into the assumption of a hostile attitude" against the inhabitants of South Carolina.† Because of an existing necessity, which, as was his right, HE judged to have been both "evident and imminent,"‡ Major Anderson had duly transferred his Headquarters together with a portion of his command to a position, within the bounds of his un-

doubted jurisdiction, which had been, previously, unoccupied by more than a nominal military force,* leaving behind him, however, in legal military possession of the position which he had left, a competent portion of his command;† and he had also left, entirely undisturbed and without reinforcement, another portion of his command, in possession of another work, which was nearer to the city than either of the others, and, unquestionably, more capable of being used, either offensively or defensively, against the Carolinians, had he been inclined to have done so.‡

It may have been perfectly true that Major Anderson had been misinformed; that his judgment had been misdirected; that no such "evident and imminent necessity" as he supposed, had really existed; but, nevertheless, he was, in fact and by right, the *sole* judge of the existing necessity for such a transfer of any, and of what, portion of his command, from one portion of his post, to another; he had duly formed a judgment on that subject; and, strictly in accordance with that judgment, he had thus transferred a portion of his command from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter. In all these acts, he had disregarded none of the instructions of the Commander-in-chief; he had violated no existing law; he had invaded no right; he had made no threat; he had assumed no attribute which could, reasonably, be considered hostile—even the Convention of South Carolina which, a week before, had carried South Carolina out of the Union, as far as such a body could thus fracture the Confederacy, after duly considering the subject, entirely disregarded the excitement which that transfer of the garrison had produced, in Charleston, and steadily refused to pronounce a word of condemnation of Major Anderson for having done it,§ and as steadily refused to authorize any interference with the main body of the garrison, in Fort Sumter, or with any detachments

* As the head of an independent command, Major Anderson possessed the right, in himself, by virtue of his office, in the absence of any special orders to the contrary, from the Commander-in-chief, to occupy either of the three forts which were under his command, at his own option; and it was his duty to occupy that which, at that time, was most advantageous to the service and to remove his quarters and his command, from time to time, to meet the requirements of changing circumstances. But, in order that the Major should entertain no doubt on this subject, the President had expressly authorized him to exercise that option, "whenever he should have tangible evidence of a design," on the part of the Carolinians, "to proceed to an hostile act."

Mr. Lossing, in his *Pictorial History*, i., 139; Messrs. Alden and Guernsey, in *Harpers' Pictorial History*, i., 29; and Mrs. Stephens, in her *Pictorial History*, i., 21, present the same views, concerning the Major's right to occupy either of the three forts, at his own option, notwithstanding the two former, with grave inconsistency, elsewhere insist that, after having tied the Major's hands with special instructions, the President wickedly abandoned the garrison to inevitable destruction at the hands of an equally wicked and restless enemy, in whom was concentrated everything that was dishonorable and malignant. Mrs. Stephens indulges in no such amusement of her fancy.

† The President's Instructions, delivered by Major Buell, December 11, 1860—vide page 43, ante.

‡ Major Anderson's telegraphic reply to the Secretary of War, December 27, 1860; his dispatch to the same, of the same date; his reply to Governor Pickens, on the same day—*Governor's Message*, No. 1; his letter (unpublished) to his brother Larn, December 29, 1860; the letter of the Secretary of War, *ad interim*, to the Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, January 3, 1861.

See, also, the Second Letter of the Commissioners of South Carolina to the President, January 1, 1861, concerning the temper of the insurgents, at the time of the Major's transfer of the garrison to Fort Sumter.

* Vide page 36, ante.

† The Ordnance-sergeant who was left in possession of the fort, when the garrison finally evacuated it, occupied it, officially, as the representative of the United States and in accordance with orders sent to him, through Lieutenant Davis, by Major Anderson.

‡ Castle Pinckney was in complete order; and, because of its nearness, it could have been employed against the city, with great effect, had the Major inclined to occupy and thus employ it. He preferred, however, to leave that work to the inevitable fate which awaited it, on his removal of the main body of the garrison from Fort Moultrie, without throwing any portion of his command into it, for even its temporary defense.

§ The Convention laid on the table a Resolution, offered by Mr. Cheves, pointing to such a condemnation—*Journal*, 115.

of the garrison who occupied, in the name of the United States, by their authority, and under the protection of their flag, the works at Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney.*

At the time of which we write [*Thursday, December 27, 1860,*] the Executive of the State of South Carolina had received no other authority from the sovereign power than that which he had possessed before the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, as far as such an Ordinance could do so, had divorced the State from her sister States, and again made her a *femme-sole* in the family of nations;† and the sovereignty was, therefore, only represented, at that time, for all extraordinary purposes, by a "Convention of the People," which is the most dignified representative body known to the laws of the Republic. There was, then, no authority constitutionally vested in the Executive of the State to invade the territory of another and, therefore, foreign State, to seize her public property, to captivate her public officers, to occupy her fortifications with armed forces, or to insult her flag; and, during that day, as we have seen, the Convention of the State emphatically declined to pronounce an adverse judgment concerning the movement of the garrison, to which reference has been made,‡ and sternly refused to enlarge the Governor's authority§ or to give warrant for his interference with the foreign affairs of the State.

At that time, too, both within and without the Convention, throughout South Carolina, the United States were considered as a *foreign* power and treated as such;|| and their possessions, within the geographical limits of South Carolina—inasmuch as their jurisdiction over those possessions had not yet been surrendered

and was not even legally questioned*—were* at that time, in law and in fact, as far as South Carolina was concerned, *foreign* territory. There can be no doubt, therefore, that, even in the peculiar light of the law of South Carolina, the unprovoked and unauthorized aggressions of those, acting under the Governor's unwarrantable Orders, who invaded territory in which the United States exercised the higher authority, seized the public property of the United States within the city of Charleston, carried their public officers into captivity, occupied their fortifications with armed forces, and insulted and degraded their flag, constituted the undue inauguration of a public War† and were as much offenses against the sovereignty of South Carolina, as such—whether that State was separate or confederated—as they were or could be offenses against the dignity, the laws, and the authority of the United States.‡ The revolutionary spirit which the State had officially invoked, as an avenger of anticipated wrongs to which she had not yet been subjected—if, indeed, she ever could be—had, however, obtained the mastery and, itself, become the master; and laws, and Constitutions, and Conventions—not even the People

* Vide the Report to the Convention, by the Committee on so much of the Message of the President of the United States as relates to the property of the United States within the limits of South Carolina.—*Journal of the Convention*, 70-72.

† On this particular feature of the subject, the reader may usefully consult Grotius's *Rights of War and Peace*, Book I., Chapter I., Section II.—Ed. London, 1699, page 2—"War, as Cicero defines it, is 'Certatio per vim,' a Debate by force; But custom hath Translated the signification of the word from the Act it self, to the state and condition of those that make War; for as Philo well observes: 'Not only are they Enemies that are actually engaged in Battle, whether at Sea, or Land, but they also, that raise Forts, plant Ordnances, or such like Engines of War, on their Walls, or Forts, though at present they fight not.' Servius, upon those words of Virgil, concerning *Aeneas*—

"In War and Arms None greater was than He"

"makes this distinction, By War we understand all consultations and Preparations for War: but by Arms only the use or exercise of them. Therefore in another place he concludes, that 'all that may be reckoned a time of War, wherein either things necessary for fight are preparing, or the fight it self lasts,' so that War may be defined to be the State or Condition of those that contend by force as such."

Puffendorf, also—*Law of Nature and Nations*, Book I., Chapter I., Section VIII.—may be usefully consulted, on this subject.

‡ On this important subject, Grotius is remarkably clear—*Rights of War and Peace*, Book I., Chapter III., Section IV., pages 34, 35.

* The Convention tabled Resolutions to this effect, offered by Mr. De Treville—*Journal*, 114; Mr. Cheves—Ibid., 115, 118; Mr. Glover—Ibid., 117; and Mr. Middleton—Ibid., 115.

† The Resolutions offered by Mr. De Treville, Mr. Glover, Mr. Cheves, and Mr. Middleton, (referred to in the last Note) and one offered by Mr. Memminger, and withdrawn by him, all provided for such an extension of the Governor's authority; but none of them found sufficient favor to secure an approval of them by the Convention.

‡ In Mr. Cheves's proposed Resolution.—*Journal*, 115.

§ In Messrs. De Treville's, Glover's, Cheves's, Middleton's, and Memminger's proposed Resolutions.

|| On the twenty-first of December—the day after the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession—"the Committee on Foreign Relations" reported to the Convention a Resolution providing for the election of three Commissioners to "treat with the Government of the United States, for the delivery of the forts," etc.—*Journal of the Convention*, 53;—and, thenceforth, the United States were considered and referred to only as a *foreign* power.

itself—weighed as much as a feather in checking the lawlessness of the Governor, in his rash purpose of involving the State, as such, in hostilities with the United States. The mischievous project was boldly executed and, as we have seen, perfectly successful; and, amidst the shouts of the tumultuous multitudes and the noise of busy preparation for War, from one extreme of the city to the other, the sun went down, on the afternoon of Thursday, the twenty-seventh of December, having that day seen revolutionary South Carolina herself revolutionized; her Governor boldly defying her laws and all other of her authority, and lawlessly directing a mob, in an unauthorized aggression on a foreign power; and War,—an inter-State War, with all its multiplied horrors—inaugurated as the controlling power.

While the harbor and the city of Charleston were thus, respectively, the scenes of momentous events, the intelligence, in varied forms and with more or less completeness and accuracy, was sent, over the wires, to every portion of the United States; and, North and South, the information aroused the passions and quickened the impulses of all, old and young, who understood its serious import. The great body of the inhabitants, North and South, was already racked with excitement and seemed to thirst for blood; and it is an important fact that, at that time, the masses, in both sections of the Union, were more decided in their tone, and more clamorous for instant and relentless War, than were the greater number of those, in either portion of the Republic, whose years and associations, whose experience and general intelligence, had confirmed the general recognition which, long since, had designated them for leadership among the several discordant Peoples which, then, constituted the United States.* The exciting intelligence, therefore, fell among those, from one extreme to the other, who were not unwilling to receive it; and, without awaiting for the concurrence, much less for the co-operation, of their old-time leaders, they joyfully accepted the issue—in the North, the action of the Major was enthusiastically and exulting applauded: in the South, the antagonism against the North was deeply intensified: throughout the entire Republic, North and South, another incentive to hostilities was presented; and a deeply increased hatred of the opposing party was, everywhere presented.

The Convention of South Carolina, on the

* This very important fact was everywhere apparent, throughout the Union; and the backwardness of the Federal authorities was quite equalled by that of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, as presented in its action, at the period of which we write.

twenty-first of December,* had elected three Commissioners to proceed to Washington to treat with the Federal authorities concerning the relations between that State and the United States;† and that Commission seems to have been the first, at the Capital, to receive the intelligence of the occupation of Fort Sumter.‡ It was immediately communicated to the President, who “received it with astonishment and regret”—astonishment, because he had supposed the garrison was perfectly secure, in Fort Moultrie: regret because he certainly foresaw that it would concentrate the elements of disaffection, throughout the South, which, as we have seen, were then disunited and in discord, and so far influence those, in all parts of the Republic, who were then uncertain and careless, as to lead to the overthrow of certain measures, for promoting a reconciliation, which had been proposed and were already under consideration, and to impel one or both the antagonistic parties to inaugurate a Civil War.§ He had not yet heard of the doings, in Charleston, of Governor Pickens and the ultra-revolutionists whom that gentleman directed; but, very soon after, information was also received of the violent and unauthorized seizure of the Custom-house, Post-office, and Treasury, by that portion of the disaffected Carolinians who recognized the Governor as their leader; and, at once, the President saw in these events the realization of his fears and, thenceforth, inclined to the belief that a purely political solution of the differences was no longer possible.¶ Information of the issue of Orders, by the Governor, for the seizure and occupation of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney had not yet reached him:‡ but he had heard enough to satisfy him that the time for decisive action had, at length, arrived; and—postponing a meeting, at one o'clock, which had been previously appointed by him and the Carolinian Commissioners, in order that he might do so**—a meeting of the Cabinet was called for consultation, at noon, which seems to have been adjourned, soon after, to meet again early in the evening of

* In his autobiographical volume, page 180, Mr. Buchanan says this Committee was elected on the twenty-second.

† Journal of the Convention, Secret Session, 58-60.

‡ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 180.

§ Ibid, 180, 181.

¶ Ibid, 181-188.

‡ As will be seen, hereafter, all information concerning the seizure of the forts, by the insurgents, was carefully withheld from the telegraph, at Charleston.—*Vide page 161, post, Note.*

** The Commissioners' Second Letter to the President January 1, 1861.

the same day.* That meeting was an unpleasant one, because of a change in the temper as well as in the policy of the Secretary of War, which was very soon exhibited. That gentleman had been implicated, with Godard Bailey and William H. Russell, in the abstraction of nearly a million of dollars, in State Bonds, from the trust funds of the Department of the Interior; and the President, four days before, had requested him to withdraw from the Cabinet;† and, probably incited by that indication of a loss of the President's confidence,‡ on the occasion of the Cabinet-meeting

* That there was a mid-day meeting of the Cabinet, on the twenty-seventh of December, is evident from Mr. Floyd's letter, resigning his office as Secretary of War, in which it is particularly mentioned, and from the Second Letter of the Carolinian Commissioners to the President, January 1, 1861, in which it is stated that "two Cabinet meetings had adjourned" between the twenty-eighth and the thirty-first of December—the dates, respectively, of their first letter and of the President's reply: that there was one in the evening of the same day is evident from Mr. Buchanan's own statement of what occurred, on that occasion. — *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 187, 189. See, also, dispatch to the *World*, New York, Friday, December 28, 1860.

† Mr. Buchanan's letter to the *National Intelligencer*, October 28, 1862; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 186, 186-187; J. S. Black's letter to Henry Wilson, on Edwin M. Stanton.—*Galaxy*, ix., 886.

‡ It is fashionable to attribute to Mr. Floyd's conduct, at the Cabinet-meeting referred to, to another and entirely different cause—the occupation of Fort Sumter and the consequent disadvantage of the insurgent Carolinians, in their desire to secure possession of that work;—but, as Mr. Black forcibly said of one of those attempts to misrepresent the truth, "this is mere drivelling, at best; and it is completely exploded by the record, which shows that" [Major] "Anderson's transfer of his force from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter was in literal obedience to "Orders from the President, which Floyd himself had drawn up, signed, and transmitted. Moreover, Floyd, "at that time, was not in a condition to arraign any body. "He, himself, had just before that been not only arraigned "but condemned; and the President had notified him that "he would be removed if he did not resign."—*Letter to Henry Wilson*, on Edwin M. Stanton.—*Galaxy*, ix., 886.

See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 186, 187.

It is proper that we should notice, here, the statement of Mr. Lossing—*Pictorial History*, i., 146—that "Floyd "argently demanded an order for Anderson's return to "Fort Moultrie, alleging that the President, by withholding it, was violating the 'solemn pledges of the Government.' The latter, remembering his implied, if not "actual pledges, was inclined to give the order; but the "warning voices of law, duty, and public opinion made "him hesitate. They spoke to his conscience and his "prudence, about faithfulness. Impeachment, and a trial "for treason; and to his patriotism, concerning the good-

referred to, he read, in a discourteous and excited tone, hitherto unknown, a paper declaring that "it is evident, now, from the action of the "commander at Fort Moultrie, that the solemn "pledges of this Government have been violated by Major 'Anderson' and that "one remedy only is left, and that is to withdraw the "garrison from the harbor of Charleston, altogether"—a demand with which, of course, the

"ness and the greatness of his native land and its claims "upon his gratitude. He paused; and the Cabinet adjourned without definite action."

If this means anything, Mr. Lossing meant to tell his readers that Mr. Buchanan had "pledged" his word—actually or by implication—that Major Anderson and the garrison should remain at Fort Moultrie and do nothing, no matter what the danger might be; that the Major's occupation of Fort Sumter was in violation of that "pledge;" that Mr. Floyd "demanded an order for Anderson's return to Fort Moultrie," and insisted that, by withholding it, the President was violating the "solemn "pledges of the Government;" that the President remembered "his implied, if not actual pledges," and was inclined to fulfil them; that he was restrained, however, by "the warning voices of duty, law, and public opinion," which spoke to him of, respectively, "faithfulness, impeachment, and a trial for treason," etc.; and that, in consequence of his dread of a trial, as a criminal, no such order was then issued.

Now Mr. Lossing, in a foot-note to this very sentence, refers to a document which entirely disproves every word of it which directly charges the President with any wrongdoing or any desire to commit a wrong; and, after having suppressed what it contained which disproved the charges against the President, he coolly refers to it as his only authority for making new charges against that officer, on a matter in which it flatly contradicts him! It expressly denies that the President ever made a pledge, or attempted to make one, on the matter of the garrison in Charleston-harbor, with any one; and it expressly asserts that the parties with whom he was said to have made such a pledge directly and in terms disclaimed any such understanding, by them, of what was said by him, when he is said to have made such a pledge: and yet Mr. Lossing entirely disregards and cancels that portion of the document referred to; and then proceeds to renew the charge, himself, and submits this very document as his only evidence!

But this is not all. On page 149 of the same volume—only three pages from the exposition of his infidelity to the truth of history to which we have just referred, Mr. Lossing commits an authorial *harr-kart*, by stating, on this very subject: "It is the deliberate conviction of Joseph "Holt, the loyal Secretary of War during the last seventy "days of Mr. Buchanan's administration, that no such "pledge was given. It is fair to conclude that men like "the 'Commissioners' from South Carolina, and Jacob "Thompson, all engaged in the highest crime known, "namely, treason to their Government, would not be slow "in the use of the more venal and common sin of making "false accusations, especially when such accusations "might furnish some excuse for their iniquity. No room

President did not comply.* The Cabinet adjourned at eight o'clock;† and the history of the events of the day closes with that subject.

The rising sun, on the morning of Friday, the twenty-eighth of December, revealed still greater changes, within and around Charleston, than that, on the preceding day, had revealed to the astonished watch, on the decks of the *Nina* and *General Clinch*, when they discovered, to their surprise, that Fort Sumter was occupied by a military force.‡

THE GARRISON, in Charleston harbor, during the preceding day, had effectually consummated the withdrawal of Headquarters and the main body of the force, from Fort Moultrie, by transferring to its new position, in Fort Sumter, the stores and munitions of war which were in the former, as far as they could be thus removed; § by rendering useless, as far as possible, those of them which were left; || and by definitely, if not ostentatiously, appealing to a higher law than the President's instructions for a warrant for its abandonment of the one, and to a higher power than that of the Republic for a competent support in the occupation of the other.¶ It had quietly occupied, and was then seated in, Fort Sumter; but it was, by no means, at that time, out of harm's way—indeed, the nakedness of the insur-

gents of the requisite means to assault the work, with even the possibility of success, and their want of competent military leaders, were among its principal safeguards, at that time, and enabled it, weak-handed as it was, and almost destitute of material, to take notice of its weaknesses and, gradually, to provide for their remedy, without being called to other and graver duties of self-defense.

THE INSURGENTS, at that time, were divided by adverse influences and directed, in their action, by discordant authorities—the one portion influenced by and acting, if it acted at all, only under authority bearing the semblance of law, and recognizing only the superior authority of the legitimate governmental representatives of the sovereignty of the State, as seen in the Convention of the People and in the General Assembly: the other portion having no other warrant for what it did, or attempted to do, than the inferior authority of the Governor of the State, exercised in open disregard of all law, legitimate or illegitimate, local or general. The one embraced the more thoughtful and the more substantial, if not the more intelligent, of the Carolinians: the other included not only those theorists whose ill-balanced minds paid no respect to consequences, but the impulsive masses who, as in all cities, were controlled by no principle but the passion of the moment, and whose interests, if they had any, it was supposed, would be promoted by agitation and War. The one, as we have said, was represented by the staid Convention of the People, which, with all the facts before it, and all the power to do so, had deliberately declined to give authority to the Governor, or even to request him, "to take immediate possession of Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney, and to make the necessary preparations for the re-capture or destruction of Fort Sumter;" and it respected that determination and committed no outrage: the other was represented by the impetuous Governor, who, with the same facts before him and with the knowledge of the adverse action of the Convention of the People—which, alone, was recognized, therabouts, as possessing competent authority to warrant any such action, by any body—had rashly issued Orders for the military occupation of both Fort Moultrie and Castle Pinckney and for the preparation of means to ensure the capture of Fort Sumter; and, thus, already, had inaugurated a Civil War; and it defied all law, violated all rights, and demanded blood. The control of one was exercised by a Government of comparative order and law: that of the other was a power exercised by a mob, avowedly without regularity, and unquestionably without any other warrant than the unauthorized Order of an usurper. The one aimed to secure a peaceful

"HAS EVER BEEN GIVEN THAT THE PRESIDENT VIOLATED HIS OATH BY MAKING SUCH PLEDGE."—*Pictorial History*, I., 149, Note 1.

It is not evident to us that there is the least possible difference, in favor of Mr. Lossing, between "the venal and common sin of making false accusations," with which that gentleman charges the Commissioners from South Carolina and Mr. Thompson, in the above extract, and that similar sin of which he thus proves himself to have been equally, if not more flagrantly, guilty—in fact, we incline to the belief that, in making the charges against the President which we first quoted, while the evidence was before him of the entire innocence of that gentleman (to say nothing of his suppression of that evidence and his entire silence concerning it and his subsequent avowal that the document in which it is fully recorded affords evidence of an exactly opposite character) Mr. Lossing's chance for heaven, if the Apostle writes truly—*Revelation*, xxii., 15—is hardly as good as is that of Jacob Thompson and the Secessionists of South Carolina, who were the Commissioners of that State, at Washington, in December, 1860.

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 187, 188; Secretary Floyd to the President, December 29, 1861; General Joseph Holt to Henry Wilson, 1870—*Atlantic Monthly*, xxvi., 473; the same to Henry B. Dawson, August 24, 1872.

† Associated Press dispatch to the New York morning papers, Friday, December 28, 1860—vide the *World*.

‡ Vide page 139, *ante*.

§ Vide pages 143, 148, *ante*.

|| Vide pages 143, 148, *ante*.

¶ Vide pages 147, 148, *ante*.

political solution of the existing differences between the discordant States: the other sought, in War, without compromise, a bloody solution of those differences and, through that, it is supposed, its own social and political advancement. Unfortunately, the latter had prevailed—as the more violent, in such an encounter, generally prevails—and, during the preceding day, the Federal offices, within the city, and the Federal military posts, on Sullivan's and Shute's Folly-islands, had been seized by those who recognized the Governor's leadership in lawlessness and obeyed his Orders, and were, at the time of which we write, occupied, respectively, by officers who were subordinate to him.

It is a notable fact, however, notwithstanding this unwarrantable eagerness for War, on the part of the dominant party, in South Carolina, that that State, on the morning of the twenty-seventh of December, was wholly unprepared for such an emergency, unless an undue and ill-directed zeal, in the greater number of her inhabitants, may be supposed, in itself, to have afforded such pre-requisites. The insurgents were, at that time, without the necessary supply of arms suitable for such duties as they had already undertaken to discharge: * there was not, then, in the entire State, enough gunpowder to enable them to keep up the continued fire of a three-gun battery for four hours; and of shot and shell there was the same meagre proportion: † they lacked competent Engineers

to direct their spasmodic labors: * their troops, or those who were so suddenly converted into troops, were unused to such service; not accustomed to such exposures and hardships as they would be forced to encounter therein; and impatient under the restraints of actual service and the authority of officers whom, as citizens, they were accustomed to regard as equals: † and other States, which were equally aggrieved, and quite as anxious as South Carolina was to obtain relief from dangers which the political revolution, in November, had seemed to threaten, were not yet convinced, at the time of which we write, of the necessity of adopting extreme measures; patiently looked for a continuation of the peaceful relations of the several States of the Union; and were not always willing that South Carolina should drag them into troubles which they preferred to avoid, nor altogether unwilling that she should be subjected to a just penalty for her rashness and her arrogance. ‡

South Carolina to Governor Pickens, March 25, 1861.

This statement describes the nakedness of the insurgents after they had seized the Federal Arsenal, at Charleston: how much more naked were they, at the time referred to in the text, two days before that work, with its contents, was seized by the Carolinians?

* This statement is sustained by the anxiety, on this subject, which Governor Pickens displayed, even as lately as the ninth of January, 1861, when he ordered Colonels Gwynn, White, and Trapier to "come together, immediately, and consider and report the most favorable plan for operating upon Fort Sumter."—*General Order*, January 9, 1861—and we have unquestionable authority for saying that so injudiciously had the labor of the insurgents, on the new works, been directed, that, even as lately as the beginning of March, 1861—when the command of the State troops was necessarily vested in General Beauregard—"the Confederate" [*State?*] "works were in a very incomplete state, badly planned, and indifferently located and armed. A great deal of labor, however, had been bestowed on them by the troops, who labored zealously and actively on them—there were, I think, but few, if any, negroes then employed on them."—*General P. T. Beauregard to Henry B. Dawson*, June 20, 1872.

† Dispatch in the *New York World*, No. 176, Monday, January 7, 1861.

See, also, Resolution 8, of the series transmitted to the Convention, by the Governor and Council, for its consideration and adoption, on the thirty-first of December, 1860, providing that "the volunteers now in possession of the forts in this State" should be relieved "as soon as a sufficient number of Companies shall be enlisted, officered, and properly drilled."—*Journal of the Convention*, Secret Session, 149.

‡ This fact is so well known to every careful student of the history of that period that it seems to be unnecessary to present special authorities to sustain our statement of

* Thus written, although the Confederate Government, at that time, was not vested with any property therein.

* The Federal Arsenal had not then been seized by the insurgents; and it is said that, even after that event, "we were very badly supplied with small-arms."—*General P. T. Beauregard to Henry B. Dawson*, June 20, 1872. How much more naked must they have been, at the time of which we write?

† "At the rising of the Convention, on the 5th of January, the important and almost exclusive subject which engaged our attention was the occupation, by a hostile force, of an almost impregnable fortress within our harbor; and the chief difficulty with which we had to contend, arose from the extreme want of every offensive preparation for the reduction of the fort or for preventing the entrance of reinforcements within our waters. The great want was the very insufficient supply of ammunition and implements for guns of heavy calibre. Of cannon-powder, twenty-seven thousand pounds only were in possession of the State; and of this, a considerable quantity had been sent to the batteries erected to defend the entrances to the harbors of Georgetown and Beaufort, which left less than twenty thousand pounds near this city, or not more than sufficient to have kept up a fire for three hours, on the day when The Star of the West approached within our bar. Of shot and shell, the supply was in the same meagre proportion, except of twenty-four-pounder shot, which had been left at Fort Moultrie, when that fort was evacuated by the troops of the United States."—*Report of the Secretary of War of*

THE FEDERAL AUTHORITIES, at Washington, also, were not without discord, at the time of which we write. The events of the past two days, as far as the information of them had been made public, had created great anxiety, thereabouts, among both those who sympathized with the insurgents and those who did not; and the President, not previously informed of the incapacity of Fort Moultrie for a successful defence and supposing the garrison to have been perfectly secure, therein,* was astonished that a necessity to abandon that work had been supposed to exist and quite inclined to order the garrison to re-occupy it.† He had issued no Order to that

it. We content ourself, therefore, with a single specimen of the language employed by others than Carolinians, to express their views of South Carolina's rashness:

"We have never had a doubt that it was the deliberate purpose of South Carolina, by some rash, illegal steps, to involve all her sister Southern States in the calamity of Civil War. She is not content to be allowed to go out of the Union peacefully. Her object is to drag other States with her and involve them all in a common and terrible conflict with the General Government. Her self-conceit and her selfishness know no bounds. But will 'Virginia become 'hitched on,' a miserable dependant, to 'her' fall? We shall see."—*Richmond (Va.) Whig and Public Advertiser*, Vol. xxxviii., No. 1, Tuesday, January 1, 1861.

"It will be seen from our telegraphic dispatches that 'War has actually commenced at Charleston, so far, at least, as the authorities and citizens of South Carolina are concerned. The forbearance of Major Anderson, under the circumstances, is, in the highest degree, commendable. But it is the deliberate and long-cherished policy of South Carolina to involve, by her rash and selfish action, the whole South in a War of her own making! In our judgment, it is a shame and an outrage that a single State should thus precipitate the whole country into War and bloodshed. The whole white population of South Carolina is about two hundred and fifty thousand—and—or about four times the population of the city of Richmond. And yet that little handful of mad-caps will inevitably plunge into a prolonged and desperate fight, 'thirty-odd millions of people!'—*Ibid*, Friday, January 11, 1861.

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 180, 181.

† "When I learned that Major Anderson had left Fort 'Moultrie and proceeded to Fort Sumter, my first promptings were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in 'his Instructions.'—*President Buchanan's reply to the Commissioners, December 31, 1860.*

"the President determined to await official information from Major Anderson himself. After its receipt, should he be convinced, upon full examination, that the Major, on a false alarm, had violated his instructions, he might then think seriously of restoring, for the present, the former status quo of the forts. This, however, was soon after known to be impossible,

effect, however; and the rudeness of the Secretary of War, at the meeting of the Cabinet, on the preceding evening, to which reference has been made, may have inclined him to withhold it, for the present. It is true, the President earnestly desired to do nothing which would, unnecessarily, irritate those who were in insurrection, and thus render more difficult the reconciliation which he, in common with so many thoughtful men, the country over, so anxiously desired; but it is quite as true that he, also, desired, with equal earnestness, to discharge the duties which devolved on him, day by day, in that eventful period, to the full extent of the authority which the Constitution had vested in him and of the means which had been provided for that purpose, by the Congress of the United States. He had evidently determined, therefore, to do nothing which should interfere with the garrison until he should be informed of the necessity which existed for such an interference;* and, at the time of which we write, it was entirely undisturbed by the Commander-in-Chief, very much to the disgust of all who were in sympathy with the Carolinians.†

During the afternoon of that day—Friday, the twenty-eighth of December—the President received, unofficially, in their private capacity, as citizens, the three gentlemen whom South Carolina had sent to Washington, as her Commissioners, to treat with the Federal authorities concerning the relations existing between that State and the United States.‡ These gentlemen were, evidently, very much excited by the intelligence which they had received, on the preceding day—some portion of which was yet unknown, alike, to the President and the public, to the north—

"in consequence of the violent conduct of South Carolina, in seizing all the other forts and public property in the harbor and city of Charleston."—*Buchanan's Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 181.

"Had they [the Carolinian Commissioners] simply requested that Major Anderson might be restored to his former position at Fort Moultrie, upon a guarantee, from the State, that neither it nor the other forts or public property should be molested; this, at the moment, might have been worthy of serious consideration. But, to abandon all these forts to South Carolina, on the demand of Commissioners claiming to represent her as an independent State, would have been a recognition, on the part of the Executive, of her right to secede from the Union. This was not to be thought of, for a moment."—*Ibid*, 182.

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 181, quoted in Note †, Column 1, Page 160, ante.

† *Ibid*, 184.

‡ The Second Letter of the Commissioners to the President, January 1, 1861; *Buchanan's Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 181.

ward of Charleston*—and they proceeded to state their grievances arising from the military occupation of Fort Sumter, and to declare that, for those grievances, they must obtain redress preliminary to entering upon the negotiation with which they had been intrusted; that they could not make any proposition for the adjustment of the existing differences, until the movement of Major Anderson should be explained; and that the immediate withdrawal of the garrison, not only from Fort Sumter, but from the harbor of Charleston, was a *sine qua non* to any negotiation whatever. The President patiently listened to the novel and insolent demands of his visitors; quietly told them that it was to the Congress of the United States, and not to their President, they must address their appeal; and politely offered to communicate to that body, as the only competent authority to take action on it, any communication which they should send to him for that particular purpose.†

During the same afternoon, ‡ but subsequent to the visit of the three gentlemen whom South Carolina had sent as her Commissioners, to whom reference has just been made, intelligence seems to have reached Washington concerning the occupation of Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie, by the insurgent Carolinians, on the preceding afternoon and evening; § and the President appears to have hesitated no longer, on the receipt of that information, in the determination that the garrison, in Charleston harbor, should be supported at all hazards. |

* Vide Note §, post.

† For a description of this notable interview, see Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 181-183.

See, also, the Second Letter of the Commissioners to the President, January 1, 1861, and Mr. Buchanan's reply to General Scott, October 28, 1862.

‡ Dispatch to the *New York World*, published December 29, 1860.

§ It is said that, notwithstanding the Commissioners of South Carolina were informed of the occupation of the forts as early as eleven o'clock on the preceding evening *Thursday, December 27*] the operators in the telegraph-offices were forbidden to transmit the intelligence for the Federal authorities or the Northern Press, until after the *Commissioners should have waited on the President, on the afternoon of the twenty-eighth, lest the latter should be affected by the report and respond unfavorably to the Commissioners' Address and demands.* It was not until afternoon, on the twenty-eighth of December, therefore, that the important intelligence of the seizure of the forts was allowed to be sent, northward, over the wires, except for the information of those who especially represented the insurgents.—*Special Despatch to The New York World, Volume I., No. 170—Saturday, December 29, 1860.*

| President Buchanan's reply to the South Carolina Commissioners, December 21, 1860; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 183.

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Immediately after their informal reception by the President, to which reference has been made—Friday, the twenty-eighth of December—the three Commissioners addressed a written communication to that gentleman, embracing, among other matters, the same remarkable demand for the withdrawal of the garrison from the harbor of Charleston, which they had previously made; * and, on the next day, agreeably to the President's request, made six days before, the Secretary of War resigned his office and was succeeded, *ad interim*, by Postmaster-general Holt. †

Although the President had not yet replied to the letter which the Commissioners had sent to him, immediately after their informal interview with him, on the preceding Friday, either through the retiring Secretary of War or some other hidden channel, the latter evidently obtained information of what would undoubtedly be its character as well as concerning the new policy which, since the insurgents had seized the public property in Charleston and its vicinity, the President had established and determined to execute; and, on Saturday, the twenty-ninth of December, they promptly communicated that information to their constituents, in the latter city, by telegraph. The insurgents had learned that the occupation of Fort Sumter and the dismantling of Fort Moultrie were wholly the acts of the local commander of the post, and that they were done without the knowledge of the President; ‡ and they had also been informed of the disposition of the latter, while that officer was yet unfixed concerning the aggressions of the insurgents, to order the garrison to re-occupy its

* This important letter may be found, with its enclosures, in the Executive Document, House of Representatives, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, No. 6, pages 5-7; and, without its enclosures, in the Appendix of the *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina*, 854; in the *Rebellion Record*, I., Documents, 11, 12; * and in *Harpers' Pictorial History of the War*, I., 80.

In his reference to this letter, in his autobiographical volume, *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, page 182, Mr. Buchanan mentions it as "of the next day" after the Commissioners' interview with him, which would make it "of" December 29th, instead of "December 28th;" but, although it may have been received by him on "the next day," it was evidently "of" the same day as the interview, as he, himself, says it was, in his reply to General Scott, October 28, 1861.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 183; *The Rebellion Record*, I., Documents, 10.

‡ *Charleston Courier*, December 28—Supplement Va.

* Mr. Moore erroneously dates this letter "December 29;" and, equally in error, he dates the President's reply to it, "December 30," instead of "December 31."

abandoned quarters;* the intense excitement which the movement of the garrison had produced, on the preceding Thursday morning,† therefore, had wholly subsided; and, until the dispatches from the Commissioners again aroused the populace, every one awaited the adjustment of the differences, at Washington, which was confidently looked for; and the most perfect quiet prevailed.‡ The intelligence of the President's evidently resolute determination to confirm the occupation of Fort Sumter, was, therefore, wholly unexpected; and, at nine o'clock in the evening, when it reached Charleston, the deepest indignation prevailed among those who received it. At ten o'clock, the *Mercury* issued an Extra, announcing the stern fact that "the Government does not consider 'itself under any obligation to withdraw the 'troops from Charleston-harbor,' and declaring that 'no hope now remains of any adjustment of difficulties.'" Soon after, a new edition was issued, with a postscript containing a dispatch, received, in cypher, from Mr. Adams, one of the Commissioners, in these words: "Guard the entrance to the harbor. 'Hasten preparations for War;' and, from one extreme of the city to the other, a most intense excitement prevailed.§ On the following morning [Sunday, December 30,] the excitement continued—even the staid Convention of the People so far yielded to its force as to meet and consider the urgent question of the morning, without, however, doing anything beside resolving "that it was the sense of the Convention that the vigor of military preparation "and defence should not be relaxed," confirming the nomination of the Executive Council of the State, and discussing and postponing action on propositions to enlist two Regiments into the service of the State and to destroy the beacons, extinguish the lights, and remove the buoys which had been placed at the entrance of the harbor and within it, for the guidance of mariners desiring to enter the port of Charleston.¶ As may be reasonably supposed, however, the ultra-revolutionists, headed by the Governor of the State, found fresh warrant, in these dispatches, for their unauthorized acts of aggression; and, during the day, without even seeking the authority of the Convention, which, hitherto, had been considered necessary, schemes

were formed for an assault on Fort Sumter; the Federal Arsenal was seized; breastworks were ordered to be built on Morris'-island; and, in other ways, the most strenuous efforts were made to arouse the masses and to push the State into open and bitter conflict with the United States.*

During the morning of the same day, General Scott, asked the President, by note, for special authority to send, "without reference to the "War Department, and otherwise as secretly as "possible, two hundred and fifty recruits from "New York harbor, to reinforce Fort Sumter, "together with some extra muskets or rifles, "ammunition, and subsistence-stores, expressing "a hope, at the same time, that a sloop-of-war "and a cutter might be ordered for the same "purpose, as early as to-morrow morning"—Monday, the thirty-first of December.† The President received the General's request, and, as he had already determined to strengthen and re-victual the garrison, he then determined, also, to do so without further delay; but he adhered to his well-settled conviction that disciplined Regulars would be more effective, for that purpose, than raw recruits; and that a swift and powerful war steamer would be better adapted, as a transport, than the smaller and weaker vessels on which he must depend, if the reinforcement should be sent from New York; and, on the following day, [Monday, December 31] instead of ordering the dispatch of the recruits and the sloop and cutter which General Scott had asked for, Orders were issued to the Secretaries of War and the Navy, to send the *Brooklyn*, commanded by Captain Farragut, with three hundred Regulars and a supply of provisions and munitions of war, for that purpose.‡

As we have already stated, that powerful vessel had been held in Hampton Roads, for some weeks past, in constant readiness to depart for Charleston, at "the first moment of danger" to the garrison of that post: § and, during the day of which we write [Monday, December 31, 1860] the appropriate General Orders to the respective officers, military and naval, were duly issued by the respective Secretaries, and sent to General

* Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 31, 1860, in the *World* of January 4, 1861.

See, also, page 169, post.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 138, 139; General Scott to the *National Intelligencer*, October 21, 1862.

‡ President Buchanan to Secretary Thompson, January 9, 1861; Secretary Holt to the *National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; Mr. Buchanan's reply to General Scott, October 23, 1862; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 139.

§ Vide page 48, ante.

* That fact had been telegraphed, in detail, to every leading newspaper in the Union, as will be seen by an examination of the files of any of them.

† Vide pages 139, 140, ante.

‡ Correspondence of the *New York World*, Charleston, December 31, 1860, in the *World* of January 4, 1861.

§ Ibid.

¶ Journal of the Convention, 142-146.

Scott.* For some unexplained reason, however—suggested, it is intimated, by “an individual believed to possess much knowledge and practical experience in naval affairs†”—after the General had thus received the necessary Orders for the prompt and efficient reinforcement of the garrison, in Fort Sumter, to which we have referred—the execution of which, however, was subsequently postponed, for two or three days, for reasons which were equally satisfactory to the President, to the Cabinet, and to General Scott‡—the latter urged the former to countermand those General Orders and to substitute others, authorizing the employment of a mercantile steamer, in New York, instead of the *Brooklyn*, then ready to go to sea from Hampton Roads; and he also urged, for reasons which originated with himself, the dispatch of two hundred and fifty of the recruits who were in the Depot, at New York, as a reinforcement for the garrison, instead of the three hundred disciplined Regulars who had been so long held in constant readiness, for that particular purpose, in Fortress Monroe. The President sturdily insisted on the execution of his own ideas, as those ideas were presented in the General Orders already issued and, at that moment, in General Scott’s “own pocket;” and a special

meeting of the Cabinet was called to give effect to that determination and, at the same time, to keep faith, on that subject, with a member of that body, who had secured a promise from the President on the subject; * but the General so strenuously insisted on the proposed changes, on the ground that they involved “a question of ‘of military strategy,’ that, at length, “with ‘great reluctance, and solely in deference to the ‘opinion of the commanding General, the President yielded to that unfortunate change”—countermanding the General Orders already issued; and instructing the Secretaries, respectively, to issue others in accordance with the General’s proposition.†

It is to be regretted that this change was made in the President’s Orders, notwithstanding it was the venerable and distinguished General-in-chief of the Army who thus professionally induced the President to yield the well-settled and sensible conclusions of his own unaided investigation of

* Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 189; Mr. Buchanan’s reply to General Scott, October 28, 1862.

† Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 190; Mr. Buchanan’s reply to General Scott, October 28, 1862.

‡ “At the interview with President Buchanan, on the evening of the thirty-first of December, the General seemed, cordially, to approve the matured plan of sending reinforcements by the *Brooklyn*. * * * At this interview, the President informed him he had sent a letter but a few hours before to the South Carolina Commissioners, in answer to a communication from them; and this letter would doubtless speedily terminate their mission—that, although he had refused to recognize them, in their official character, yet it might be considered improper to transmit the Orders, then in his possession, to the *Brooklyn*, until they had an opportunity of making a reply; and that the delay for this purpose could not, in his opinion, exceed forty-eight hours. In this suggestion, the General promptly concurred, observing that it was gentlemanly and proper. He, therefore, retained the Orders to await the reply.”—Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 190.

This postponement was subsequently considered in a Cabinet meeting, on the same evening, and approved, without dissent from any of its members.—*Secretary Thompson to President Buchanan*, January 8, 1861, and the *President’s Reply*, January 9, 1861.

See, also, Mr. Holt’s letter to the *National Intelligencer*, in reply to Mr. Thompson’s Address to the People of Mississippi, March 5, 1861; Mr. Holt’s letter to the *National Intelligencer*, in reply to Mr. Thompson’s rejoinder, March 25, 1861; and General Scott’s letter to the same paper, October 21, 1862.

* “On Monday evening, 31st December, 1860, I suspended ‘the Orders which had been issued by the War and Navy Departments to send the *Brooklyn*, with reinforcements to Fort Sumter. Of this, I informed you, on the same evening. I stated to you my reason for this suspension, ‘which you knew, from its nature, would be speedily removed. In consequence of your request, however, ‘I promised that these Orders should not be renewed ‘without being previously considered and decided in ‘Cabinet.’ This promise was faithfully observed, on ‘my part. In order to carry it into effect, I called a ‘special Cabinet meeting, on Wednesday, 2d January, 1861, in which the question of sending reinforcements to ‘Fort Sumter was amply discussed, both by yourself ‘and others. The decided majority of opinions was ‘against you. At this moment, the answer of the South ‘Carolina ‘Commissioners,’ to my communication to ‘them of 31st December was received and read. It produced much indignation among the members of the Cabinet. After a brief conversation, I employed the following language: ‘It is now all over, and reinforcements ‘must be sent.’ Judge Black said, at the moment of ‘my decision, that, after this letter, the Cabinet would be ‘unanimous; and I heard no dissenting voice. Indeed, ‘the spirit and tone of the letter left no doubt on my ‘mind that Fort Sumter would be immediately attacked; ‘and, hence, the necessity of sending reinforcements ‘there, without delay.’—*President Buchanan to Jacob Thompson*, January 9, 1861.

See, also, Secretary Holt’s letter to the *National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861, which letter, we know, was submitted to Mr. Buchanan, by its author, before it was transmitted to the *Intelligencer*, and was fully approved by him.

We have, also, abundant other evidence on this subject, generally and in detail, kindly supplied to us, in verified form, by General Holt, himself.

† Buchanan’s *Mr. Buchanan’s Administration*, 190; Mr. Buchanan’s letter to the *National Intelligencer*, October 28, 1862.

the subject; and history, faithfully written, will bear testimony, to all time, that, in this instance, at least, great military abilities were not all that were required for the proper determination of "a question of military strategy." Had the *Brooklyn*, commanded by Captain Farragut, been dispatched from Hampton Roads, on Monday, the thirty-first of December, as the President originally desired and ordered—or even on Wednesday, the second of January, when he last ordered it—not only would her own capability for either offensive or defensive service ensured a safe and successful passage to Fort Sumter and an effective re-inforcement of the garrison with experienced troops; but she would have found the Carolinians entirely unprepared to offer any resistance whatever,* and enabled Major Anderson, with his increased force and with her as an auxiliary—had he been inclined to do so—to have adopted, immediately, an aggressive policy; to have driven the insurgents from both Sullivan's and Morris's islands; to have reoccupied the two works of which the United States had been dispossessed; and, very probably, to have crushed the insurrection, while it was yet in embryo. But, as we have said, the venerable soldier either had other purposes or was the victim of ill-founded suspicions or unworthy information; and he urged the President, for what he said were purely military reasons, to countermand the General Orders, already issued, on which depended, so largely, the welfare, if not the perpetuity, of the Republic. That gentleman, although he was a civilian and unacquainted with the intricacies of military science, was prompted by his own unaided common sense to adhere to his own well-considered policy of speed, power, and efficiency, in the proposed undertaking; and as we have said, he reluctantly yielded to the

* Since this paragraph was written, we have conversed on the subject of it with a well-known member of the Charleston Bar, who was an active participant in the events of that period, and, both then and now, associated with those whose means of knowing the exact truth were unsurpassed even by Governor Pickens himself; and we have his entire approval of what we have stated in the text—indeed, he said, emphatically, there was, then, "nothing, whatever," to even show an opposition to the entrance of the *Brooklyn*, or of any other vessel, into the harbor, or to her passage to the city, as stated in the text.

Our readers will perceive the great importance of this information; and if any shall desire additional information on this subject they may find it, officially recorded, in the Report of the Carolinian Secretary of War to Governor Pickens, dated March 25, 1861, on the condition of the defenses of the State, on the date of "the rising of the Convention" of the People, on the fifth of January preceding—four days before the repulse of the *Star of the West*, and two days after the *Brooklyn* would have reached Charleston.

persuasions of the General; countermanded the General Orders which, under his instructions and in his name, the Secretaries had issued; and authorized the employment of a portion of the recruits then in the Depot, in New York, and the mercantile steamer *Star of the West*—changes which necessarily occupied several days and, as we shall see, hereafter, were productive of the most disastrous results to the expedition, to the country, and to mankind.

While the Executive of the United States was thus anxiously endeavoring, with the limited means under his control, to sustain the little garrison which was then the subject of so much angry discussion, the Congress of the United States—in whom, alone, reposed the constitutional authority to provide the means for raising an increased military force, as well as that for employing it*—deliberately refused to pass any Act or Resolution which would serve either to preserve the peace, by peaceful measures, or to enable the President, with an increased military force, to preserve it, in case of an attack on the various military posts, throughout the South, by the disaffected, in that portion of the Republic.† In-

* The Act of February 28, 1795—*Statutes at Large*, I., 434—does not authorize the President to employ the Militia of the several States in any other case than to suppress insurrections against State Governments, as such—the fathers of the Republic cautiously guarded the rights of the several States, as such, against what was too well known, to them, to be the tendency of power to seek a concentration of it, in the general officers—and "Congress positively refused to pass a law conferring on the President any such authority, until the twenty-ninth of July, following, when Mr. Lincoln received it.—*Statutes at Large* xii., 281.

† On the eighth of January, 1861, the Congress was officially informed, by Message, of the condition of affairs—*Executive Document*, No. 26, *House of Representatives*, Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session—and it was sent to a Special Committee of five members, of which Mr. Howard of Michigan was Chairman. On the thirtieth of January, 1861, that Committee, through Mr. John H. Reynolds, reported a Bill—*House Bill*, No. 698—enabling the President to call forth the Militia or to accept the services of Volunteers, for the purpose of protecting the forts, magazines, arsenals, and other property of the United States, and "to recover possession" of such of them as "has been or may, hereafter, be unlawfully seized or taken possession of, by any combination of persons whatever." But, as it has been said, "Congress was not, then, prepared to assume such a responsibility;" and Mr. Reynolds, in order to save a direct refusal, moved the recomittal of his Bill, and, thus, the proposed measure was strangled at its birth.

Nineteen days after this defeat—on the eighteenth of February—the Military Committee of the House, through Mr. Stanton, its Chairman, reported another Bill—*House Bill*, No. 1008—merely extending the authority of the President, under the Act of 1795, to employ the Militia of

deed, neither of the two great political parties, as those parties were then represented in the Congress, seemed to care anything about the matter; and, while the aggregate body steadily refused to enable the President, by increased military power, to repel force with force, the representatives of the dominant party deliberately coquetted with those of the disaffected Southerners and, thereby, defeated two propositions, made by Mr. Crittenden, at different times, each of which not only promised to secure such a reconciliation, by peaceful means, as was so anxiously desired, but which seemed, almost, to ensure it.*

the States and "such Volunteers as may offer their services" for that purpose, in suppressing "insurrections against the authority of the United States;" but all hostile action, on the part of the Federal authorities, for the recovery of the forts and arsenals which had been already seized, was carefully guarded against. Even this tame affair was too strong for the House—the Republicans leading in the procrastination—and, on the twenty-sixth of February, on motion of Mr. Corwin of Ohio and opposed by Mr. Stanton, by a vote of 100 to 74, the further consideration of the Bill was postponed and the measure defeated.—*Congressional Globe*, 1862.

* The Committee of Thirteen consisted of five Republicans, five members from slaveholding States, and three Northern Democrats. On the twenty-second of December, Mr. Crittenden submitted to this Committee a Joint Resolution providing for the amendment of the Constitution of the United States—the, so-called, "Crittenden Compromise"—and it was confidently believed that that measure would preserve the peace and restore the harmony of the Republic. *The five Republican members of the Committee, however, united with Messrs. Jefferson Davis and Robert Toombs,* in opposing it; and, on their united votes, the measure was defeated.*

Notwithstanding it was very evident that the requisite two-third vote of Congress, for the inauguration of an attempt to amend the Constitution, could not be obtained, Mr. Crittenden, on the third of January, 1861, submitted a Joint Resolution for the submission of his proposition to a vote of the several States.—*Senate Documents*, No. 54—and it will be remembered how earnestly the Congress was appealed to, by Memorials, to approve it. But, after three different postponements—effected by the united votes of all the Republican and a portion of the Southern Senators—on the sixteenth of January, on motion of Mr. Clark of New Hampshire and with the votes of all the Republicans who were present—the leading Secessionists declining to vote, at all—it was so amended, by a vote of twenty five to twenty-three, as to destroy its character.—*Congressional Globe*, 1860-'61, 409—and, finally, on the second of March, it was defeated.—*Congressional Globe*, 1860-'61, 1405.

* It is proper to say that Messrs. Davis and Toombs "expressed their readiness to accept the proposition of "Mr. Crittenden, as a final settlement of the controversy, "if tendered and sustained by the Republican members"—*Congressional Globe*, 1860-'61, 1891; the same, Appendix, 41—but the latter declined to do so.

But, if the Congress was inactive, the Carolinians were not so—the one party, among them, steadily resisting the rising tide of disaffection which, in the end, was to overwhelm it; the other quite as steadily pushing its revolutionary theories into stern and relentless practice.

The Convention of the People, hitherto regarded as that representative body which possessed the highest authority—second in dignity only to that possessed by the sovereign power, the People, itself—had met, day by day, and sturdily refused to approve the aggressions which the Governor, without the least warrant in law, had so rashly inaugurated.* It was, evidently, the

* On the twenty-eighth of December—the day after it had so emphatically laid on the table every proposition which was made to authorize the Governor to seize Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie, to take military possession of Sullivan's and other islands, and to employ force to prevent reinforcements from being thrown into Fort Sumter—in Secret Session of the Convention, Judge Magrath offered two Resolutions—the first declaring the transfer of the garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, pending the negotiations, at Washington, to have been "an act of hostility;" the second "approving the conduct of the Governor, in taking immediate possession of Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie and in holding these places, henceforth, in the name of the State;" at the same time, "requesting" the Commissioners, at Washington, "to present to the President of the United States the necessity for the immediate withdrawal of the troops of the United States, at Fort Sumter, and the possession of that Fort, by this State, as necessary for the peace of the State and the protection of property within its limits." Mr. Kelt and Mr. Wardlaw severally offered amendments to those Resolutions; but, by a vote of one hundred and eleven to forty, both the Resolutions, themselves, and the two Amendments were promptly laid on the table.—(*Journal of the Convention—Secret Session—pages 182-185.*) On the same day, while it was yet in Secret Session, the Convention also sent to the table a proposition "recommending and providing for a Convention of the Slaveholding States of the United States, to form the Constitution of a Southern Confederacy," which Mr. Memminger had proposed.—(*Ibid*, 185, 186.)

On the following day, [Saturday, December 29,] the Governor sent a Message to the Convention, informing that body that he had seized Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie and then held those works; that he considered "the evacuation of Fort Moultrie, under all the circumstances, a direct violation of a distinct understanding," on that subject, "and bringing on a state of War;" and that he "thought it due to the safety of the State that he should take the steps he had taken." The Convention, consistently and promptly, laid this Message on the table, without further notice.—(*Journal of the Convention—Secret Session—pages 188, 189;* and a motion, made by Mr. De Treville, to "authorize and request" the Governor to enlist two Regiments, each consisting of six hundred and forty privates, for the term of six months, promptly met the same fate, on the motion of Mr. Harlee.—(*Ibid*, 189,

purpose of that body, as long as a hope remained that a peaceful adjustment of the existing differences might be secured, to avoid every thing, both sentiment and action, which might, possibly, be considered as hostile to the United States; and not until that hope was dispelled, did it seem to adopt, very unwillingly, a very slightly different policy.*

181).—During the same day Mr. Rhett proposed, again, the adoption of an Ordinance "recommending and providing for a Convention of the slaveholding States of the United States, to form the Constitution of a Southern Confederacy;" but, by a vote of seventy-six to fifty-five, it was promptly laid on the table.—(*Ibid*, 183, 184).—Immediately afterwards, Mr. Gregg offered an amendment to a pending Resolution which proposed the formation of a *Provisional Confederacy*, providing that "the President of the Convention be instructed to transmit to the Conventions of the People that may be assembled in other slaveholding States, copies of our Ordinance of Secession, with a respectful invitation to join in the formation of a [permanent] Southern Confederacy;" but that proposition, like all others of that character which had preceded it, "was ordered to lie on the table."—(*Ibid*, 185).—The Convention was, evidently, not unwilling to assist in the formation of a *provisional confederation* of the disaffected Commonwealths of the South, for their mutual support, in their struggle to secure a redress of their common grievances; but it would not even entertain a suggestion that that Confederacy should be made *permanent*. Therefore, it laid Mr. Gregg's proposed amendment on the table; and no authority whatever had been given by the Convention, at the time of which we write, for any action tending to the formation of a *permanent* Southern Confederacy.

* On Sunday, the thirteenth of December—probably under the influence of the adverse advices from the three Commissioners who had been sent to Washington—in Secret Session, it declared, as "the sense of the Convention, that the vigor of military preparation and defence should not be relaxed"—(*Journal of the Convention—Secret Session—page 145*);—but, on motion of Mr. Cheves, it referred Mr. De Treville's Resolutions to authorize the enlistment of two Regiments into the service of the State.—(*Ibid*, 145); and adjourned without adopting two Resolutions, offered by Mr. Brown—the first to advise the Governor "to move or destroy the beacons on Sullivan's and Morris' Islands and on the Main of Christ Church, and also to forbid the lighting of the lamps at the Light-house, Castle Pinckney, and at Battery Square, till further directed, and to remove the buoys;" the second authorizing the employment of a Cutter and corps of pilots, whose duty it should be "to board all neutral vessels and safely to conduct them into the port; and also safely to pilot out of the harbor such as may be duly authorized to put to sea, and that no other boats be permitted to act in this service, or as pilots, till otherwise directed"—(*Ibid*, 145, 146).—which Resolutions, on the following morning, were withdrawn by their mover.—(*Ibid*, 148.)

On Monday, the thirty-first of December—the adverse advices from the Commissioners, in Washington still,

The General Assembly of the State—that body which, ordinarily, represented the sovereign power, in all that related to the common weal—as we have said, had adjourned for the Christmas holidays, as its custom was; and not until the evening of the third of January, 1861, had

probably, influencing some of the members—the conservative influence which, hitherto, had controlled the Convention continued to flag; and the Governor was "authorized and requested" to enlist one Regiment of six hundred and forty privates, for twelve months; and he was also "authorized, whenever the public interest may, in his opinion, require it," to enlist a second Regiment, for a similar term. The Governor was, also, "authorized to appoint three or more Engineers, and to organize a Corps, as soon as the same can be done;" and, "as soon as a sufficient number of Companies should be enlisted, officered, and properly drilled, they [were to] be employed to relieve the Volunteers now in possession of the forts in this State;"—(*Ibid*, 149, 150)—who, it is evident, were then awakening to the nature of the duties which they had assumed, suffering from their exposure, and anxiously seeking relief.

There was, in fact, no intention, in the Convention, to secure an increase of the military force of the State nor any improvement in its efficiency: it was merely a change of material, substituting what, subsequently, was known as a "hiringling soldiery" for one composed of volunteers who had become tired of the service into which they had rushed and desired to return home, "as soon as" they could honorably do so.

A proposal, which was made, during the day, by Mr. Chesnut, to "empower and instruct" the Governor to issue letters "of marque and reprisal to all applicants for the same, against all vessels belonging to any of the States or citizens of the States lying North of Mason's and Dixon's line," "in case of any attempt, on the part of the Federal Government of the United States, to coerce the Commonwealth of South Carolina," was sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations.—(*Ibid*, 150); and, during the same day, the Convention concluded to authorize the formation of a *Provisional Confederacy*, on a specified basis and for a term not to exceed two years.—(*Ibid*, 151. See, also, *Appendix to the Journal*, 349–353.)

On Monday, the first of January, 1861, the Convention approved a Report of the Committee on the Constitution of the State, on a proposition, made by Mr. Hutson, on the preceding day, authorizing the Governor, "whenever, in the course of the struggle into which the State now seems likely to be drawn, hostilities may be waged or threatened against the City of Charleston or its neighborhood, and the Governor, upon consultation with the Executive Council, may deem the measure necessary," "to declare and enforce martial law, in whole or in part, in and over Charleston, its harbor and neighboring villages; all the adjacent islands, including Morris' Island; and all other places within five miles of the Court-house; to remove, thence, all persons whose presence he shall consider detrimental to the public service; to prevent the ingress of such persons; to regulate, at discretion, all travel to and forth, and otherwise to govern as in a

it resumed its labors.* But, even at that late date, that body—both the Senate and the House—appeared to be wholly unmoved by the excitement which surrounded it; and nowhere, in the record of the doings of either body, can be found any evidence of undue excitement, undue disaffection, or undue desire to break the public peace. It legislated on matters of roads, and *post mortem* examinations, and other subjects of every-day concern; and, generally, without any appearance of haste or peculiar sympathy with those who were crowding the Republic into Civil War, it acted with evident

"camp: Provided, that such authority shall be, at all times, subject to be limited, controlled, or revoked by this Convention or by the General Assembly."—(*Journal—Secret Session—154.*)—It refused, however, to "interfere with any property of the United States which is not indispensably necessary for the protection or welfare of the State"—(*Ibid*, 155);—although it authorized the Governor and Council to "receive into the service of the State, for a period not exceeding six months, such Volunteer Companies as may tender their services, if, in his judgment, the exigencies of the times require the immediate reception of additional troops."—(*Ibid*, 159, 160.)

On Wednesday, the second of January, at the Governor's instance, the Convention "enjoined" Mr. Pressley, the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, at Charleston, "from paying any drafts on the Treasury until the further action of this Convention"—(*Journal—Secret Session—pages 163, 164.*);—appointed a Committee "to prepare designs to be submitted to this Convention, from which to select a flag, to be known as the Ensign of the State of South Carolina"—(*Ibid*, 167, 168);—and authorized the appointment, by its President, of Commissioners to such of the slaveholding States as might call Conventions, during the recess.—(*Ibid*, 168.)

On Thursday, the third of January, the Convention authorized "all citizens of the United States, not domiciled in South Carolina, at the time of the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession," "to hold and to dispose of" such "real estate, within its limits," as they then owned, "without hindrance or molestation by this Government"—(*Journal*, 171);—on the following day, [*Friday, the fourth of January*] "the interdict on the Assistant Treasurer [of the United States, at Charleston] "in relation to" drafts on funds in his hands [was] removed," and those funds permitted to be applied to their legitimate purposes.—(*Journal*, 180); and the proposition to authorize the Governor, in certain contingencies, to issue letters of marque and reprisal, on the adverse Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations was rejected.—(*Journal*, 188);—and, on Saturday, the fifth of January, evidently in no very belittling mood, it adjourned, *etc. etc.*—(*Journal*, 191.)

Our readers may judge from this survey of all that the Convention did which may be supposed to have excited hostilities, how little ground there has been, in fact, for supposing and asserting that that body promoted Civil War and, by its action, hurried South Carolina into open conflict with her sister States and with the United States.

* Senate Journal, 144; House Journal, 268.

caution and respect for the ordinary dignity and formalities of legislative bodies—indeed, besides the passage of a Bill for the establishment of a Coast Police,* and Resolutions respectively borrowing and placing to the credit of the Governor, "for military contingencies," the sum of one hundred and fifty-thousand dollars,† and providing for the transfer of the arms and munitions of War, belonging to the United States and fallen into the hands of the State, to the State Ordnance Department,‡ the General Assembly, at the time of which we write, [*January 9th, 1861*] had actually done nothing, pointing to hostilities, except, now and then, to receive a document or a proposition to enquire concerning the expediency of adopting some measure, and to refer them, one after another, as soon as received, to some Committee for examination and report—none of which Committees, however, had yet reported.§

In fact, the General Assembly was no more inclined to incite hostilities than was the Convention of the People; and so evident was this, that even the Governor considered it necessary, in his communications to that body, to appear as peaceful in his tone and as considerate in his respect for the finances of the State, in all that he did or proposed to do, as was possible in one who was so impetuous in his character.

As we have already seen, however, a different spirit prevailed in the Executive Chamber of the State; and the Governor and those on whose counsels he relied boldly usurped the authority

* House Journal, 284; Senate Journal, 157.

† House Journal, 282, '83; Senate Journal, 159.

‡ House Journal, 296, 338; Senate Journal, 180.

§ An Order to inquire and report concerning the propriety of issuing letters of marque and reprisals was sent to the Senate Committee on Military and Pensions, on the third of January—(*Senate Journal*, 145)—and, on the seventh, an Order was sent to the same Committee "to inquire and report whether any legislation was necessary, on the part of the General Assembly, in reference to the Resolution of the Convention authorizing the formation of a Regiment of enlisted men for the service of the State;" together with an inquiry as to the "propriety of establishing a nucleus of a standing-army for the Commonwealth of South Carolina."—(*Ibid*, 156.)—On the third of the same month, a Message from the Governor was received and similarly referred.—(*Ibid*, 148, 149)—which reference was subsequently re-considered; the Message ordered to be printed; and the consideration of it "passed over for the present"—(*Ibid*, 152);—and, on the seventh of the same month, "Message No. 2" was received and, in like manner, referred.—(*Ibid*, 158.)

The House, as will be seen by a reference to its Journal, was as little moved by excitement as the Senate; and our readers may determine, from these facts, how much or how little encouragement the insurgents received from this portion of the Government of the State.

which neither the General Assembly, nor the Convention of the People, nor the Constitution of the State had bestowed on them, and hastened to wield their powers, thus unduly acquired, for the destruction of the peace, if not of the best interests, of the State and of the Republic.

We have seen that, on Thursday, the twenty-seventh of December, while the Convention promptly and peremptorily refused to either "authorize" or "request" him to do so—and the General Assembly was not then in session—the Governor assumed the responsibility; issued his Orders to those who were subordinate to him; and seized Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie—both of which were then occupied by detachments from the Army of the United States—as well as the Custom-house, Treasury, and Post-office—all of which were, then, in possession of Federal officers.*

On the following day—Friday, the twenty-eighth of December—while the General Assembly was yet in recess and the Convention again refused even to regard the transfer of the garrison "as an act of hostility" and declined to "approve the conduct of the Governor," either in taking possession of or in holding the two forts,† that officer seems to have done nothing particularly worthy of notice, unless it may be considered such that he supposed it to be necessary to prepare an apology to the Convention for his usurpation of authority and inauguration of hostilities—an apology which was composed of a direct misrepresentation of the truth, concerning an alleged "distinct understanding between the" authorities of the Government, at Washington, "and those who were authorized to act on the" "part of the State"‡ and of a pretence that he

"thought it due to the safety of the State that" [he] "should take the steps" he had taken.*

On Saturday, the twenty-ninth of December, although the Convention of the People, on the preceding day, had coldly laid on the table both the Governor's apology, to which we have already referred, and a motion, offered by Mr. De Treville, authorizing the enlistment of two Regiments, for six months, for the immediate relief of the volunteers then occupying the works which had been seized, and had adjourned without having authorized any such action, or any other hostile measure,† the Governor issued Orders to Colonel Pettigrew, in Castle Pinckney, directing him to "keep the strictest discipline possible—" "no entrance to the fort to be allowed, except "with your" [his] "permission; all the heavy "guns toward Fort Sumter to be put in the best "condition, with full supply of ammunition; "the fort to be defended to the last extremity." An Order was also sent to render an inventory of the property, at that place; and others directing the practise of the men with heavy guns,‡ for which latter purpose, Lieutenants Gibbes and Reynolds, from the West Point Academy, who had thrown up their Commissions in the Army of the United States, were, soon after, sent to the Castle.§ Similar Orders were sent to Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, in Fort Moultrie; ¶ and, soon after, Colonel Walter Gwynn, Colonel Calhoun, and Mr. Ramsay were sent to that work, as Engineers, with Orders—besides those directing the restoration of the dilapidated work and armament, there—"to raise, immediately, mer- "lons and other works, to protect, from the fire "of Fort Sumter, some five of the heavy guns "which commanded Maffit's Channel," in order that an approach, by sea, might be obstructed. At the same time, Colonel Hatch, the Quartermaster-general of the State, was ordered to throw "temporary bridges and boats across the creek, "back of Sullivan's-island," in order to connect that island with the main and, in an emergency, secure a retreat for the troops then occupying Fort Moultrie; while the commander of those

* Vide pages 148, 152, 153, *ante*.

† Journal of the Convention, 122, 1:8-125.

‡ We have already alluded to this hacknied subject of what is called "an understanding," between the President and the Representatives of South Carolina, that the garrison at Charleston should not be strengthened nor victualled while the insurgents should continue to let it remain undisturbed, and that the transfer of the garrison, by its immediate commander was a violation of that alleged "understanding;" and our readers may find, on pages 48, 44, *ante*, what we have said on the subject.

As both the President and the Representatives with whom he is so often said to have entered into such an "understanding" agree in denying, *in toto*, the existence of any such an agreement—(Compare Mr. Buchanan's autobiographical Mr. Buchanan's Administration, 167, 168, with the Statement of Messrs. Miles and Keltt, of what transpired between the President and the South Carolina Delegation, prepared for publication at the request of the Convention of the People of that State (Journal of the Convention, 186) and printed by its order—Appendix to the Journal, 872-877)—we can best serve the truth by referring the reader to those expositions and, from them and

from the additional fact that Major Anderson himself declared that, in transferring the main body of the garrison to Fort Sumter, he had acted on his own volition and without consulting the President or asking his permission, leave the reader to determine, for himself, how much or how little merit there was in the Governor's statement.

* Governor Pickens to the President of the Convention, December 28, 1860.

† Journal of the Convention, 126-142.

‡ Governor Pickens to Colonel Pettigrew, December 29, 1860. See, also, General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

§ General Orders to General Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

¶ Ibid.

troops, Lieutenant-colonel De Saussure, was, at the same time, "directed to retire," "if pressed too hard by the guns of Fort Sumter," "but to occupy the island as long as possible, in any event.*"

On Sunday, the thirtieth of December—probably under the influence of the adverse dispatches from Washington—although the Convention of the People made no further advance toward resolution than it had already done,† the United States Arsenal, at Charleston, was seized by the insurgents acting under the Governor's orders, by means of which a large supply of arms and munitions of war was secured for the purposes of the disaffected. ‡

* General Orders to Major-general Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

† Journal of the Convention, 142—146

‡ "At this point of writing, I have received information, "by telegraph, from Captain Humphreys, in command of "the Arsenal, at Charleston, that 'it has, to-day (Sunday, "the 30th) been taken, by force of arms.'"—President Buchanan to Messrs. Barnwell, Adams, and Orr, December 31, 1860.

See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 182, 183.

Mr. Lossing—in his *Pictorial History*, i., 187—while describing the events of the twenty-seventh of December, says "the Government Arsenal was seized in the name of 'the State;'" describes the contents of that establishment; says "these [arms and stores] "were used at "once; men, in Charleston, were armed and equipped "from this National treasure-house; and, within three "hours after the ensign of the Republic had been raised "over Sumter, two armed steamers which had been "watching Anderson's movements, left the city, with "about four hundred men, for the purpose of seizing "Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie."

If these words mean anything, they mean to indicate that, on the afternoon after Major Anderson carried the garrison into Fort Sumter, while the Citadel and Armories were filled with the Militia, awaiting further orders from the Governor, the Federal Arsenal "was seized in "the name of the State," and the arms and stores which it contained appropriated to the equipment of the assembled Militia; after which, the latter embarked on two armed steamers, and proceeded to seize Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie. We have undoubted authority, however, for saying that this is wholly untrue and the facts were simply these: On the occasion referred to, the Militia—all of whom were the uniformed Companies of the City—assembled in their respective Armories, generally in the Citadel, and were armed with their own arms, unless, in some cases, a tomahawk was added to the equipment. A guard was stationed around the Federal Arsenal, in order to protect it from the excited multitude; and, without having disturbed that establishment, in the smallest degree, the troops left the city and occupied the forts, as already stated. The troops were armed from their own Armories, only; three hours after the flag-raising, at Fort Sumter, as stated by Mr. Lossing, one tug-boat, the *Nina*

It was not until Monday, the thirty-first of December—the day on which the President, through the Secretaries of War and the Navy, issued to General Scott the two General Orders for the immediate dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, from Hampton roads, with three hundred picked men and an ample supply of provisions and munitions of war, for the relief of the garrison*—that the Convention of the People authorized and requested the enlistment of the First Regiment of State troops; and, if the public interest should require it, the enlistment of a second Regiment was also, at the same time, authorized.† On that day, however, without waiting for any authority to do so, the Governor announced that "a point for a battery" had been already "selected" by Colonels Gwynn and Manigault, on Sullivan's island, beyond Fort Moultrie and out of the range of the guns of Fort Sumter; but he also divulged the fact, at the same time, that no progress had been made in throwing up any work, there; that no troops had been sent down to occupy it; and that, at that time, he had no armament for it—"as soon "as possible, heavy columbiads are to be placed "there," he said; but, at that time, those coveted columbiads were, evidently, not to be had, for that purpose. At the same time, the Governor announced that, also without any other authority than his own, "a point has also "been selected on Morris's island, beyond the "guns of Fort Sumter, and a battery ordered "there;" and Major Stevens, of the Citadel Academy, with a detachment of forty cadets— that little party which, within ten days, by its fire on the *Star of the West*, became so famous—"is ordered there, now," he said, "to "urge the erection of the battery forward, as "fast as possible. A detachment or Company "of Rifles, under Captain Tupper, will be "ordered there, to-day," he continued, "to "assist in the same work, and, also, to defend "it, if a force should be landed to take it. At "present, two twenty-four-pounders are sent

—instead of "two armed steamers"—carried a portion of the troops, instead of all of them, to Castle Pinckney; instead of three, not until eight, hours later than the flag-raising, were the remainder of the troops embarked and carried to Fort Moultrie; and not until three days after all these events occurred ("Sunday, December 30th," as stated by Major Humphreys, in his dispatch to the President) was that Arsenal seized by the State officers, for the use of the State, as described by Mr. Lossing.

Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, i., 409, mentions the seizure of the Arsenal, which occurred on the thirtieth of December, before that of the Post-office and Custom-house, which occurred on the twenty-seventh of that month.

* Vide, pages 162, 163, ante.

† Journal of the Convention, 148—150.

"there, with the intention to increase and "strengthen them as soon as heavy guns can be "got ready and mounted. Captain Johnson, with "a detachment of fifty men, is now in possession "of Fort Johnson, with orders to prevent any "communication from Fort Sumter and cut off "supplies." On the same day, orders were also given to General Schnierle to prevent all communication between Charleston and Fort Sumter, "except to allow the officers of the garrison to "have their mails, but nothing else;" and, generally, that officer was invested with the "chief military command.*

On the following day—Tuesday, the first of January, 1861—probably because of reports which had reached Charleston, of the President's General Orders for the dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, with reinforcements and supplies for the garrison—General Schnierle was ordered to proceed to Fort Moultrie, immediately; to take personal charge of the State troops, there, as well as of those on Morris's-island, at Fort Johnson, and within Castle Pinckney; and, in conformity with the terms of the General Orders, issued the day before, to defend those several positions, to the best of his ability, under all the circumstances of the case.† Not the least significant occurrence of that day, however, was the transmission of a letter to Governor Pickens, by Brigadier-general James Simons, who was also the Speaker of the House of Representatives, in the General Assembly of the State, in which letter—without, in his own expressive words, "sacrificing, to matter of etiquette, questions and issues of such momentous importance as now surround us"—the General frankly expressed his opinion of the several military movements which had been so prematurely initiated by the Governor's unwarranted Orders—a paper which, more than all others, exposes the nakedness and helplessness of the Carolinians, at that time, and the unpardonable rashness, if not the entire imbecility, of those who had already dragged the State into a Civil War.‡ The significance of that remarkable letter is not diminished, too, by the fact that, on the day after that on which it was written, General Schnierle, the newly-appointed commander, in the field, of the insurgents' forces, was suddenly taken ill, and could not continue to exercise the command; and that General Simons, the author of that scathing review, was sent into the field to succeed him.§

* General Orders to Major-general Schnierle, December 31, 1860.

† General Orders to General Schnierle, January 1, 1861. See, also, Governor Pickens's letter to General Simons, January 2, 1861.

‡ General Simons to Governor Pickens, January 1, 1861.

§ General Orders to General Simons, January 2, 1861.

On Thursday, the third of January, the Governor sent a Message to the General Assembly, in which he related the evacuation of Fort Moultrie and the occupation of Fort Sumter, by the main body of the garrison of the post, and his own action in the premises; assigned, as a reason for that action, "necessity, and a "view to endeavor to give security and safety, "in the present state of the country;" and declared his confident reliance "upon the Legislature to sustain the Executive in all proper "measures"—a confidence which was not reciprocated by that body with any remarkable degree of alacrity, notwithstanding the candor with which the Governor seemed to confess his usurpation of authority.*

Four days afterwards—Monday, the seventh of January, 1861—the Governor sent another Message to the General Assembly, telling that body that the Convention of the People had authorized the enlistment of two Regiments, for one of which, in order to save expense, he had issued only the Lieutenants' Commissions—unless in the case of one Captain, whose services were desired, in order that a Company of Artillery might be raised—and for the enlistment of the Second Regiment, nothing had then been done. He had evidently ascertained that War was an expensive, as well as a hazardous, amusement; and he had so far become sensible of the duty which he owed to others as well as that which he owed to himself, as to be willing to join with others, in hoping "that circumstances may arise which will give a pacific "settlement to our difficulties"—a hope which was not realized, we regret to say, only because there were rash men, on either side, who saw, or supposed they saw, in the turmoils and sacrifices of a Civil War, the readiest means for their own advancement.

There seems to have been little else done, in the field, during the period of which we write: and there is little doubt that, at that time, South Carolina had gone as far, in her sad work of revolution, as her limited ability, unassisted by her sister States, enabled her to go. It is, indeed, true that, by the seizure of the Federal Arsenal, on the thirtieth of December, she had obtained a supply of arms and munitions of war, sufficient for her present purposes; but, for purposes of insurrection, she was, at the same time, wholly without credit, beyond her own Banks; compelled to borrow, from one of those institutions, the first tiny outlay of the Governor, for his rashly-incurred "military contingent

* Journal of the Senate, 148, 149; Journal of the House 269-271.

† House Journal, 298.

cies.* and, because of that poverty of resources, obliged to withhold her Commissions from the field officers and all, except one, of the Captains of her first authorized Regiment;† while those of her inhabitants who were already in the field were rapidly tiring of a service to which, hitherto, they had been strangers, or were wilting under its novel hardships and falling back into the sick lists.‡ There need be no wonder, therefore, that those, among the Carolinians of that period, who had been most noisy in their demands for "independence," when, at the time of which we write, they found the burden of their great undertaking too heavy for their puny shoulders, were found so willing to draw others after them, into insurrection, and so frantically urged the other slave-holding States to share their self-imposed burdens and to assist in fighting their yet bloodless battles—precisely as those in Massachusetts had done, so successfully, on a former occasion of a similar character.

In the mean time, the garrison of the post had proceeded to strengthen the position, in Fort Sumter, which it had so suddenly occupied, and to make the necessary preparations for repelling any attack which the Carolinians should make on it.

It is true that a general impression prevailed, during the entire period of which we write, that the garrison, thus posted, could safely defy all the forces which the insurgents could possibly bring against it;§ that it held Charleston under its control, and could destroy that city, at any moment;|| that it needed nothing, what-

ever, to make its new position as strong and as comfortable as was necessary*—even Major Anderson, in his official dispatches to the Pre-ident,† declared that he needed neither

eighth of December, 1860, in a reference to Governor Pickens, said: "He knows how entirely the city of Charleston is in my power."

* We write this from our own recollection of the impression which then prevailed, throughout the country; and, as will be seen, it was in perfect accord with the Dispatches and private correspondence of the garrison.

† Notwithstanding the Secretary of War and the family of Major Anderson have continued to refuse permission for even a reading of the Major's dispatches to the Government, for our instruction, we are enabled, without thanks to either, to present the following extracts from those dispatches—all that we need for the illustration of this portion of our text:

"Thank God, we are now where the Government may send us additional troops at its leisure. To be sure the uncivil and uncourteous action of the Governor, in preventing us from purchasing anything in the city, will annoy and inconvenience us, somewhat; still we are safe." After referring to the small supply of soap and candles, among his stores, he continued: "Still we can cheerfully put up with the inconvenience of doing without them for the satisfaction we feel in the knowledge that we can command this harbor as long as our Government wishes to keep it."—Dispatch to the War Department, December 31, 1860.

"My position will, should there be no treachery among the workmen whom we are compelled to retain for the present, enable me to hold this fort against any force which can be brought against me; and it would enable me, in the event of War, to annoy the South Carolinians by preventing them from throwing in supplies into their new posts, except by the aid of the Wash Channel" [Wappo-creek?] "through Stono River."—Dispatch to

* Compare the words of the latter portion of the above extract from Major Anderson's Dispatch to the President with the following, from General Simons's Report to Governor Pickens, dated "Charleston, January 1, 1861:"

"I feel it to be my duty to report to you my opinion of the military movements which have been initiated [by the insurgents.]

"FIRST: The line of operations embraces four points: 1. Fort Moultrie. 2. Castle Pinckney. 3. Fort Johnson. 4. Morris' Island. By a map which accompanies these papers, it will appear that your lines of communication with these, as at present established, are directly within the range and effective power of Fort Sumter—the Citadel of the harbor—controlling every point. At the first return fire from Fort Sumter, your lines of communication are utterly cut off with every single post, except, perhaps, Castle Pinckney. Let me simply observe, that you are indebted to the FORBEARANCE of the enemy for the liberty of transporting the reinforcement and supplies which you ordered at midnight, and which are to be sent this day, at two o'clock, to your battery, now in course of erection on Morris' Island. A single gun

* On the fifth of January, "The President of the Bank of the State of South Carolina," by a vote of the House of Representatives, was "authorized and requested to advance, from the funds of the Bank, the sum of One hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to be expended for military contingencies, upon the Check of the Governor, countersigned by such member of the Executive Council as shall be, under direction of the Governor, in charge of the fiscal relations of the State."—*Journal of the House, Session of 1860, 282, 283; Journal of the Senate, 128.*

† Message to the General Assembly, No. 2, dated January 7, 1861.—*House Journal, 295.*

‡ This is evident from the action of the Convention, when, on the thirty-first of December, it authorized and requested the Governor to enlist one Regiment in order that he might "relieve the Volunteers now in possession of the forts in this State."—*Journal of the Convention, 149, 150.*

§ All who will bring to mind, again, the general impression which prevailed, at that time, on that subject, will need no further testimony, thereon.

|| We write this from our own very distinct recollection of the current reports of that period; and Major Anderson, in a Dispatch to the War Department, on the twenty-

men nor supplies, so confident was he of his

the War Department, January 6, 1861.

The former of the two Dispatches was not received by the Department until after the *Star of the West* had left New York; and it was that which convinced even General Scott that that expedition, for the Major's relief, was entirely unnecessary and, as we shall see, hereafter, induced him to send a telegraphic dispatch to Colonel Henry L. Scott, in New York, countermanding the Order for its departure.

See, also, Captain Seymour's letter to his father, "Fort Sumter, December 23," published in the *Troy (N. Y.) Times*.

For the mere purpose of sustaining our narrative, in the text, we might rest on the two extracts from Major Anderson's Dispatches which we have presented, above; but so much has been written, by partisan writers, concerning the alleged neglect of the garrison, by President Buchanan and his Cabinet, in the face of alleged appeals for assistance which, it is pretended, proceeded from the Major and his command, that we incline to continue our exposure of the fraud which has been imposed on the public and which—by reason of the life-long reticence of the Major and of the remarkable conduct of the Secretary of War and the immediate family of the Major, in withholding the correspondence, on that subject, from all students of the history of that period who have not held partisan pens—has fastened itself on the world as veritable History.

The Major's Dispatch of December 31st, 1860, as we have said, reached the War Department on the fifth of January, and confirmed the impression which his Dispatch of the twenty-seventh of December had made, that no reinforcement was then necessary.

On the evening of the eleventh of January—six days afterwards—Lieutenant Talbot of the garrison arrived at Washington, with Dispatches concerning the repulse of the *Star of the West*; and, on the evening of the thirteenth of

"from Fort Sumter would sink your transport and destroy your troops and supplies. These lines of communication are the prime consideration of a General. It is vain to say others will be adopted. It is enough that they do not exist, now; and, when the present resources fail, your troops will be wholly isolated and cut off from each other and the main."

And yet, notwithstanding his own knowledge of these facts, presented to the President, also, by himself, in the Dispatch from which we have quoted, the Major zealously continued to "forbear" and to allow the insurgents to construct their works, without interfering with them, and thus allowed them to perfect and to carry on their schemes of insurrection, not only until what actually occurred which he, himself, officially recognized as "War;" but until, weeks afterwards, the insurgents had effectually neutralized the superior power which, during the period of which we write, he unquestionably possessed, with full authority to employ it, whenever he, himself, should determine to do so!

And yet there are those who insist that Major Anderson was not only loyal, but *zealous* in the discharge of the particular duty to which he had been called!

present ability to maintain his position against

January. Lieutenant Hall of the garrison also arrived at Washington, in company with Attorney-general Hayne, also as bearer of important Dispatches from the Major. Both these officers openly declared that the garrison "is not in want of more men or provisions."—*Telegrams to the New York World, Monday, January 14, 1861*. and other New York papers—and it was, also, "the oft-expressed-conviction" of those gentlemen that the garrison was "not only safe in its position, but that it could command the harbor of Charleston and hold the fort in opposition to any force which might be brought against it."

On the sixteenth of January, with the Major's two Dispatches of the thirty-first of December and the sixth of January before him, yet unanswered, and still further influenced by what Lieutenant Talbot had reported, Secretary Holt wrote to Major Anderson; "Your late Dispatches, as well as the very intelligent statements of Lieutenant Talbot, have relieved the Government of the apprehensions previously entertained for your safety. In consequence, it is not its purpose, at present, to reinforce you. The attempt to do so would, no doubt, be attended by a collision of arms and the effusion of blood—a national calamity, which the President is most anxious to avoid. You will, therefore, report frequently your condition and the character and activity of the preparations, if any, which may be being made for an attack upon the fort or for obstructing the Government in any endeavors it may make to strengthen your command. Should your Dispatches be of a nature too important to be intrusted to the mails, you will convey them by special messenger. Whenever, in your judgment, additional supplies or reinforcements are necessary for your safety or for a successful defence of the fort, you will, at once, communicate the fact to this Department, and a prompt and vigorous effort will then be made to forward them."

That the Major did not, subsequently, consider that either "the safety" of the garrison or "a successful defence of the fort" would require either "additional supplies or reinforcements," is evident from the stern fact that, notwithstanding Secretary Holt's promise of immediate relief, on application therefor, he asked for neither, as long as Mr. Buchanan remained in office; and not until the day of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration did the Department even suspect that the entire safety of the garrison and its entire capability to defend itself, "successfully," against any force which the insurgents could bring against it, were subjects of reasonable doubts—indeed, on the contrary, on the thirtieth of January, 1861, two weeks after the Secretary's proffer, the Major wrote to the President: "I do hope no attempt will be made by our friends to throw supplies in: their doing so will do more harm than good;" and, on the fifth of February, a week after the last, although he described, in more glowing terms than were justified by the facts, the insurgents' batteries and the difficulty and danger which would attend any attempt to enter the harbor, he did not even hint a desire for either additional stores or a stronger force.

We have the highest living authority for saying that.

all comers; and so decided were the Major's Reports, as well as his private correspondence,*

"in view of these very distinct declarations and of the earnest desire to avoid a collision as long as possible, it was deemed entirely safe to adhere to the line of policy indicated" in Secretary Holt's Dispatch to the Major, on the sixteenth of January, 1861, already quoted from; and that, "in that Major Anderson had been requested to report 'at once,' whenever, in his judgment, additional supplies or reinforcements were necessary for his safety or for a successful defence of the fort," so long, therefore, as he remained silent upon this point, the Government felt that there was no ground for apprehension. Still, as the necessity for action might arise at any moment, an expedition was quietly prepared" [without consulting the Major] "and was ready to sail from New York, on a few hours' notice, for transporting troops and supplies to Fort Sumter"—a precaution on the part of President Buchanan which he has received as little credit for as for other portions of his action in the same matter—and when Mr. Lincoln assumed the Presidential office, that expedition, not yet called into action by the receipt of any demand for relief, from Major Anderson, passed into the custody and control of that gentleman and his Cabinet.

Our readers, from this exposition of hidden documents, may learn, FIRST: What Major Anderson, himself, wrote concerning the safety of his command and of the post they occupied; SECOND: How little reason, in fact, there has been for accusing Mr. Buchanan and his advisers of having neglected Major Anderson and his command or of refusing to regard the Major's alleged frequent appeals to them for assistance; THIRD: The superior power which the Major possessed, during December, 1860, and January and February, 1861, to prevent the insurgents from carrying out their yet unfledged schemes of aggression; FOURTH: How carefully and how loyally he abstained from exercising that superior power—known to himself as well as to the enemy and subject only to his own control—for the suppression, in its infancy, of that insurrection which was already recognized, by himself, in his correspondence with Governor Pickens, as a public War; FIFTH: How zealous he was, at that time, in the discharge of the particular duties to which he had been especially called; SIXTH: How much or how little he was responsible for the establishment and consequences of that insurrection which he thus made no attempt to hinder or suppress, even while it was under his own control; and, SEVENTH: How fairly he, during his life-time, by his silence, and his family and the Secretary of War, since his death, by their unyielding secretion of the official documents, have treated the character of President Buchanan and his advisers, even in the midst of the unmeasured abuse which has been, hitherto, cast on it; and how much those careful students of the history of that period, who have not pandered to personal or partisan vanity or interests, have been insulted and outraged by such a suppression of the evidence necessary for the establishment of the truth.

"I exerted all my ability to render an untenable Post as strong as possible—and, finally, fully satisfied that I must be sacrificed if I remained there, I, after earnestly praying that God would guide me, resolved to remove

on that subject, and so loud and defiant were the echoes of the northern Press,* that even the President was, thereby, as seriously misled concerning the capability of the work for sustaining a vigorous and well-supported attack, as he had been, before, concerning that of Fort Moultrie.† Yet, at that very moment, the work was in the hands of its builders and not nearly

"my command to this Post, and accordingly came. God be praised, we are now in a strong-hold—not impregnable, as many think it, but a very strong work and one which, by God's blessing, we can make so safe, in a week as to defy the whole power of the State of South Carolina."—Unpublished letter to his brother, Lars Anderson, December 29, 1860.

"I am now nearly ready. The people have supposed that this work was ready to be defended when I came in. It was far from it; and it will take me, even now, one week's hard work to have it in a complete state."—Major Anderson to "a gentleman in Cincinnati," January 11, 1861—in the Cincinnati Commercial, copied by the New York Tribune, January 29, 1861.

* The following will serve as specimens of thousands of such items which were then published:

"Major Anderson feels confident of his ability to hold Fort Sumter against any onslaught not covered by a strong naval force, while its reduction by regular siege must be a work of time, probably of months, by any armament at the command of the revolutionary leaders."—Letter from Charleston, December 24th, in the New York Tribune of December 28th, 1860.

"Twenty-five well-drilled men can hold it against all Charleston." . . . "South Carolina is completely disabled, in a military point of view; and may be safely left to fume at her 'sovereign' leisure."—New York World, December 28, 1860.

The Richmond Whig of January 11, 1861, while referring to the visit of Lars Anderson to Fort Sumter and his return therefrom, said: "He reports Anderson has ample supplies and is confident of being able to hold the fort against any force. He makes no requisition for reinforcement, leaving that matter to his superiors."

On the twenty-second of January, the same paper published a report of the garrison's condition, as reported by four men sent to New York, on the *Marion*—"Anderson has plenty of provisions and ammunition and can laugh a siege to scorn, if he chooses, for six months to come."

On the eighth of March, the same paper very accurately announced that, up to the fourth of that month, Major Anderson, "in his communications with the War Department, continued to speak of his condition as safe, and to advise against the sending of reinforcements."

We have room for no more of these articles.

† After having referred to Major Anderson's Dispatch, accompanied with separate Reports and Estimates from each of his officers—which more than one of the survivors have described to us—Mr. Buchanan says of it, "This was read by Mr. Holt, greatly to his own surprise and that of every other member of the Cabinet, on the morning of the fourth of March at the moment when the Thirty-sixth Congress and Mr. Buchanan's administration were

finished—as we have already said,* the quarters of the enlisted men were not enclosed; the second tier of embrasures was mostly unbuilt, and the spaces which had been left for them, in the wall of the fort, were protected by nothing else than temporary screens of light boards which a few blows with an axe would have knocked down, and as many passages into the work, thereby, been opened to any vigorous and well-directed assailant; not a single gun-carriage was fit for use, so long had they stood, uncared for, exposed to the Sumners' sun and the Winters' storms; and not more than a single gun was in position, in any part of the work. Besides, the work had been so constructed that it was entirely without flank-defences of any kind, from which, alone, an assaulting-party could have been effectually resisted; and the garrison was so small in numbers that only a single man could have been opposed to the assailants, at each of the embrasures which, as we have said, from their evident and well-known insecurity, seemed to invite the insurgents to the assault and to reproach them for what was either their ignorance, their indolence, their insufficiency of means, or their want of personal courage, in not making one.

The little garrison, therefore, gladly absorbed the fifty-five † men of the Engineer working-party who remained in the fort when the others withdrew, the Regimental Band, and all others, combatants and non-combatants, who were within the ramparts; ‡ and all, as one man, promptly proceeded to make the work as defensible as possible and as bravely resolved to defend it, as long as there was a reasonable hope for success. § A portion of the work-benches were immediately removed from the men's

quarters; the necessary doors and windows were hung therein; and such other work as was necessary to ensure habitable lodgings for the garrison was immediately done. Loose stones were gathered, without and within the work, and a quantity of flagging and a number of iron facings for embrasures, originally intended for other purposes, were taken; and, with these, and bricks, and earth—the latter collected along the sea-wall and wherever it could be found—the openings in the walls which had been left for the second tier of embrasures were closed, as speedily and as thoroughly as possible; while those in the gorge, which were similarly exposed, were filled with stones, and iron, and lead concrete. The several gun-carriages were overhauled; their checked and warped chassis carefully straitened; and their other defects remedied, as fast as they were needed to receive the guns for which they were designed. A portion of the guns, some of which weighed four or five tons and were to be elevated more than fifty feet, were slowly and laboriously raised, by the weak-handed garrison, to their appropriated places on the ramparts; supplied with manœuvring implements; and made ready for immediate use. Machicouli galleries, plated with iron and pierced for musketry, were pushed over the parapet, at the angles of the work, overhanging the sea-wall and taking the place, as perfectly as possible, of the sadly-needed flank-defenses, enabling the garrison, at its pleasure, either, in comparative safety, to open a musketry-fire on assailants, beneath, or to drop shells among them, with equal impunity. As soon as possible, also, splinter-proof shutters and traverses were constructed; the parade was cleared; mines were established in the wharf and along the gorge; communications were opened to all parts of the fort and through the quarters; by an ingenious contrivance, suggested by Lieutenant Davis, a portion of the ordinary shells of the ordnance-stores was converted into excellent hand-grenades and made ready to be dropped over the parapet, should an assault be attempted by the insurgents; and whatever the feeble force of the garrison, directed by skillful officers, could accomplish, either for the safety of the post or the infliction of injury on an assailant, was promptly and effectively done.*

* "about to expire."—*Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 211.

† Vide pages 86, 140-142, *ante*.

‡ Annual Report of the Engineer Department for 1861, November 30, 1861.

This Report has been repeatedly confirmed by Generals John G. Foster and Jefferson C. Davis, in the course of their several conversations with us, on this general subject.

§ General Jefferson C. Davis informs us that a relief was subsequently formed of these non-combatants and placed under his command; that they were drilled by him; took their turn, on duty, with the commands of Captains Doubleday and Seymour; and fully and satisfactorily discharged all the duties, as soldiers, which the occasion demanded.

§ Major Anderson to his brother, Larz Anderson, January 26 and 28, 1861.

All the surviving officers of the garrison are very emphatic in their approval of the spirit with which all who were within the fort fulfilled the duties which, day by day, devolved on them.

* In this description of the labors of the garrison, we have relied on the Annual Report of the Engineer Department, for 1861, November 30, 1861; on General John G. Foster's letter to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865; on General Abner Doubleday's letters to Henry B. Dawson, July 13, October 1, and October 31, 1870; on allusions thereto, in General Truman Sey-

While the garrison was thus earnestly and anxiously employed, without having received any advices from Washington of an intention, on the part of the Federal authorities, to open a communication with it, by sea,* early on the morning of Wednesday, the ninth of January, the Major and his command were surprised at the appearance, off the entrance to the harbor, of a large steamship, heading for the fort and rapidly approaching.† Not a man of the troops was to be seen:‡ she presented no indication of either her nationality, her character, or her mission:§ she displayed no colors:¶ she made no signal.¶ She rounded the point on Morris's island; took the ship-channel, inside of the bar; and proceeded up the harbor, preceded by the guard-boat *General Clinch*, from the lat-

ter of which rockets were sent off and lights displayed, as signals to the insurgents that she was an enemy's vessel, and that her visit was an unfriendly one.* It is said that she hoisted the American flag "on her flag-staff," after she crossed the bar,† although it does not seem to have been seen by either the Carolinians‡ or the garrison,§ both of whom were anxiously watching her movements; and when she had approached within two miles of Fort Sumter and was yet opposite Morris's island, a ball was fired athwart her bows, from the battery which the insurgents had thrown up, there;¶ and, it is said, at the same time, two steamers, one of them towing a schooner, put out from Fort Moultrie, probably for the purpose of cutting her off and seizing her.¶ A large garrison-flag was immediately hoisted at her fore-mast-head; ** and she continued on her course "for over ten minutes," the fire of the insurgents being continued, from both Morris's island and Fort Moultrie, and several of their shots passing over her; while one of those shots is said to have struck her, just abaft the fore-rigging, and stove in her planking; and "another came "within an ace of carrying away her rudder."†† As soon as her character and nationality were ascertained by the garrison, as far as the mere display of a regular garrison-flag at her fore could convey such information, Major Anderson ordered the guns of the fort which bore on Morris's island to be made ready for action, and

Major's various letters and on his *Memoranda of The Story of Fort Sumter*, all addressed to Henry B. Dawson; on General John G. Foster's letter to Henry B. Dawson, February 3, 1862; on General Jefferson C. Davis's letter to Henry B. Dawson, January 19, 1863; on Major Anderson's letters to his brother, Lars Anderson, January 21 and 26, February 11, 19, and 24, 1861; and on conversations, thereon, among other matters on this general subject, with Generals Jefferson C. Davis, John G. Foster, and Samuel W. Crawford. With Generals Davis and Foster, especially, our interviews have been frequent and extended; and their kindness and patience, in answering our questions, have never flagged—it will be evident to every one that, with their assistance and that of the documents referred to, we cannot have wandered very far from the exact truth.

* Of this there can be no reasonable doubt, as both General Holt—at that time Secretary of War—in letters to us, and all the officers of the garrison with whom we have conversed on the subject agree in stating that the Major and his command were entirely uninformed of the intention of the Government to send any relief to the garrison; and, as it was not then needed nor desired, none was looked for.

† General Jefferson C. Davis has repeatedly described to us the approach of this steamer; the surprise and anxiety, concerning her, of the garrison; and the attempts which were made to ascertain what she was and what was her object in seeking an entrance into the harbor.

‡ Captain McGowan says "the soldiers were all put below and no one allowed on deck but our crew"—*Report to Marshall O. Roberts*, January 12, 1861—and General Davis informs us that the glasses at Fort Sumter, which were turned on the vessel, failed to discover any one, on deck, from whom could be inferred either the character or the nationality of the ship.

§ General Davis is our authority for this statement.

¶ General Davis is our authority for this statement; and it is also sustained by the *Charleston Courier*, of the next morning, which expressly states that not until the first shot was fired by the battery, across the bows of the steamer, were "the stars and stripes displayed" and that, "as soon as the flag was unfurled," the fire was continued.

¶ General Davis is our authority for this statement.

* Report of Captain McGowan to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861; *Charleston Courier*, January 10, 1861.

† Captain McGowan, in his Report to Marshall O. Roberts, says, "We had the American flag flying at our flag-staff, at the time" when the battery opened its fire on the ship, without saying just when it was hoisted; but, as it is said to have been "flying" when the shot was fired, it must have been hoisted previously.

‡ This is very evident from the words of the *Courier*, quoted in Note I, in the last column, ante.

§ General Jefferson C. Davis is very decided in his statement, on this particular portion of the subject; and General Joseph Holt, in a very careful presentation of the facts, as he then officially learned them, has fully confirmed it, in a carefully-prepared letter addressed to ourself.

¶ Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861; *Charleston Courier*, January 10, 1861.

General Davis has confirmed these statements, in a conversation on that subject.

¶ Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861;

** Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861; *Charleston Courier*, January 10, 1861.

General Davis has confirmed these statements, in a conversation on that subject.

†† Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 12, 1861.

they were, accordingly run out for that purpose; and, at the same time, the officers of the garrison were hastily assembled, for consultation and counsel.*

The Council which was thus convened, at that important crisis, deserves something more than a passing notice. It was a Council called by an officer of the Army of the United States, commanding a garrison, within a fort belonging to and situated within the limits of the United States. It was called by him, to consult as to the propriety, under existing circumstances, of opening a fire on the assailants, for the purpose of either relieving the strange vessel from the peril to which she was exposed or of avenging the insult offered to the flag of his country. It was, in short, a Council called for the purpose of inquiring what was *then* the duty of the garrison, in the face of a deliberate attack, by the insurgents, on an unarmed vessel of commerce, displaying and sailing under the colors of the Republic. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that when the officers filed down the winding stairs, from the parapet, and entered the Major's quarters, in order to exchange their several opinions and to advise their chief, they were duly impressed with the importance of the duty which had thus suddenly devolved on them; and there is no doubt that they duly weighed the brief introduction of the subject, by the Major, and the pithy arguments, *pro* and *con*, which were quickly presented. The Major it is said, "explained the Orders of the "War Department" and asked the advice of his officers, nine in number;† A portion of those officers "contended that the flag of the "United States was fired on, by hostile batteries, and that their simple duty, as soldiers "sworn to defend the American flag, was to "revenge this insult to both;" others of them "deprecated precipitate measures as closing "the door on any further compromise by which "the threatening Civil War could be averted; "and they referred to the Orders of the War

"Department for authority.*" Besides "the "Orders of the War Department,"† no controlling authority, affecting the proposition to open a fire on the insurgents, was laid before the Council or referred to by those who advocated delay—"confidential verbal instructions "by the President," peremptorily controlling the great subject under consideration (if any such really existed, in force, at that moment, as has since been pretended)‡ strange to say, were not, then, alluded to—and the vote was taken, advising the Major to withhold his fire§—advice which agreed with his own views, in every particular.¶ The Council was dissolved; and when the officers filed up the spiral stairs, to the parapet, to order the gunners to run in their guns, they were told that the stranger

* General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865.

† These Orders may be found on page 48, *ante*.

‡ Reference is here made to those astute authors, and to those partisan speakers, and to those peculiar friends of Major Anderson who have so strenuously insisted that the hands of that officer were "tied" by "confidential verbal "instructions," delivered to him by the President in person—Orders which were so "confidential." Indeed, that neither the President nor the Major were ever known to have alluded to them, even in their most confidential Councils, subsequent to their delivery, and so sacred that what was gathered from the innuendos of the Major, which is evidently all that is known of the matter, must not be divulged to the ears of the uncircumcised, by those who have become the envied repositories of the precious fragments!

Our readers will believe as much of these yarns as they please: as for ourself, we shall decline to believe that Major Anderson sought the advice of his officers on a matter which the Commander-in-chief had already peremptorily forbidden him to meddle with. We cannot believe the Major would have sought to involve all his officers in such an offence against the positive Orders of the President as the opening of a fire on the insurgents, on the occasion referred to in the text, would have certainly presented, had he really received such Orders as is pretended; and that, too, without telling them, before asking their advice, just wherein he was at liberty to act and wherein he was forbidden. In short, we do not believe there were any such "confidential verbal Orders" as has been pretended—this Council affords the best evidence that there were none:—and we do not believe, whatever, else, may have been his failings, that Major Anderson wilfully acted in bad faith towards his officers or asked them to advise him about doing what, in fact, he was previously forbidden to do.

§ General Foster, as we have said, supposes five officers voted in favor and five against opening on the insurgents; General Davis supposes five opposed and four favored the proposition to open fire; and that Major Anderson favored the views of the majority.

¶ We have the most unquestionable authority for making this statement—the Major was perfectly satisfied with the advice of the majority.

* General Jefferson C. Davis is our authority for this statement. The only additional authority, concerning the Council of War which was thus hastily convened, which we have seen, is the letter of General John G. Foster to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, November 2, 1865, and references thereto in the correspondence of General Joseph Holt with ourself, while that gentleman was noticing this general subject.

† General Foster, in his letter to the Committee on the Conduct of the War, while describing this noted Council, wrote of five officers advising a fire and five opposing, *ten* in all; but we can find only *nine* who could have thus voted—Captains Doubleday, Seymour, and Foster, Lieutenants Davis, Hall, Meade, Talbot, and Snyder, and Assistant-surgeon Crawford—the Major, as the commander seeking the advice, not voting.

had suddenly wore round, and was then steering down the channel; and, soon after she recrossed the bar and, closely watched by the guard-boat, proceeded to sea—the insurgents' fire on her having been kept up until she had proceeded beyond the range of their guns. No other signal or communication, of any kind, was made by the mysterious stranger than the display of her colors, as above related; and the garrison was left as ignorant as it was found, concerning her name, her character, and the object of her visit—the display of a regular garrison-flag alone creating a suspicion that she had been sent out under the auspices of the War Department of the Federal Government.*

* General Davis is our authority for this statement.

See, also, Captain McGowan's Report to Marshall O. Roberts, January 13, 1861.

Concerning the garrison-flag and its purpose, as a signal, Captain McGowan said, "a large garrison-flag, thirty by forty feet, had been furnished to me, with orders 'to hoist it in case Fort Moultrie fired upon the vessel; and that being recognized, Major Anderson would protect the ship by the guns of Fort Sumter. After the first shot, this flag was hoisted at the fore, and could be plainly seen from Fort Sumter.'—*Letter to the New York Daily Tribune, January 14, 1861, in the Tribune of January 16*—and the Reporter of *The Evening Post*, who accompanied the *Star of the West*, on this memorable voyage, said, "The Captain has an immense American flag, twenty feet by forty feet, and has been instructed 'to raise this at his mast-head the moment the first shot is fired. There is, already, an ordinary United States' flag, aft; and raising this large one forward can hardly fail to inform Major Anderson that we consider ourselves under his protection.'—*Letter to the Evening Post, January 6, 1861—in that paper of the 12th.*

The flag was "seen from Fort Sumter;" it was distinguished as "a large garrison-flag;" the purpose for which it was hoisted—as a signal for the protection of the guns on Fort Sumter—was evident and not misunderstood by Major Anderson; the guns of the fort were run out, in order to extend that protection which the vessel then needed; but, when the critical moment arrived when those guns could have been usefully employed, in the protection of the vessel, those guns were not employed for that purpose; in consequence, the *Star of the West* was not protected; and, without fulfilling the object for which she had been sent, she was withdrawn from the one-sided contest.

Besides, it is positively asserted that Mr. Lars Anderson, the Major's brother, who, had very recently visited Fort Sumter, at the instance of General Scott, had carried with him, to the Major, the information of the issue of the General Orders for the dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, for the relief of the garrison, to which we have referred, and of the subsequent countermand of those General Orders in order that "a side-wheel mercantile steamer" might be substituted and a hostile demonstration avoided.—*Washington letter to The New York Tribune, January 16th, in that paper of the 17th.*—and, in view of the fact

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The story of the mysterious stranger which had thus made her way into the harbor of Charleston, been fired on by the insurgents, and ignominiously retreated, is now matter of history and, to some extent, at least, known to all the world. It is a story for which our readers have been already prepared by our recital* of the remarkable proposal of General Scott to strengthen the garrison with raw recruits, transported in an unarmed merchant-vessel; of the reluctant approval of that proposal, by the President; and of the opportunity that was thereby afforded to the insurgents to offer an obstruction to the entrance into the harbor of any vessel, no matter by whom commanded nor how skilfully handled. It is a story, however, which must be re-told, no matter whose reputation may be, thereby, impeached; and we are enabled to relate it with unusual accuracy, in all its details.

It was the ill-fortune of General Scott, during the greater portion of his professional life, to be unfriendly with those who were, officially, his superiors;† and the President and the Secretaries of War, successively, during the greater portion of the period of which we write, were not exempt from the general affliction.‡ Besides, he was a politician, as well as a soldier,§ and coveted promotion in other fields than in that of arms; and he was, therefore, never averse to the display of himself or of his opin-

that Mr. Anderson had been sent to Fort Sumter by General Scott, for the purpose of obtaining information for the especial use of that gentleman—which we have the best living authority for asserting—it is very reasonable to suppose that he also bore to the Major, from the General, ample information, not only of what had been done already, but, also, what was proposed and what ordered.

Our readers, with these facts before them, can safely judge, for themselves, whether or not Major Anderson was reasonably ignorant on the subject, and whether or not, in this instance, at least, he faithfully discharged the imperative duty which had then devolved upon him, as a soldier and an officer in the service of the United States.

* Vide pages 162-164, ante.

† As instances of this disposition—for we cannot pretend to notice all his controversies—we refer to that, in his early career, with General Brown; to those, in the strength of his manhood, with General Gaines and Secretary Marcy; and to that, in his imbecility, which prompted him, on the thirtieth of December, 1860, to cast a slur, if not a doubt, on Secretary Holt.

‡ His letters to the *National Intelligencer* and his official communications with President Lincoln afford the most ample testimony of that ill temper, in General Scott, toward President Buchanan and his successive Secretaries of War.

§ The strange mixture of politics and arms, in his *Views* and in his correspondence, generally, clearly indicate that double quality in the General.

ions, political as well as military—for both of which he possessed the highest possible respect—whenever, either in contrast with those with whom he was unfriendly or in some other form, he could be magnified and they depreciated, or whenever his interests and influences, real or imaginary, might, in any way, be thereby promoted. It was not strange, therefore, that the excitement which preceded the presidential election, in November, 1860, should have arrested his attention; nor is it more strange, that he—a Virginian, coveting political honors and fully sensible of the political weight of the South, in the determination of party measures—should have carefully canvassed the political situation; deliberately concluded that an amicable dissolution of the existing Confederacy and re-organization of the disunited States into “new Confederacies, probably four,” was advisable;* and sought and found an opportunity, informally, to let the substance of those *Views*, at that opportune hour, find sympathising readers, the country over, through the public press.† At the same time, however, the General seems to have either hoped or feared that even the peaceful departure of the “wayward sisters” of the South, from the existing Union, which he had thus suggested, would be found too tedious for the madcaps of that portion of the Republic, and that there was, therefore, at that moment, “some danger of an *early* act of rashness, preliminary to secession, viz., the seizure of some or all of the following posts:—Forts Jackson and St. Philip, in the Mississippi, below New Orleans, both without garrisons; Forts Morgan, below Mobile, without a garrison; Forts Pickens and McRea, Pensacola harbor, with an insufficient garrison for one; Fort Pulaski, below Savannah, without a garrison; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston harbor, the former with an insufficient garrison, and the latter without any; and Fort Monroe, Hampton Roads, without a sufficient garrison;” and, therefore, he gravely continued, “in my opinion, ALL these works should be immediately so garrisoned as to make ANY attempt to take ANY ONE of them, by surprise or coup de main, RIDICULOUS.”‡

* The General's *Views* and the Supplement to those *Views*—the former sent to the President and both of them to the Secretary of War—state this, among others, as his well-settled opinion of the proper remedy for the discontents and dangers of that eventful period.

† Vide page 179, post.

‡ General Scott's *Views*, addressed to the President, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1860.

Mr. Lossing, in his *Pictorial History*, I., 75, 76, has referred to this remarkable paper and made extracts from it; but he has dated it “October 30, 1860,” instead of the twenty-ninth of that month; he has considered it as

On the twenty-ninth of October, 1860, these brave words, together with the other *Views*, on which they were based, were communicated, “in great haste,” to the President of the United States;* and, on the following day, a copy of them, “better transcribed,” was sent to Mr. Floyd†—also a Virginian and then the Secretary of War—unto both of whom, the President and the Secretary, quite as well as to the General-in-chief of the Army who thus addressed them, the fact was perfectly patent that every man of that Army who could possibly be spared from the most urgent duty, elsewhere, was, at that very moment, actively and necessarily engaged, on some portion of our extended western frontier, in protecting exposed settlers and fitting emigrants from the assaults of hostile Indians; that, at most, only five Companies—four hundred men, in all—were then “within reach,”

containing only “words of warning to the President and Secretary of War,” and studiously concealed that portion of the paper which “conceded” the “right of secession” and prompted the organization of “the fragments of the great Republic” into “new Confederacies, probably four;” and he has founded on it only a compliment to General Scott and, by innuendo, an attack on the President.

See, also, his *Pictorial History*, I., 125, 126, for further indications of Mr. Lossing's partisan proclivities, and his concealment of facts, concerning those *Views*, which, if presented, would have reversed the tenor of his narrative and damaged his hero.

Messrs. Guernsey and Alden, on the other hand, while they very singularly commended what they were pleased to consider “the political sagacity and foresight which made General Scott the great peace-maker,” honorably presented the *Views* as well as the letter which General Scott employed to supplement those *Views*—*Harpers' Pictorial History*, I., 84—and thereby enabled their readers to determine, as best they could, from his own words, wherein General Scott was not as much a secessionist, in fact, as were Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee.

* General Scott to Secretary Floyd, October 30, 1860.

† Ibid.

‡ The reader is referred to Mr. Buchanan's letter to the *National Intelligencer*, in reply to General Scott, October 28, 1860, and to his autobiographical volume—*Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 106-107, 168-172—for carefully-prepared exhibits of the facts, with the evidence, on which this portion of the text has been based; and the fidelity of these exhibits is conceded by Mr. Lossing—one of the most decided of those writers who have seen nothing in Mr. Buchanan's administration which they can approve—when he says, while describing the Army, as it was, more than nine weeks after Mr. Holt had become the chief of the War Department, “The total regular force was sixteen thousand men; and these were principally in the Western States and Territories, guarding the frontier settlers against the Indians.”—*Pictorial History*, I., 298.

for the grave duty, to which the venerable soldier had assigned them, of making "ridiculous" "any attempt" which any body might be induced to make, "to take any one" of these six ungarrisoned and three insufficiently-garrisoned and widely-separated works, and to occupy it;* and that no one, except the Congress—which was not then in session—could add a single man to the little force, either for that purpose or for any other, without openly and undeniably, if not unnecessarily, violating "the supreme law of the land.†"

As a matter of course, for the best of reasons, the garrisons of the nine forts referred to by the General were not, at that time, re-inforced; but, notwithstanding the fact that these *Views* must have been considered, to some extent, at least, a confidential communication, by the General-in-chief of the Army, on official business, to the President and Secretary of War, both of whom were his official superiors, the substance of them was known, very shortly after they were written, from one extreme of the Republic to the other;‡ and notwithstanding, also, the atten-

tion of the disaffected, North and South, was thus plainly directed to the nakedness of those forts and to the ease and entire safety with which all of them could be captured, even by an inconsiderable force, it is a notable fact, worthy of attention, that no one, even in the most seriously disaffected States, seems to have profited, or been disposed to profit, by the ven-

*ture for the Views, even had it been the author's intention to regard them as confidential. That such was not the case, may be well inferred from their very nature. Not confined to the recommendation of a military movement, by far the larger portion of them consists of a political disquisition on the existing dangers to the Union; on the horrors of Civil War and the best means of averting so great a calamity; and, on the course which their author had resolved to pursue, as a citizen, in the approaching Presidential election. These were themes entirely foreign to a military Report, and equally foreign from the official duties of the Commanding General. Furthermore, the Views were published to the world, by the General himself, on the eighteenth of January, 1861, in the National Intelligencer, and this without the consent or even previous knowledge of the President. This was done at a critical moment in our history, when the cotton-States were seceding, one after the other. The reason assigned by him, for this strange violation of official confidence towards the President, was the necessity for the correction of misapprehensions which had got abroad, 'both in the public prints and in public speeches,' in relation to the Views."—BUCHANAN'S *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 99, 100.*

That Mr. Buchanan was exactly correct in his remarks on this proclivity in General Scott, will be seen in the evident knowledge which *The New York Herald* had of the circumstances related in the text, as early as the thirtieth of October—the day after the *Views* were sent to Mr. Floyd—when it said, "*The President and Secretary of War have been strongly urged to strengthen the garrisons along the Southern Atlantic Coast, the Gulf, and the Mississippi.*"—*Washington Correspondence, October 30th, in the Herald of the 31st.*—and other newspapers, North and South, at that time, made pointed references to the promulgation of the General's *Views*.

It is seen, also, in *The New York Tribune* of December 17, 1860, in which is a Special Despatch from Washington, dated on the preceding day, in which it is said: "It is known, positively, that General Scott sent an official communication to the WAR DEPARTMENT, OVER A MONTH ago, advising the RE-ENFORCEMENT OF THE CHARLESTON FORTS, of which no notice was taken. The President was afraid of the responsibility and Secretary Floyd was disinclined."

In an editorial of the same paper, on the same day it was said, "The Secretary of War having prevented the reinforcement of Fort Moultrie, SIXTY DAYS ago, when it would have excited no attention," etc.

No further evidence is needed to establish the fact, related in the text, that General Scott's confidential communications for written as much for the public eye as: those of the persons to whom they were addressed.

* General Scott to Secretary Floyd, October 26, 1860.

† Mr. Buchanan says of this: "It will not be pretended that the President had any power, under the laws, to 'add to this force' [the *Nine Companies*, less than four hundred men, which were all the Regulars who were, then, 'within reach' of the Commanding General, for any purpose whatever] 'by calling forth the Militia or accepting the services of volunteers to garrison these fortifications'."—*Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 104—and, in view of the fact that there was, then, no insurrection—"even South Carolina was then performing all her relative duties, though most reluctantly, to the Government"—no one can say, truthfully, that such an attempt to increase the Army, at that time, for any purpose, had once been made, would not have been not only productive of dissension but an indisputable usurpation of authority not already vested, by law, in the Executive of the United States.

‡ The habit of General Scott, in such matters as this, to allow the substance of what he had written in confidence, to others, to find immediate circulation through the public press is so well known that it seems to be unnecessary to produce evidence of the truth of what has been said of it, in the text.

Mr. Buchanan, whose accuracy in such matters cannot be successfully impeached, alludes to this peculiarity in the General as well as to its operation, in the instance before us, in these words: "From the strange inconsistency they [the *Views*] 'involve, it would be difficult to estimate whether they did most harm in encouraging or in provoking secession. So far as they recommended a military movement, this, in order to secure success, should have been kept secret until the hour had arrived for carrying it into execution. The substance of them, however, soon reached the Southern people. Neither the Headquarters of the Army at New York nor, afterwards, in Washington, were a very secure deposit."

erable soldier's opportune suggestions—the forts and all the public property, North and South, remained, entirely undisturbed, in the custody of the Federal officers who had, hitherto, had charge of them; and no one seems to have been any more inclined, after the General's exposition, to violate the public peace, than he had been, before it was made. These stern facts tell a significant story concerning the peculiar temper of the period; and our readers must reconcile the teachings of that story, as best they may, with the alleged incendiary disposition of the South, at that time, on the one hand, and with the alleged danger, on the other, of their immediate incendiary action.

On the fifteenth of December, six hundred raw recruits having, meanwhile, accumulated in the dépôts at Carlisle Barracks and New York, the General renewed his recommendation to strengthen the garrisons of such of the nine Southern forts as then had garrisons and to occupy all the others; * and, of course, he would have sent a portion of that questionable party of unqualified civilians, all of whom were wholly unused to the duties of soldiers, to Forts Moultrie and Sumter, for that purpose.

It has been very aptly said of this proposition, by one who was capable of understanding its exact merits and who knew the author of it, personally,† that “it is scarcely a lack of charity to ‘infer that General Scott knew, at the time when ‘he made this recommendation, that it must be ‘rejected;’ and, because that recommendation was in open and direct opposition to the well-considered policy of the General's official superior, the President of the United States, which policy was already fixed and, a few days before, had been publicly announced, in his Message to Congress;‡ because the President, as we have seen, had already provided other means, in the war-steamer *Brooklyn* and in the reserves within Fortress Monroe, for speedily and effectively relieving the garrison, at Charleston, ‘at the first ‘moment of danger’§—with all of which

* The evidence that this request was thus renewed, may be found in the General's own statements of it, in his autobiographical *Memoir*—II., 614—and in his Report to the President, March 30, 1861. It is proper, however, to state, in connection with that evidence, that, in referring to it, Mr. Buchanan promptly replied, “While I have no recollection whatever of this conversation, he” (*the General*) “doubtless states correctly that I did refuse to send three hundred men to re-inforce Major Anderson, at Fort ‘Moultrie, who had not, then, removed to Fort Sumter.’—Mr. Buchanan's letter to the National Intelligencer, in reply to General Scott's Report, October 28, 1862.

† Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 163.

‡ President Buchanan's Message to Congress, December 3, 1860.

§ Vide pages 42, 162, 163, *ante*.

the General was fully acquainted; * because the Senate was then engaged in an attempt, through a Committee of Thirteen, to effect a peaceful reconciliation, which such a movement of troops, under existing circumstances, would have entirely defeated; † because the project of General Scott, for the occupation of the nine forts referred to and their defence against as many antagonistic popular outbreaks, with so insignificant a force as was then “within reach,” was wholly insufficient for such a purpose and would have been productive of evil rather than good effects; ‡ and, because what was said, generally, of the existing necessity for strengthening the several garrisons and for occupying the ungarrisoned works throughout the entire Southern seaboard, together with the recommendation, by General Scott, and the refusal of the President to do so, were, before daylight on the following morning, published, the country over, in the press of the political party which opposed the Administration,§ and was made the text for extravagant laudations of General Scott and equally extravagant abuse of President Buchanan,—for these reasons, we say—it is due to the

* This fact is evident from the allusion which the General has made to Secretary Floyd's reference to those preparations, in a conversation which the former is said to have had with him and the President, on the general subject of the relief of the forts.—*Autobiography*, II., 614; Report to the President, March 30, 1861.

† The “Committee of Thirteen” was ordered, on motion of Senator Powell, of Kentucky, on the eleventh of December, and appointed on the twentieth of the same month; and its purpose was to consider “so much “of the President's Message as relates to the present “agitated and distracted condition of the country, and “the grievances between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States.”

‡ It will be evident to the meanest intellect that six hundred raw recruits, even if assisted by portions of the five Companies of Regulars which, alone, were then “within reach” of General Scott—and no one pretends that the entire strength of those five Companies could have been detached for such a purpose—would have made sorry work in assuming a belligerent attitude against the entire South, not yet in arms, by ostentatiously occupying the nine fortifications referred to by General Scott and thereby provoking hostilities, even where hostilities were not, then, thought of.

§ In his Report to the President, March 30, 1861, General Scott says he called on Secretary Floyd, on the thirteenth of December, 1860, and “personally urged upon the “Secretary the same views, viz., strong garrisons in the “Southern forts,” which he had urged in the preceding October, and “again pointed out the organized Companies and the recruits at the principal dépôts available for “the purpose:” three days afterwards, on the sixteenth of December, information of what had thus occurred at Washington was transmitted, with laudations of the General and deprecations of the President, to the *Tribune*.

cause of history to say of it, that this proposition was evidently made by the General, more as a politician than as a soldier, and for partisan rather than for patriotic purposes.

The recommendation, by General Scott, to which reference has been made, however, whatever may have been the motive of its author in making it, was not complied with; and, as we have said, the press of the dominant party promptly teemed with abuse of the President, because of what, for that particular purpose, was considered as his "criminal" neglect of brave men and not less "criminal" sympathy with the insurgents; while corresponding laudations of what was claimed to have been General Scott's sagacity, and humanity, and patriotic devotion to the safety of the garrison occupying Fort Moultrie and, through it, to the best interests of the Republic, were openly placed in startling contrast.*

Under these circumstances and aroused by such appeals, sustained by the reported anxiety of the General-in-chief, it is not surprising that there should have been some whose sympathies with what was thus said to have been the endangered and neglected garrison of Fort Moul-

trie and other morning newspapers, in the city of New York and, probably, throughout the entire country.

In his Report to the President, March 30, 1861, General Scott says that, "by appointment, the Secretary accompanied me to the President, December 15, when the same topics—secession, etc.—were again pretty freely "discussed;" on the second morning after that alleged interview, the *seventeenth* of December, 1860—the sixteenth was Sunday, when no paper was published—the *Tribune*, *Herald*, and other morning newspapers, in New York, promptly circulated the information of this interview of the General and the President, and of what had occurred when the General and the Secretary of War thus visited the President.

That the circulation of this information was not confined to the North nor to those who were supposed to be opposed to the insurgents will be seen in the following—concerning General Scott's interview with the President, on Saturday, the *fifteenth* of December—taken from the letter of *The New York Tribune's* Charleston Correspondence, dated in the latter city, on Monday, the *seventeenth* of the same month: "The news, by telegraph, that General Scott is warmly urging reinforcements, and that General Cass has resigned because the President will not send them, creates quite a breeze."

* Reference is made to the editorial in *The New York Tribune* of Monday, the *seventeenth* of December, in which Mr. Buchanan was said to have been insane, and in which his course was contrasted with General Scott's, "sixty days ago," and violently condemned. On the following day, also, the President was charged, by the same paper, with getting the forts ready for their surrender to the insurgents, at the expense of the United States, and abused in the best style of that violent partisan publication.

trie prompted them to move, individually, for its immediate and effective relief; and it is a privilege which we enjoy, to know, certainly, that three gentlemen of Westchester-county, New York, personal friends of our own—Colonel James A. Hamilton, Hon. Moses H. Grinnell, and John E. Williams, Esq., all residents of the town of Greenburgh—promptly tendered four hundred picked artillerymen, from among the citizen soldiery of New York, whom they offered to place in Fort Moultrie, at the earliest possible moment, as a reinforcement of the garrison of that particular post, at their own expense and without any cost to the country. The project originated with Colonel Hamilton; * and, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1860, the tender was made by him to General Scott,† his two associates binding themselves, respectively, to pay their several shares of the expense. On the first of January, 1861, notwithstanding his seeming anxiety to strengthen the post, a short time before, the venerable General-in-chief—after having submitted the proposal to the President and fully concurred with that gentleman in the opinion that there was, at that time, no immediate military need for such aid of the regular force as was thus humanely and patriotically offered—declined to receive the proffered rein-

* Colonel James A. Hamilton to Henry B. Dawson, July 29 and 26, 1872.

The originator of this important undertaking, as we have seen, was Colonel James A. Hamilton, who is well-known to the greater number of our readers as a son of General Alexander Hamilton, of the Army of the Revolution, and Elizabeth, daughter of General Philip Schuyler, of the same Army and one of the ablest and purest of the soldiers and statesmen of that eventful period.

In his earlier years—while General Jackson was President, we believe—Colonel Hamilton was District-attorney of the United States for the Southern District of New York and, for a time, Acting Secretary of State of the United States; and he is widely known, even in his retirement, as one of the most influential citizens residing in this ancient and influential County.

Colonel Hamilton was, at the time he made this attempt to relieve the garrison of Fort Sumter, not far from seventy-three years of age; and yet he not only personally organized the expedition, as far as he was allowed to do so, but he also proposed to accompany it, in person, and share its labors and its honors—Messrs. John E. Williams and Moses H. Grinnell having agreed to share with him the expense of the undertaking.

The concurrent opinions of the President and the General-in-chief, that no such assistance was necessary, and the consequent declination of the latter to co-operate with the proposed excursionists, alone prevented the consummation of what, probably, would otherwise have been one of the most successful measures for ensuring the peace as well as the integrity of the Union.

† Colonel James A. Hamilton to General Scott, December 29, 1860.—Supplement.

forcement or to approve of its dispatch from New York.*

At length, as we have seen, the main body of the garrison was transferred to Fort Sumter;† the Federal buildings, in Charleston, and two of the forts, in the harbor of that city, were seized and occupied by the insurgents;‡ the Secretary of War, unto whom, a few weeks before, the General-in-chief had sent his *Views* of the situation and his thoughts, if not his wishes, concerning the future of the Republic, had been dismissed from the Cabinet, in disgrace, and joined the disaffected;§ and, more than ever before, the peace of the Republic, if not its very existence, seemed to have been endangered. The President, no longer restrained by the avoidance of hostile acts, by the insurgents, as we have seen, had determined to move troops for the relief of the garrison at Charleston, if not for the re-occupation of the forts which the insurgents had already occupied and for the recovery of the public property which they had already seized;|| and he had called Joseph Holt to the War Department, in the place of John B. Floyd, whom he had dismissed;¶ and there could be no reasonable cause for dissatisfaction, in any one who was not himself dissatisfied, with the President's revised policy nor any reasonable distrust, except among the insurgents, of the officer in whose hands was placed the authority for the execution of that policy. The new Secretary was hardly seated in his office,** however, before, as we have already seen, the General-in-chief of the Army, with characteristic antagonism to those who were his official superiors—displayed, too, much more offensively than he had displayed any such antagonism which he might have held against Mr. Floyd, the predecessor of Mr. Holt—privately requested

* "Geo. W. Lay, Lieut. Col., A. D. C.," to Colonel James A. Hamilton, "Washington, January 1, 1861."

The entire narrative of this very important interlude in the *Story of Fort Sumter*, in Colonel Hamilton's own words, as communicated to us, for the purpose of this publication, may be found in the Supplement to the *Story*, which will immediately follow it.

† Vide pages 50-53, *ante*.

‡ Vide pages 148, 152, 153, *ante*.

§ Vide page 161, *ante*.

|| Vide page 162, *ante*.

¶ Vide page 161, *ante*.

** Mr. Holt was called to the head of the War Department, on Saturday, the *twenty-ninth* of December, 1860; and on Sunday, the *thirtieth*, the General—who had been in Washington, for more than a fortnight—addressed a *private* note to the President, *directly*, requesting permission to disregard the usage of the service and the courtesy which was due to the new Secretary, in sending, "without reference to the War Department," a private expedition to Fort Sumter.

the President's personal* permission to send to Fort Sumter, "without reference to the War Department and otherwise as secretly as possible," two hundred and fifty of the raw recruits who were then in the depot at New York, together with some extra rifles or muskets, ammunition, and ordnance-stores; and, at the same time, he expressed a hope "that a sloop-of-war and a cutter might be ordered, for the same purpose, as 'early as to-morrow.'† This urgent request for immediate relief for the little garrison of Fort Sumter was made by note, on Sunday, the thirtieth of December—the General being too unwell to leave his house‡—on the following morning, [December 31st, 1860] the President, who, as we have already seen, had previously determined to support the garrison, immediately and at all hazards, promptly ordered the Secretaries of War and the Navy, Messrs. Holt and Toucey, respectively, to send the *Brooklyn*, from Hampton-roads, at the earliest possible moment, with the three hundred men who had been so long reserved in Fortress Monroe, for that particular purpose;§ and, on the evening of that day, General Scott "called to congratulate the President on the fact that the Secretaries had already issued appropriate Orders "to the respective Army and Navy-officers; "and stated that these were then in his own "pocket."||

* The reader will bear in mind that, although the President is the constitutional Commander-in-chief of the Army and, therefore, the source of all authority, therein, the General Orders which, either nominally or really, proceed from him, always pass through the Secretary of War and are countersigned and issued by the Adjutant-general of the Army; and that all official communications to him, from the Army, can reach him, *in order*, only through the Department. It will be seen, therefore, that when General Scott addressed a communication directly to the President and officially solicited the personal permission of the latter—which would have been the equivalent, in authority, of a General Order—to send an expedition to Charleston, "without reference to the War Department," he manifested an evidently unfriendly spirit to the newly-seated Secretary and as evidently inclined to draw the President into discord with those who were, then, his confidential advisers in the Administration.

† General Scott to President Buchanan, December 30, 1860—in his Report to President Lincoln, March 30, 1861.

‡ "Lieutenant-general Scott begs the President of the "United States to pardon the *irregularity* of this communication. *It is Sunday; the weather is bad; and "General Scott is not well enough to go to church."*—General Scott to the President, December 30, 1860.

§ Mr. Buchanan to *The National Intelligencer*, in reply to General Scott's Report, October 23, 1862; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189.

See, also, Note*, Column 2, Page 183, *post*.

|| Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189.

Our applications to the Departments of War and the

It is stated that on the same evening on which General Scott thus repaired to the Executive Mansion and congratulated the President on the fact that General Orders had been issued for the dispatch of the *Brooklyn* to Charleston, with a reinforcement and supplies for the garrison of that post, and were "then in his own pocket," a meeting of the Cabinet was held—evidently before the General saw the President—at which it was determined to suspend the promulgation of the General Orders referred to, until the Commissioners from South Carolina should have sent their reply to the letter which the President had addressed to them, on the preceding day; * and that the Secretary of the Interior, in his zeal to prevent the reinforcement of the garrison, obtained the President's promise that, even when the present cause for the suspension of those General Orders should have been removed, they should not be promulgated "without being previously considered and decided, in Council."† During the same evening, the President seems to have communicated to the General, not only his wish that, until otherwise ordered, the two General Orders should not be promulgated, but the reason for that suspension of them, to which the latter gave his unreserved concurrence.‡

Navy, respectively, for copies of the General Orders which were issued on this occasion—so important for the correction of errors which have been thrust into history as veritable facts—have been disregarded.

It does not accord with the ideas of those in authority, to allow the public archives of the Republic to be employed by some of those who are engaged in writing the History of the Republic, even for the correction of known errors or the establishment, beyond peradventure, of known truths. We must be contented, therefore, with the evidence which we possess, and which we have pleasure in being enabled to present, above.

* Secretary Thompson to President Buchanan, resigning his seat in the Cabinet, January 8, 1861; the President's reply to Secretary Thompson, January 9, 1861; Secretary Holt's letter to *The National Intelligencer*, in reply to Mr. Thompson's *Address to the People of Mississippi*, March 5, 1861.

We are authorized to say that the last-named of these was read and approved by Mr. Buchanan, on the day of its date, before he returned to Wheeland, after the inauguration of his successor in office.

† Secretary Thompson to President Buchanan, January 8, 1861, and the President's reply, January 9, 1861.

‡ "At the interview already referred to, between the General and myself, on the evening of Monday, the thirty-first of December, I suggested to him that, although I had not received the South Carolina Commissioners in their official capacity, but merely as private gentlemen, yet it might be considered an improper act to send the *Brooklyn* with re-inforcements to Fort Sumter until I had received an answer from them to my letter of the preceding day: that the delay could not

It seems, however, that, for some reason, the President determined to anticipate the receipt of the Commissioners' reply to his letter and to prepare for the immediate dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, agreeably to his original purpose; and, with that view, in conformity with his promise to the Secretary of the Interior, a special meeting of the Cabinet was called, on the morning of Wednesday, the second of January, to consider and give advice on the subject. The subject was again discussed, at that meeting; and "a decided majority of opinions" concurred in favor of sending the *Brooklyn*, as originally proposed by the President, for the support of the garrison of Fort Sumter. That determination of the President and his advisers, singularly enough, was no sooner ascertained, and the members of the Cabinet had not yet left the room in which they had assembled—if, indeed, they had yet risen from their seats—when the reply of the Carolinian Commissioners was received and laid before the assembled Secretaries. Its temper is well known; and "it produced much indignation among the members of the Cabinet." After a brief discussion, the venerable President said, "It is now all over; and reinforcements must be sent;" and Judge Black, the Secretary of State, accepted the proffered gauntlet by responding, "After this letter, the Cabinet will be unanimous." Not a dissenting voice was then heard—even the zealous Secretary of the Interior was confounded by the tone of the Commissioners' reply and offered no further objection to the proposed measure—and, fully impressed with the idea that Fort Sumter would be immediately attacked and that its garrison must, therefore, be immediately and effectively strengthened, the President and his advisers separated, each departing to his post of duty—the Secretaries of War and the Navy, respectively, without any further intercourse with the President, proceeding to carry out what was, in fact, the then well-settled policy of the President.*

"continue more than forty-eight hours. He promptly concurred in this suggestion, as gentlemanly and proper; and the Orders were not transmitted to the *Brooklyn*, that evening."—Mr. Buchanan to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, in reply to General Scott's Report, October 28, 18'2.

See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189, 190.

* President Buchanan to Secretary Thompson, accepting his resignation, January 9, 1861.

We are indebted, for the documents and information which we possess concerning the action of President Buchanan and his Cabinet, on the evening of the thirty-first of December, 1860, and on the second of January, 1861, on which we have written the preceding two paragraphs, to our distinguished friend, General Joseph Holt, who, as Secretary of War was not the least influential member of

During the same day, [Wednesday, January 2, 1861] General Scott was informed of the removal of the special cause which had prompted a short delay in the dispatch of the expedition; but, meanwhile, the venerable soldier had fortified his own peculiar policy of sending a reinforcement of raw recruits, from New York, instead of the Regulars from Fortress Monroe, with an extravagant notion that insurgent Virginians were then preparing to seize the latter work;* that the three hundred Regulars who had been so long held in reserve, in that post, would thus become necessary for its defence against local insurgents; and that, if any relief was to be extended to Fort Sumter, it must, necessarily, be that which could be afforded by the recruits from New York—disregarding the important fact, however, if he had ever learned it, that there was not, then, near New York, a war-vessel of sufficient size and power to be employed in such a service as he had designated; and that, therefore, if such an expedition should be organized in that port, at all, unsupported mercantile vessels must, for that reason, be relied on, for that purpose.† Besides, he had strengthened himself with the opinion of a distinguished merchant of New York, by whom the necessity of retaining the control of the Chesapeake-bay had been very properly urged;‡ and he is said, also, “after advising with an individual believed to possess much knowledge and practical experience in naval affairs,” to have “unluckily become convinced that the better plan to secure both secrecy and success would be to send to Fort Sumter, a fast side-wheel mercantile steamer, from New York, with the

both those meetings. We have not considered it necessary to seek any other authority; and we imagine our readers will not.

* We have the authority of one of General Scott's most intimate personal friends—a widely known and as widely honored merchant of New York—for this statement, made by him to us, for the purpose for which we now use it. He informed us, also, that he derived his information, at the time, from General Scott, in person.

It is probable that the General referred to this cause of his alarm, when, in his letter to the Editors of *The National Intelligencer* of the eighth of November, 1859, while alluding to this general subject of danger to Fortress Monroe, from disaffected Virginians, he said “printed handbills were every-where posted in Eastern Virginia, ‘by an eccentric character, inviting recruits to take that important work’—a madman's freak which no sane Virginian, except General Scott, seems to have honored with the slightest attention.

† General Scott's Report to President Lincoln, March 30, 1861.

‡ The gentleman to whom we have referred in Note *, and, by whom the information was personally communicated to us, for the purpose of this enquiry.

“two hundred and fifty recruits,”* to whom reference has been made. Thus fortified, the General opposed the President's determination to promulgate the two General Orders which were “then in his own pocket” and which had been temporarily withheld from publication, by opposing the issue of them, in any case, and by insisting on the issue, instead, of one which should be more nearly in accord with the note which he had addressed to the President on the preceding Sunday, [December 30, 1860] authorizing the dispatch, from New York, in whatever conveyance should be found there, of two hundred and fifty recruits, with a supply of arms and subsistence-stores.

The distinguished reputation, as a soldier, which General Scott then enjoyed and his urgent protest against the plan of operations proposed by the President and, two days before, apparently approved by himself, having been thus thrown into the opposition, the Secretaries of War and the Navy appear to have been checked in their earnest attempts to dispatch the *Brooklyn*, “forthwith,” on her errand of relief; and they respectively submitted the matter, in its new association with the commanding General's opposition, for the final determination of the President. It does not appear that there was any meeting of the Cabinet to consult on the change—“this unfortunate change,” as it has since been aptly called—which General Scott was thus insisting should be made in the plan of relief which the President and his advisers had so judiciously organized; but it was urged so strenuously, as “a question of military strategy,” that the venerable President was induced, “with great reluctance and solely in deference to the opinion of the commanding General,” to yield to the pressure; to consent to the countermand of the two General Orders which, since the preceding Monday, had reposed, unpromulgated, in General Scott's “own pocket;” and to authorize, instead, the employment of a side-wheel merchant steamer, the purchase and shipment of supplies, in New York, and the detachment of a party of recruits from the depot at the latter post.†

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 190.

† President Buchanan to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, in reply to General Scott's Report, October 28, 1862.

See, also, his autobiographical *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189, 190; the following significant words, written at the time, by an avowed opponent of the Administration: “The original design was to have sent these reinforcements down by the *Brooklyn*, and arrangements had been made, accordingly, when, upon further reflection, it was thought wisest to avoid the appearance of a hostile demonstration, and this commercial steamer

The General, on the preceding Monday evening, had professed to approve the President's policy of sending the *Brooklyn*, from Hampton-roads, with the three hundred Regulars from

"was chosen."—*Washington letter to the Tribune, January 9, 1861, in the Tribune of the 10th*—and the *Washington Correspondence of The New York Herald, January 18th, 1861, in the Herald of the 6th*.

We have not forgotten that Mr. Loessing has said—*Pictorial History, I., 152*—that "under the advice of General Scott and Secretary Holt, orders were given 'for her' [the *Brooklyn*] 'to be made ready to start, at a moment's notice:' we have simply preferred to remember, on both Mr. Buchanan's and General Scott's direct testimony—now before us—that the *Brooklyn* was 'ready to start' from Hampton-roads, fully provided with the necessary means for strengthening the garrison with experienced troops and for supplying it with needed stores, 'at the first moment of danger,' solely on the motions of President Buchanan assisted by Secretaries Toucey and Floyd, before General Scott knew anything about the matter and before Mr. Holt had become a 'Secretary;' and we have preferred to remember, also, on authority quite as reliable as the last, that, so far from the Order 'for her to be made ready to start' on her mission of relief having been issued at the instance of General Scott, before that Order was issued, that gentleman had desired the organization of another kind of an expedition, 'with-out reference to' Secretary Holt; and that, before that Order was promulgated, he threw the great weight of his professional reputation in opposition to it, and caused it to be countermanded.

We have not overlooked the fact, too, that Mr. Loessing has stated that the Order for the dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, as stated in the text, "was revealed to the conspirators," who were to do wonders in opposition to Captain Farragut's departure from Hampton-roads, under the General Orders referred to in the Text; that, "informed of this betrayal of his secret, the President countermanded the Order;" and that, "when Thompson, the Secretary of the Interior,—who was, doubtless, the criminal in the matter—threatened the President with his resignation because of such Order, the latter promised that none like it should be issued, 'without the question being first considered and decided in the Cabinet.'"—*Pictorial History, I., 152*—but we have preferred to rely on what Mr. Buchanan and General Joseph Holt have written—the latter directly to us—from which we learn that the revelations to the conspirators, of which Mr. Loessing wrote, were made concerning the *Star of the West*, not the *Brooklyn*; that the General Orders referred to were not "countermanded," at the time of which Mr. Loessing wrote, but suspended for a few hours, only; that that temporary suspension of the General Orders did not arise from any revelations made "to the conspirators," as Mr. Loessing has asserted, but because the President had not ceased to remember what was due, in courtesy, to a correspondent, and preferred to await that correspondent's reply to a letter, already in his hands, before pushing those Orders into execution; and that if the Secretary of the Interior really made the threat which Mr. Loessing alludes to, he failed to adhere to his own determination, when, thirty-six hours

Fortress Monroe,* which, notwithstanding the delay to which reference has been made, could have reached Fort Sumter, during day-light, on the fourth of January,† and effectually relieved the garrison, if nothing else;‡ and, at that time, he had also waited on the President and congratulated him on the issue of the two General Orders for carrying it out, both of which were then, unpromulgated, "in his own pocket:" on Wednesday, less than forty-eight hours after that seemingly earnest tender of his congratulations, with grave inconsistency, if nothing else, he quite as urgently begged the President's permission to substitute an entirely different Order, involving, at once, delay, publicity, and inefficiency; and that request, supported with an urgent averment that "a question of military strategy" was involved in the subject, was urged, as we have intimated, with great pertinacity.§

How intelligently the General acted, in thus urging a change in the settled policy of the President and a substitution of a different General Order for the two which were, at that moment, "in his own pocket," unpromulgated, may be

after, the suspension of those General Orders was ended and the promulgation of them formally ordered, in the presence of the Secretary himself.

The evidence is ample and was before the world, when Mr. Loessing wrote, that General Scott was, in his principles, a full grown secessionist; that he ostentatiously urged the occupation of the forts, in the South, at the same time that he acknowledged there were no troops, "within reach," with which to occupy them; that he abruptly declined the acceptance of volunteers which were offered, for that purpose, even when they were offered free of charge to the United States, declaring, at the same time, with grave inconsistency, that there was no present necessity for their services, even in the occupation of the forts near Charleston; that he opposed the President, when the latter proposed the dispatch of the *Brooklyn*, with supplies and reinforcements for the garrison of Fort Sumter, even while Mr. Floyd was Secretary, quite as much as he did so, at a later date, when Mr. Holt had become the head of the Department; that he continued to oppose the project, even after the General Orders for its execution had been issued and deposited "in his own pocket;" and that, on his urgent solicitation, alone, the *Star of the West* was sent out on the mission which resulted in disaster and disgrace if not in the Civil War, from the effects of which the Republic will never wholly recover.

* Vide Page 153, ante.

† The *Brooklyn* would have left Fortress Monroe on the second of January, had not General Scott urged the countermand of the General Orders which had been already issued for that purpose: It is very well known that less than two days were required for her to have steamed from Hampton Roads to Charleston, bringing her to that port, as stated in the text, on the fourth of that month.

‡ Vide Note *, First Column, Page 164, ante.

§ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189, 190.

determined by any one who shall inquire, carefully, (as the General should have done, if he did not) what the temper of the Virginians, at that day, was, and what their capabilities for doing mischief: how judiciously he acted, too, may be ascertained by all who shall remember how much nearer Fortress Monroe was than New York, to Fort Sumter; how much more useful disciplined Regulars would have been to Major Anderson, at that time, than raw recruits could possibly have been; how much time would have been saved, which was then occupied in seeing and loading a vessel, in a distant port, and in moving her at least one-third more distance; how unprepared the Carolinians were, on the fourth of January, to offer any resistance, to any body; how little the *Brooklyn* would have suffered from any fire which the juvenile artillerists, on Morris's-island, or any other artillerists, could have then interposed; and what Captain Farragut would have probably done, had any such fire been opened on her, from any quarter, when compared with the conduct, under similar circumstances, a few days later, of Captain McGowan, in the *Star of the West*.

Unfortunately, the urgency of General Scott and his demand that it should be regarded as "a question of military strategy," prevailed; and, "with great reluctance and solely in deference to the opinion of the commanding General, on a question of military strategy," the President consented to the substitution of another General Order, authorizing the employment of a mercantile steamer, in New York; the shipment, on her, of a supply of subsistence-stores and munitions of war; the employment of two hundred and fifty recruits, as a reinforcement of the garrison; and the dispatch of all, as soon as possible, for Charleston-harbor.* Orders were, accordingly,

* Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 189, 190. See, also, Page 184, ante

We are not insensible of the fact that, in this paragraph and that which precedes it, we have disregarded, as worthless, the greater part of what has been written, on this subject, and called "History," by those who have preceded us.

Mr. Loessing, in his *Pictorial History*, I., 182, affects to consider the President as mere material in the hands of his "counselors," to be moulded, either for honor or dishonor, as clay in the hands of the potter is moulded; and, in a patronizing tone, he says of that gentleman, he "seemed disposed to do his duty boldly," "under" (the) "better counselors" who remained in the Cabinet; and yet it is patent to all who care to know anything concerning the subject, that Mr. Floyd, alone, had then retired from the group who composed the "counselors" referred to; that, for some time previous to his retirement, that gentleman had been only tolerated by the President, without possessing the President's confidence or the respect of his associates; and that he left the Cabinet only

issued to Lieutenant-colonel Lorenzo Thomas, an Assistant Adjutant-general of the Army, then in New York, to procure a vessel and make the

because his resignation was asked, in order that he might be spared the mortification of a peremptory dismissal. With only this single change in those "counselors," it is not very evident to us wherein the remarkable change is the President's policy, "under better counselors," was then developed.

But, we are told by Mr. Loessing, in the same connection, that "General Scott was called into Cabinet-meetings, for consultation;" and that that gentleman may be considered, therefore, as an element in the production of the alleged change in the President's policy, of which Mr. Loessing tells us. We have yet to learn, from any reliable source, however, that General Scott was ever so far in harmony with either the President or his "counselors" as to induce the former to "call" him into the "Cabinet-meetings" for "consultation;" and we say, and are ready to prove, that, neither as a soldier nor as a citizen was he then entitled to any such distinction. He may have been invited into the Council-chamber, at some time, to give information, on some subject; but that occasion was not within the period of which Mr. Loessing then wrote, since, as we happen to know, from excellent authority, there was no such meeting of the Cabinet, nor any other, between the special meeting on the morning of Wednesday, the second of January, 1861, and the repulse of the *Star of the West*, on the ninth of the same month.

Again, Mr. Loessing says, on the same page, while speaking of the *Brooklyn*, "now," ["at the opening of the new year"] "under the advice of General Scott and Secretary Holt, orders were given for her to be made ready to start at a moment's notice." But the General, unfortunately, had shown his opposition to the employment of the *Brooklyn*, as well as his antipathy to Secretary Holt, two days before, in asking the President's permission to send "from New York"—and necessarily, if from that place, in a merchant-vessel—the raw recruits on which he depended; and that he asked might be done "without reference to the War Department," in which he evidently had no confidence.—*Letter to the President, December 30.*—He knew nothing of the Orders to send the *Regulars* and the *Brooklyn* from Hampton Roads, until he received them, for promulgation.

Again, Mr. Loessing says, in the same volume, page 183, "fortunately, the President listened to his new counselors, Secretary Holt and General Scott; and it was resolved to send troops and supplies to Fort Sumter by a more secret method than had yet been devised. Instead of employing a vessel-of-war for the purpose, the staunch merchant-vessel, *Star of the West*, built to run between New York and Aspinwall, on the California route, was chartered by the Government and quickly laden with supplies." But if the substitution of the *Star of the West* for the *Brooklyn*, and Captain McGowan for Captain Farragut, and the arrival of the steamer off Charleston harbor after instead of before a battery had been erected to oppose her entrance, and defeat and disgrace instead of success and the end of the insurrection, are to be considered the "fortunate" circumstances of which Mr. Loessing writes, we should have preferred to

necessary preparations; * and, in the absence of a war-vessel which could be employed in such a service †—a contingency which was known in Washington, before the new Orders were issued—that officer chartered the mercantile steamer *Star of the West*, commanded by Captain John McGowan; shipped the necessary stores; and hastened her departure, as much as possible. She was cleared for Havana and New Orleans, ‡ and no one in the office of her husband seemed to

have been among the "unfortunates," of that era.

The truth is, the reputation of Mr. Lossing's hero—General Scott—would have suffered had ALL his *Views* been presented to the readers of the *Pictorial History*; and that portion of them wherein he declared himself a secessionist was therefore, suppressed: his assumed importance, as General-in-chief, must be maintained, at all hazards, and, therefore, it is pretended, by Mr. Lossing, that under *His* (Scott's) advice "orders were given for the *Brooklyn* to be 'made ready to start at a moment's notice';" although the evidence was as accessible to Mr. Lossing, when he wrote that book, as it is to us, now, that the *Brooklyn* was thus held, with special Orders, in Captain Farragut's hands, to sail, "at the first moment of danger" to the garrison, in Fort Moultrie, long before General Scott was aware of the fact—Compare Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 166, 177, with General Scott's *Memoirs*, written by himself, II., 624;—that he steadily opposed the employment of that powerful war-steamer, on that particular service; and that the employment, instead, of a mercantile steamer, the *Star of the West*, was the ONLY plan which he ever proposed for the relief of the garrison, at Charleston: his skill, as a soldier, too, must be maintained; and Mr. Lossing promptly affected to regard, as a "fortunate" circumstance, the substitution of the *Star of the West* for the *Brooklyn*, with all the train of defeat, disgrace, and disaster which followed that "fortunate" change.

* Colonel Henry L. Scott to Henry B. Dawson, July 28, 1872.

† "Secretary Holt and myself endeavored, in vain, to 'obtain a ship of war for the purpose' [the relief of Fort Sumter] 'and were finally obliged to employ the 'passenger steamer *Star of the West*.'—General Scott's *Autobiography*, II., 621.

See, also, Colonel Henry L. Scott to Henry B. Dawson, August 1, 1872.

‡ We have relied on the following, among others, as our authorities for this statement:

I.—"Cleared. Steamship *Star of the West*, McGowan, 'Havana and New Orleans—M. O. Roberts.'—*Ship-news*, New York Daily Herald, Sunday, January 6, 1861.

II.—"CLEARED. Steamships * * * *Star of the West*, McGowan, New Orleans and Havana, D. N. Carrington."—*Ship-news*, in The New York Daily Tribune, Monday, January 7, 1861.

III.—"THE STEAMER *STAR OF THE WEST*.—This steamer 'cleared on Saturday for Havana and New Orleans.'—*'City Items*," in The New York Tribune, Monday, January 7, 1861.

On the other hand, Mr. Lossing says—*Pictorial History*,

suppose that those were not her destined ports; * but the stores composing her freight, in many instances, were marked for Fort Sumter and openly shipped; † some of her crew freely and unreservedly stated that she was destined for Charleston, and would receive troops, in the stream, during the night; ‡ and it was freely discussed, throughout the vicinity of the wharf, where she laid, as an undisputed fact, that she had been employed for the relief of the garrison of Fort Sumter. § She sailed at five o'clock on the evening of Saturday, the fifth of January; proceeded down the Bay, where she was hove to and took on board four officers and a party of soldiers, || with their arms, ammunition, etc.; and,

I., 158—"She was cleared for New Orleans and Savannah 'in order to mislead spies.'"

We have preferred to follow the authorities which we have referred to, above.

* "Rumors were rife that she was to convey troops to Charleston; but the story was ridiculed at the office of the owners, and they requested its contradiction."—*'City Items*," in The New York Daily Tribune, of Monday, January 7, 1861.

† We have the authority of a distinguished General Officer of the Army of the United States, who was, himself, a prominent participant in the stirring events of that period, for this statement. He informed us, personally, that he saw packages, distinctly marked for the garrison of Fort Sumter, in Charleston-harbor, carted to the wharf where the *Star of the West* was moored, for shipment on her, on the occasion referred to.

‡ "Several belonging to the vessel said that she was 'going to Charleston, and would take on troops, in the stream, during the night.'—*'City Items*," in The New York Daily Tribune, Monday, January 7, 1861.

§ "Her hurried preparation and destination were known 'on Friday night, and commonly talked about, on West and South-streets. The men employed in getting her 'ready for sea were instrumental in exposing her mission.'—*New York Tribune* of January 14, 1861, page 7.

|| The number of soldiers thus employed has been variously stated; and we are not yet satisfied concerning the exact number.

Mr. Buchanan, in his autobiographical volume, alluded to "the two hundred and fifty recruits" which were to be thus sent to Charleston—*Vide* page 190—and Secretary Thompson, in his letter resigning the office of Secretary of the Interior, referred to the "two hundred and fifty" men, under Lieutenant Bartlett, who had sailed, in the *Star of the West*, for that post. The greater number of writers on the subject, including Messrs. Lossing, Greeley, Pollard, Mrs. Stephens, Whitney, Guernsey and Alden, Moore, Raymond, and Abbott, and most of the newspapers of the day also, state the number at two hundred and fifty men, exclusive of officers: but Captain McGowan, in his Report to the owners of the *Star of the West*, says that only two hundred were received on board his ship, in which he was sustained by the Reporter of the *Evening Post*, who accompanied the expedition. We leave the subject, therefore, for others to determine.

at nine o'clock, she crossed the Bar and went to sea.*

It is a curious fact that the *Star of the West* had not yet left New York when General Scott, himself, was convinced of his own folly in sending such an expedition on such an errand, and became one of the most active in seeking to stop it—he had heard of, and been staggered by, the intended occupation of the sand-hills, off the entrance to the harbor, by the insurgent Carolinians: † he had heard of Major Stevens, and his forty boys from the Citadel Academy, and his two twenty-four-pounders, just then posted on Morris's-island, and been cowered by the undeveloped terrors of their skill as juvenile artillerymen: he had discovered, at that late hour and under the above-named inducements, the possibility that an unarmed merchant-man, filled with unwilling and undisciplined civilians, would be roughly handled and, probably, discomfited, in such a reception as even these youngsters, with their two twenty-four-pounders and their boyish enthusiasm, would undoubtedly extend to her: ‡ he had heard, also, (not for the first time, however, although he had, then, the first time, regarded the information as noteworthy) that Major Anderson regarded himself secure, in his new position, in Fort Sumter, and had asked for no such reinforcement nor any other. § He considered, therefore, that the *Star of the West* was not exactly what was then required, for such a service; and he hastened to seek the approval, by the Secretary of War and the President, of a countermand of the General Order which had authorized and directed her departure. The vindication of the President was thus made so complete and the conviction of the General was also so emphatic that, as our readers may imagine, the venerable soldier found no difficulty, either in the War Office or in the Executive mansion, in procuring a prompt and unreserved approval of his latest "views;" ¶ and, in accordance with

the teachings of those views, he immediately dispatched a telegraph to his son-in-law and Chief of Staff, Colonel Henry L. Scott, then in New York, to stop the proposed expedition, if not to abandon it.* The steamer had left the harbor, however, before the telegram reached the Colonel; † and, sadly to the annoyance of the General, as well as to that of the President, the unarmed steamer and her helpless passengers sped forward to the scene of their own and their country's humiliation.

But the transmission of a telegram was not all that was done to save the country from the disastrous result of General Scott's pertinacity in preferring his ideas of "military strategy" to the teachings of common sense. The information of the failure of the General's telegram to arrest the expedition was received in Washington, on Sunday, the sixth of January; ‡ and, on the following day, the Secretary of the Navy dispatched an Order to Captain Farragut to put to sea, with the *Brooklyn*, with all speed, and to search for the *Star of the West* and to aid and succor her, in case she should need it; and General Scott simultaneously sent an Order to the commander of the detachment of recruits which the *Star of the West* carried, which Captain Farragut was to deliver to him, reciting the Order of the Secretary of the Navy, and directing him "to land his troops at Fortress "Monroe and discharge the ship" §—the best acknowledgement which the General could have made of his own professional inefficiency. The *Brooklyn* sailed on the following day, the ninth of January; ¶ but, long before, the *Star of the*

* Colonel Henry L. Scott to Henry B. Dawson July 28, 1872.

See, also, Secretary Holt's letter to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; Mr. Buchanan to the same, October 26, 1862; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 190, 191.

† "I simply received a telegraphic dispatch to detain the steamer which I personally gave to General Thomas, "with all diligence, on the evening of its date, who then told me it was too late to stop the steamer."—Colonel Henry L. Scott to Henry B. Dawson, July 28, 1872.

‡ Washington Correspondence of *The New York Herald*, January 8th, in the *Herald* of January 9th, 1861.

§ Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 191, 192.

¶ "The war-steamer *Brooklyn* sailed from Norfolk yesterday, her destination, it is supposed, being Charleston."—*New York Daily Tribune*, January 10, 1861.

See, also, *The New York World*, of Thursday, January 10, 1861—which states that she left her anchorage at 2 P.M., on that day; and the *New York Daily Herald*, of the same date.

A dispatch from Norfolk, in the *Tribune* of the next day, says the *Brooklyn* went off in such haste that "she would not stop to discharge" the pilot, Mr. Guy, and carried him off, to sea.

* Captain McGowan's Report, January 12, 1861.

† Secretary Holt to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861.

See, also, the Washington letter of January 8th, in *The New York Herald* of January 9th; that of January 9, 1861, in *The New York Tribune* of January 10, 1861; and Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 191.

‡ Secretary Holt to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861.

See, also, Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 191.

§ Secretary Holt to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; the same to President Lincoln, March 5, 1861.

¶ "The 'countermand' spoken of was not more cordially sanctioned by the President than it was by General Scott and myself."—Secretary Holt to the Editor of *The National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; Buchanan's *Mr. Buchanan's Administration*, 190, 191.

West was beyond her reach, and, at that time, had reached the entrance to the harbor, at Charleston.

With all her lights extinguished, "to avoid being seen" by the Carolinians, the *Star of the West* reached the Bar, off Charleston-harbor, at half past one o'clock, on the morning of Wednesday, the ninth of January; but, because the buoys had been removed and the lights extinguished, by the insurgents, she was obliged to feel her way, without knowing her exact position and, at four o'clock, she hove to, to await the opening day. At day-break, the guard boat, *General Clinch*, discovered her, and burned one blue and two red lights, as signals of her approach and for the purpose of calling the Carolinians, on Morris's-island, to prepare for her reception. Every soldier which she carried was sent below; and, with consistent pusillanimity, her real character and the purpose for which she had been sent to Charleston were studiously concealed *—as if her coming had not been announced, in that city, long before, both by the vigilant representatives of the Charleston Press† and by those friends of the insurgents, in New York, ‡ who had seen and heard what any shrewd observer could easily have seen and heard, concerning her destination and purposes, even before she had cast off her lines, at her wharf, in that city—to say nothing of information also sent, subsequently, by the Secretary of the Interior, to Judge Longstreet, with his earnest entreaty to use force, if necessary, to prevent her from reaching the fort§—and if she really displayed any colors, at that time, or for some time subsequent thereto, it was done with so much bashfulness that the anxious eyes which watched her movements from within the walls of Fort Sumter, ¶ as well as those of the Carolin-

ians, who were not less vigilant, entirely failed to discover them.

The story of the reception she met, from the juvenile artillerists, under Major Stevens, who were posted on Morris's-island, has been already related and need not be repeated, in detail—she was fired on, with the two twenty-four pounders which, served by the party of Cadets from the Citadel-academy, commanded by Major Stevens, at that moment, constituted the sum and substance of Carolina's effective armament: * she was struck, once, in her hull; and her planking, at that place, was "stove in": † her Captain, evidently more anxious to protect his insurance‡ than to discharge the particular duty on which he had been sent, wore round his ship; § put out to sea; slunk away to the port whence he had sailed, a few days before; ¶ and fell back into the obscurity from which he had not sufficient manliness, nor sufficient ambition, nor sufficient sympathy for the beleaguered garrison whom he had been sent to strengthen, nor sufficient patriotism, to extricate himself, even when so remarkable an opportunity had been afforded him to have done so, simultaneously with a notable service to the pent-up garrison and a greater service to his anxious country. ¶

During the morning, after the *Star of the West* had gone to sea, Major Anderson addressed a letter to Governor Pickens,** reciting the

McGowan and the Reporter of the *Evening Post*, who was on board the *Star of the West*, agree in their respective statements that there was a flag, on the flag-staff, at the stern of the ship.

* We are assured by one of those who assisted in throwing up the earth-work—one of the best known members of the Bar, in Carolina—that no other battery was then completed; and there can be no doubt of the entire accuracy of his statement.

† Captain McGowan's Report, January 12, 1861.

‡ In reply to our inquiry, on this subject, while conversing with one of the most eminent merchants of New York, we received the answer given in the text; and the high standing of our informant and his well-known acquaintance with the facts are such that we desire no better evidence, on this subject—were we at liberty to mention his name, which we withhold at his request, our readers, too, would be assured of the accuracy of his statement.

§ Captain McGowan's Report, January 12, 1861.

¶ Captain McGowan's Report shows that the *Star of the West* ran back from Charleston in ten hours less time than were taken to run down to that port, from New York.

¶ "That vessel, BUT FOR THE HESITATION OF THE MASTER, might, as is generally believed, have delivered at the fort the men and subsistence on board."—*Memoir of General Scott. Written by himself*, II., 621.

See, also, the Washington Correspondence of *The New York Tribune*, January 30, in that paper of the 31st.

** Major Anderson to Governor Pickens, January 9, 1861.

* Captain McGowan's Report, January 12, 1861.

† It was communicated to the *Charleston Mercury*, on the afternoon of Saturday, the fifth of January, by Doctor Alexander Jones, of the *New York Herald*.—*Dispatch in The Tribune*, January 22, 1861.

See, also, Greeley's *American Conflict*, I., 412.

‡ "There were dozens of telegraphic despatches immediately sent off to Charleston, announcing her departure, 'the moment she left this port,' " — *New York Daily Tribune*, January 10, 1861.

§ Secretary Thompson's *Address to the People of Mississippi*; Secretary Holt to the *National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861; and his second letter, to the same paper, in response to Mr. Thompson's answer to the first, March 25, 1861.

¶ General Jefferson C. Davis assures us that no colors were displayed, at that time, in such a manner that the garrison could see them, nor at any time, except the large garrison-flag, on the fore, to which reference has been made.

It is proper to remark, here, however, that both Captain

circumstances of the opening of their fire, by the battery on Morris's island and by Fort Moultrie, on the unarmed steamer "bearing the flag of [his] Government;" declaring his ignorance "that War had been declared by South Carolina "on the United States;" * hoping that the ag-

* If, under any circumstances, South Carolina could, legally, have "declared War" "on the United States," it certainly ill-became Major Anderson to recognize in an official note, the existence of any such right, in any State, under such circumstances as then existed; and when he sent that note to Charleston, under a flag of truce, he still further recognized the claim which South Carolina had then unduly presented, to be considered and treated as an independent nation.

It will scarcely be necessary for us to say, here, that, because South Carolina, at the time of which we write, had no constitutional right to withdraw from the Confederation and re-assume the powers which she had previously delegated to it, without the affirmative vote, constitutionally given, of each of her sister States, to thus amend the organic law of the Republic, her pretensions to independent nationality, at that time, were not valid, either in law or in fact; and that, therefore, she was utterly incapable, at that time, of declaring War on any other power and utterly disqualified to receive, much less to require, a flag of truce, from any officer, of any other power. In fact, at that time, the Carolinians were simply *insurgents*; and if Major Anderson was not aware of that stern fact and, necessarily, was ignorant of their legal status, as such, he was unfit for the position which he then occupied. As a soldier—in which capacity only he then stood—his duty was, clearly, not to volunteer the official recognition of any pretensions, on the part of the Carolinians, that South Carolina was an independent nation or possessed the right, in herself, to declare and levy War; but—as the Royal officers did, in 1776, when the Americans sent flags of truce to their lines—he should have sent them back, without recognition, until those whose right it was to do so, had recognized those who sent and those who bore them as something more than insurgents and rebels.*

We leave others to determine the question, whether or not, in thus hastening, uninvited, to recognize, in an official note, the validity of South Carolina's pretensions to a right to declare War and to require the honors which belong only to an independent nationality, Major Anderson was an innocent victim of his own ignorance or a swift witness, obeying the impulses of his own evident sympathy with those who were thus in insurrection and whom he thus addressed, at the expense of his duty to the United States, as an officer of their Army, commanding a post in front of an enemy.

* In order that we may not be misunderstood, we copy a letter sent by Major-general William Phillips, to one of his subordinate officers, who evidently commanded an outpost to which a flag had been directed, by the Americans, during the War of the Revolution:

"The boat from *Ticonderoga*, called a flag of truce, "may be sent back with the persons who came in it. It "is unnecessary to say more to those people than to repeat

gression had been committed without the Governor's sanction or authority; declaring that, *under that hope*, he had refrained from opening a fire on the assailants, from Fort Sumter; * inquiring if the fire was really opened in obedience to the Governor's instructions; and notifying the latter that, if the aggression was not disclaimed, it would be considered an act of War and would be followed, on the return of his messenger, by a refusal to permit any vessel to enter the harbor within the range of his guns.† The Governor's answer recited the existing relations between South Carolina and the United States, as those relations were understood in the Executive Chamber of that State; and declared that any attempt to reinforce the garrison of Fort Sumter or to re-take the works then occupied by the State troops was considered an hostile act; that the strange steamer was the bearer of such a reinforcement, disregarded the warning shot which was sent across her bows, and was *fired on by authority*; and that the Major himself must be the judge of his own responsibility in what-

* It may be well for those who desire to ascertain the exact truth of the different portions of *The Story of Fort Sumter*, to notice and remember what Major Anderson declared, in his note, to have been the reason he had refrained from opening a fire on the assailants of the *Star of the West*, as it was not in harmony with the reasons which injudicious friends of the Major are fond of presenting as the true reasons for that "forbearance."

† We have not yet found any authority, in a Major of the Army, commanding an outpost, anywhere, to determine and declare what shall or what shall not be regarded by him, officially, as public War. It is clear, however, that Major assumed such an authority, in this instance; and we invite the especial attention of our readers to the manner in which the Major subsequently conducted the "War" which he had thus established.

"that His Excellency, the Commander-in-chief, does not "permit flags of truce or any communication with the "American Rebels, unless coming to implore the King's "mercy.

"The allowing these Rebels in this Boat to return, and "not made prisoners, is an instance of the clemency of "His Majesty's officers to these unfortunate people; but "it is recommended to them to be careful how they venture within the posts of the Army, as they will be treated as spies.

"CAMP AT ST. JOHN'S, November 15, 1776.

"W. PHILIPS, M. General.

"To Captain SHANKS, commanding the Naval Department, at St. John's, to be sent by him to Lieutenant "Longcraft; and a copy of this may be given to the "Rebels."

This letter indicates how little consideration an open insurgent is entitled to, at the hands of a faithful officer of the Government against which the insurrection is directed.

ever he might do in the premises.* To this defiant answer, Major Anderson weakly replied, during the same day, informing the Governor that he "deemed it proper to refer the whole matter to [his] Government;" that he should defer the establishment of his threatened blockade of the port, "until the arrival from Washington of the instructions [he might] receive;"† that he had appointed Lieutenant Theodore Talbot, of the garrison, his messenger, for the purpose of communicating with the President; and expressing a hope that no obstruction would be offered to the Lieutenant's departure, on that service;—a favor which the Governor seems to have duly extended to him.‡ The Lieutenant reached Washington in safety; delivered the Major's dispatches to the President; and, by his very intelligent statements of the condition of the garrison and of the capability of Fort Sumter to make a vigorous defence, he relieved the President of the apprehensions which he had previously entertained for their safety, and led to the immediate suspension, for the present, of all thoughts, on his part, of attempting to reinforce them.‡

But, notwithstanding the repulse of the *Star of the West* and the consequent relief of the anxiety of the insurgents concerning the probable reinforcement of the garrison from that quarter, it was not long before the departure of the *Brooklyn*, from Hampton-roads, evidently for Charleston, was made known, through dispatches received in the latter city; and again the martial spirit of Carolina—made still more bellicose by reason of the successful issue of its first adventure, a few hours before—was again aroused, for action. The troops were again assembled, for service in the field; the buoys which had not been already removed were taken up; the guards were doubled; additional guns were hastily mounted on the points whence, it was supposed, they could best obstruct her passage; hulks were floated down and sunk in the channel; the passenger steamship *Marion* was seized and ordered to be razed and armed; and, generally, every possible preparation was

made for her reception and repulse.* As the *Brooklyn*, on her arrival off the Bar, after having ascertained that the *Star of the West* had been there and departed, made no attempt to enter the harbor, the excitement which had been produced by her expected participation in the struggle quickly subsided; and the Carolinians as quickly resumed their ordinary occupations.

The information of this new evidence of South Carolina's disaffection, of course, revived all the excitement, the country over, which the evacuation of Fort Moultrie had created, a few days before; but other subjects very soon arrested the attention of the public, and, in a day or two, the assault on the *Star of the West* ceased to be regarded as the subject to be first spoken of and that which should be most carefully discussed.†

Thus was originated, in this manner was conducted, and thus was terminated this celebrated expedition—an expedition which was not necessary, had not been asked, and was designed as much to promote the ambition of an aspiring politician as to display the continued vigilance of an effete soldier. It was an expedition, too, which, in all its parts, reflected as little credit on the professional ability and the personal good sense of its venerable author as on the manliness and patriotism of the officer who commanded it. Charity may, indeed, cover, with her mantle, the imbecility of the venerable soldier in whose impaired intellect the project of sending it was conceived and under whose persistent demands, backed by a reckless partisan Press, it was finally authorized; but, at the same time, justice demands that the venerable President, who had steadily resisted the unwise project, because of its hopelessness, and as steadily insisted on the employment of a more formidable force, shall be sheltered from the unjust assaults, too often prompted by unworthy motives, which, from that day to this, have considered him as hopelessly imbecile and unalterably a traitor. Had the *Brooklyn* been sent from Hampton-roads, on the second of January, as the President desired, and earnestly insisted, and duly ordered, instead of the *Star of the West*, from the city of New York, at the close of the fifth of that month, under General Scott's especial guidance, the garrison would have been reinforced, effectively, on Friday, the fourth of that month, almost before the Carolinians had begun to shovel up their first rude

* Governor Pickens to Major Anderson, January 9, 1861.

† General Jefferson C. Davis says that, notwithstanding the apparent suspension of Major Anderson's threat to blockade the harbor, he really did establish such a blockade, for two or three days.

‡ Major Anderson's second letter to Governor Pickens, January 9, 1861.

§ Lieutenant Talbot was entertained, at "The Charleston Hotel," by the Carolinians, and left for Washington, "late last night."—*Dispatch from Charleston*, December 10, in *The New York Tribune of January 11, 1861*.

¶ Secretary Holt to Major Anderson, January 16, 1861; the same to President Lincoln, March 5, 1861.

* Dispatch from Charleston, January 10, in *The New York Tribune of January 11*; Letters from Charleston, January 10 and 11, in *The New York Tribune of January 15*; Letter from that city, January 18, in *The New York Tribune of January 18*.

† We depend on our personal recollections, on this subject.

earth-work; and even, at that time, if Major Stevens, and his young artillerymen, and their two twenty-four pounders had already been placed in the position which they so successfully occupied, five days later, Captain Farragut, in the *Brooklyn*, would have thought of everything else than dollars and cents, and have presented to his gallant young opponents an example of manliness, in the cause of his country and of humanity, which might not have been useless to them—it is not improbable, too, that, in that case, with three hundred tried soldiers added to his command and the frigate, herself, as an auxiliary, Major Anderson might have been induced, at least, to re-occupy the works over which the palmetto flag of Carolina, then, so uncertainly fluttered, if not to place Charleston, herself, under tribute; and so entirely helpless was the State, at that moment, and so completely unprepared for war, that neither her sister-States nor her own inhabitants could have rescued her or her cause from the defeat and humiliation which, in such a case, would have been their inevitable lot.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IV.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MOOREMANIA, N. Y." or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & CO., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

1.—*Wilfrid Cumberland*: an autobiographical story. By George Macdonald. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. x., 488.

The romantic autobiography of a dispossessed heir, not poor, without pride or ambition, and reckless of his own rights. It begins nowhere and ends nowhere, however; and there is nothing in it to attract particular attention, unless a vein of irreligion and religion which runs through it.

CHROMOS.—The delay in issuing this number enables us to notice, in this place, two beautiful little chromos which have been sent to us from the office of *The Star-spangled Banner*, at Hinsdale, N. H.

One of these pictures represents a bunch of moss-roses, in all their varied beauties of leaves, buds, and full-blown flowers: the other represents a handfull of autumnal leaves, gorgeous in their display of those exquisite tints which make the American forests, in Autumn, so peculiarly noteworthy. Both are little gems of the chromo-lithographic art, of the beauty of which the accompanying trade-marks of "L. PRANG, BOE-TON" add no additional guarantee; and, properly mounted and framed, they are worthy of a place on the walls of anybody's parlor.

These pictures have been prepared for premiums to subscribers for *The Star-spangled Banner*, a monthly newspaper, devoted to light literature, which is published by Messrs. Hunter & Co. at Hinsdale, N. H. at a dollar per year—each subscription carrying with it one of these chromos.

V.—ADVERTISEMENT.

During several months past, we have diligently attempted to recover the time, in the monthly issues of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which we had previously lost in successive sick-rooms and through the accident which we had encountered, in January, 1870; and we have so far succeeded that the completion of the missing numbers of the Second Series, at an early day, seems to have been assured. We find, however, that the strain on our impaired health will be so great and so hazardous, if we shall continue it by continuing the contest—Time having had too much start to be overtaken without a more patient, a longer-continued, and a more earnestly-contested struggle than we can sustain—that prudence requires us to pursue the fugitives no longer than shall be required to complete the series of monthly issues as far as the number for March, 1873, and then to retire from the race, a discomfited, but not a disheartened, competitor.

This determination, which has been made only on the demand of our physician and those of our family and best friends, obliges us to drop twelve numbers from our unpublished monthly issues—the number for April, 1872, which will soon become due, thereby becoming the number for April, 1873—and to extend our subscriptions for 1872 to the close of 1873, at which latter time what was originally intended to have been the issues of 1872 will be duly completed, in exactly the same form and, generally, with identically the same historical papers which those issues would have contained, had they borne the date of 1872 instead of that of 1873.

As our subscribers will receive exactly the same papers, from other pens than our own, in the one case which they would have received in the other, and as we shall be enabled, by this arrangement, to devote more time and care on our own articles, without hazarding our health, if no our life, we trust no one will feel dissatisfied at the same time, as the full amount of twelve numbers of sixty-four pages each, which each subscriber is entitled to receive for his \$5.00 dollars, and would have received had this arrangement not have been made, will be forwarded to his address, under the present arrangement without discount or abatement of any kind—the dates of nine of them, "1873" instead of "1872," being the only difference—no one except ourselves, will suffer the least pecuniary loss from the change.

THE

Historical Advertiser.

MARCH, 1878.

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—Vide next page—

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In an Appendix is placed such material as would have interrupted, too greatly, the flow of the American history, in the Introduction. The *Roman* origin of the name Corvinus is therein explained, with a few remarks about the Roman Corvini, whose virtues at length gave name to a village in Hungary, whence the modern name of CORWIN sprang. Brief sketches of the eminent *Hungarian* Corvini, John and Matthias, by name, are given—the traditional ancestors of the Long Island Family—famous in politics and in literature. A brief account of the Reformation in Hungary is added, as influences, political and religious, led to the exile of the family. Sketches of Reva. Anthony and John Corvinus, of Germany, and of others of this name, are also presented.

Then follows a condensed history of the English Curwen family, the source of the Salem Curwens and the Ohio Corwens, condensed from Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland, England*, and Camden's *Britannia*. These authors give the history of this family back to A. D. 870.

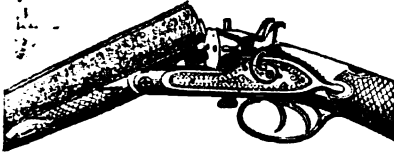
The Appendix concludes with an account of the conversion of Philip Corwine, of Ireland, nephew of Archbishop Curwen, (Curwenne, or Corin), all of the same English family. Philip was a Romish monk, but converted by a visit to Rome, in 1589.

A full Index refers to the services and incidents, of the different persons of the Corwin name, in the Revolution, in the Rebellion, and other Wars, while it also gives the lists of the clergymen, lawyers, physicians, legislators, etc., which the families have produced. The names of families intermarried, the descendants of other surnames, and the various localities of residence, are also contained in the Index, with the proper references.

*. The partial records of other families, intermarried, sometimes quite frequently, with Corwins, are herein also found, such as Aldrich, Baker, Brown, Campbell, Case, Clark, Davis, Drake, Everett, Halsey, Hobart, Horton, Howell, Hulse, King, Little, Mapes, Mullspaugh, Phillips, Reeve, Reeves, Shannon, Smith, Sperry, Tapping, Taylor, Terry, Thatcher, Thompson, Tuthill, Wells, Woodruff, Young, Youngs, and many others.

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THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

April, 1873.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

APRIL, 1873.

[No. 4.]

ADVERTISEMENT.

The attention of the Binder of this volume of the Magazine is particularly directed to the Advertisement which was printed at the foot of Page 192, in the March number.

I.—AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL
PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE
NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE
HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.

BY ETHAN ALLEN, ESQR.

[Among those who have become distinguished in the annals of the United States, few have been more seriously misrepresented than **ETHAN ALLEN**, one of the leaders of the party, in Vermont, who, a hundred years ago, were known, locally, as "The Green-mountain boys;" and that misrepresentation has extended over his character and conduct, as a man and a citizen, his professional abilities and conduct, as a soldier, and the opinions, on religious subjects, which he is known to have entertained and published to the world.

Without noticing, in this place, either of the other subjects concerning which **Ethan Allen** has been thus misrepresented, both by unduly zealous friends and equally zealous enemies, we may be allowed to refer to the opinions, on religious subjects, which he is known to have entertained and published to the world—opinions which have been, very frequently, represented as of the most obnoxious type of infidelity, and, at others, tending "to prove that they who rather confide in their own wisdom than seek instruction from heaven may embrace absurdities which would disgrace the understanding of a child." It is said, as illustrative of his alleged absurdity, that "he believed, with Pythagoras, that men, after death, would transmigrate into beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, etc.;" and that "he often informed his friends that he, himself, expected to live again, in the form of a large white horse."

In 1784, he published, at Bennington, Vermont, an octavo volume of four hundred and seventy-seven pages, entitled: **REASON | THE ONLY | ORACLE OF MAN, | OR A | Compendious System | OF | Natural Religion. | Alternately ADORNED with Confutations | of a variety of DOCTRINES | incompatible to it; | Deduced from the most sacred Ideas which | we are able to form of the | DIVINE and Human | CHARACTERS, | AND FROM THE | Universe in**
HIST. MAG. VOL. I. 13.

General. | By **Ethan Allen, Esq. | BENNINGTON: | STATE OF VERMONT; | Printed by HASWELL & RUSSELL. | M.DCC.LXXXIV. |**

That volume, as its title indicates, is a "system of natural religion," in which the author discussed and enforced "the certainty of the being and providence of God," and of his goodness to man through the intervention of "the series of nature's operations, which are commonly described by the name of natural causes," together with notices of, among others, the doctrines of "the eternity of creation," "the infinitude and eternity of Providence," "the agency of man," "the moral government of God," "eternal punishment," "the immortality of the soul," "the depravity of human reason," "revelation," "miracles," "faith," "a trinity in the Divine Essence," "the person of Jesus Christ," "Paradise," "the devil," "imputation of moral good or evil," "the atonement for original sin," "the Scriptures," and "reason." It is evidently the result of deep thought, carefully and respectfully presented to the world; and, however much the reader may differ from the author, in some portions of it, there is much of it in which that author was evidently in harmony with those who have most seriously misrepresented and condemned him.

In presenting his "system of Natural Religion" to the world, the Author was evidently sensible of the adverse criticism and undue commendations to which both he and his book would, inevitably, be subjected; but he boldly, but appropriately, declared that "an apology appears to me to be impertinent in writers who venture their works to public inspection, for this obvious reason, that if they need it, they should have been stifled in the birth, and not permitted a public existence. I therefore offer my composition to the candid judgment of the impartial world without it," he continues, "taking it for granted that I have as good a natural right to expose myself to public censure, by endeavouring to subvert mankind as any of the species, who have published their productions since the creation. And I ask no favour at the hands of philosophers, divines, or Critics, but hope and expect they will severely chastise me for my errors and mistakes, least they may have a share in perverting the truth, which is very far from my intention." He also boldly and honestly described the origin of the volume, in his early disposition to contemplation, and the difficulties he had encountered, in the preparation of it for the press, because of his deficiency in education and his lack of opportunity to acquire it, for this purpose; and he also declared, with equal sincerity, we doubt not, that he had, sometimes, been so mortified with his shortcomings

while correcting his manuscripts for the press, that he was "in some measure diffident of his accomplishments in composing it." He declared, too, that the Bible and a Dictionary were the only books which he had made use of, in the correction of his "old manuscripts"—written, from time to time, as his system was evolved in his "contemplations" and his limited readings, in order that his memory might be assisted and his faculties be unembarrassed—and he also stated, with the utmost candor, "I have invariably endeavored to make reason my guide through the whole contents of the system, and expect that they who read it, will approve or disapprove it, as they may judge, whether it accords with that original principle or not. If the arguments are rightly stated, and the inferences justly drawn," he continued, "they will stand the test of truth, although they do not come recommended to the public with the prelude of 'Thus saith the Lord.'"

The peculiar doctrines which Colonel Allen published through the medium of that volume, as its author had reasonably supposed, soon brought upon him the reproaches of many of those who read, or professed to read, them; and, from that time to the present, we imagine, this work has served as the foundation on which have been constructed the greater number of the misrepresentations of his opinions, on religious subjects, to which we have referred.

Of himself, he said, with unusual frankness, "In the circle of my acquaintance (which has not been small) I have generally been denominated a Deist, the reality of which I never disputed, being conscious I am no Christian, except mere infant baptism makes me one; and as to being a Deist, I knew not, strictly speaking, whether I am one or not, for I have never read their writings; mine will therefore determine the matter; for I have not in the least disguised my sentiments, but have written freely without any conscious knowledge of prejudice for, or against any man, sectary or party whatever; but wish that good sense, truth and virtue may be promoted and flourish in the world, to the detection of "delusion, superstition and false religion." At the same time, while thus candidly presenting his own Confession of Faith, as it then was, with equal candor and unusual integrity, in such matters, he openly promised that "ANY ERRORS IN THE SUGGESTING TREATISE, WHICH MAY BE RATIONALLY POINTED OUT, WILL READILY BE REMOVED," by the public's most obedient humble servant, ETHAN ALLEN."

Notwithstanding the opinions which he may have entertained, at that time, or any other—and some portion of the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls may have been among them—soon after the publication of the *Oracles*, to which we have referred, Colonel Allen discovered, or supposed he discovered, one, at least, of those "errors," in his recently published "system," which he was evidently prepared to find therein; and, agreeably to the promise which he had publicly made, in the Preface to that volume, he promptly proceeded, as best he could, to "rescind" that error and present, in its stead, what he conceived to be a purer and better doctrine.

The "error" to which we allude is found in Chapter II., Section VIII., Page 94 of the *Oracles*, and concerns "the essence of the Soul" and, consequently, "its man-

ner of acting;" and, for the purpose of correcting the error into which he had fallen, as far as he had seen that he had been in error, Colonel Allen prepared, with evidently great care, an *Appendix to the Oracles*, explanatory of his latest opinions on that subject.

That *Appendix* was intended "to be Published at a future day when it" (*would*) "not infringe on" (*its author's*) "fortune or present living;" but, as far as we can learn, no portion of it has yet been presented to the world. It is a manuscript, evidently in the handwriting of its author, divided into an *Introduction* and four distinct *Sections*, extending over eighty pages of foolscap; but a promised "letter to Doctor Benj'n Gale in answer to one of his, on the subject of eternal Creation," which was to have been "subjoined" to his argument on the special subject of the paper, if it was ever thus attached to it—which is doubtful—has disappeared.

The subject of that *Appendix*, in itself, is scarcely such an one as would entitle it to admission into THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; but its Author's position before the world, as one of the founders of the State of Vermont, and the purpose for which it was evidently written induced our lamented friend, Hon. GEORGE F. HOUARTON, of St. Albans, Vermont, to offer it to us, on condition that we would publish it, in that work, and appropriate, from the anticipated profits arising from the publication, a designated sum toward the erection of a monument to the memory of the author of the *Essay*—promising, at the same time, on his part, as an inducement for us to undertake what was not an agreeable duty, to prepare for it an appropriate prefatory Note, in order that the publication of such a paper might be made as agreeable as possible to the readers of the Magazine and as remunerative as possible to himself.

The death of our friend, soon after, deprived those who have survived him of the pleasure and instruction which the promised Note, from his pen, would undoubtedly have secured to them; and the duty has devolved upon us to perform, for ourself, as best we may, the service which he undertook to do for us, and, in this brief and simple Note, to introduce what will be welcomed, in many quarters, as a paper of unusual interest, while, in others, it will be regarded only as a literary or theological curiosity.

We present to our readers, in this number of the Magazine, the *Introduction* to the *Essay*, in the form in which that *Introduction* was prepared by its Author, without the slightest known variation, either in its spelling, capitals, and punctuation, or in the structure of its paragraphs. In our next number, nothing unforeseen preventing, we shall present the first Section of the *Essay*, which is devoted to "the essence of the soul, and cognitive and incognitive entity in general."—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

An essay on the universal plenitude of BEING, and on the nature and immortality of the human soul, and its agency.

by Ethan Allen Esq^r

Proposed as an appendix, to a system of moral philosophy, lately published at Bennington, entitled oracles of REASON.

To which is subjoined, a letter to Doctor Benjamin Gale in answer to one of his, on the subject of eternal Creation.

INTRODUCTION.

The Volum to which this is an appendix, was written and printed, previous to the composing this addition, in which I have altered my opinion, of the essence of the soul. In page 94 of the said volum I considered the soul, as not capable of possessing or occupying space, in which opinion, (with many others) for the reasons hereafter exhibited, I conclude that I was mistaken. The soul, with entity in general, must needs occupy space in some sense or other. Though the soul is intrinsically different from senseless matter, (which, in the course of the arguments, will be evinced) yet (with other intelligent entity) it must have a place, in order to have an existence; and if a place, it must have substance, (however mysterious to us) which is by nature capable of possessing place; since admitting the existence of the soul (of which we have an intuitive consciousness) it must exist some where, which is the same as to exist in some place, for an existence no where, is a contradiction to existence it self.

We must therefore ascribe substance to the nature of the soul, a property by which only it is capable of place, or whereness, and consequently of existence; for otherwise, we only amuse our selves with the empty notions of nonentity for the soul, which is the same as for an intelligent conscious being, in actual possession of place and existence, to imagine that he is nothing; which, if true, we query how he ever came to imagine any thing about entity or nonentity, or to have exercised any reflection or consciousness at all; since nothing, or the mere absence of being, could not have done it. I suppose that writers and speakers have confounded themselves more or less, in their arguments on this subject, by denominating the soul to be either material or immaterial, and by examining the properties of incogitative and stupid matter, which is capable of division, figure and motion, with the effects and combinations, which, to our senses and conceptions, appear to be in those kinds of beings; and finding that there is none of the properties or affections that are natural to an intelligent soul, except the property of possessing place, which is common to senseless as well as to moral beings, we are apt to run into the absurd conclusion that the soul is no substance, having in the first place began our query whether the soul be material or immaterial, and finding that it is not material, in the sense we have before observed, we incautiously conclude it to be immaterial; and in our diffinition of immaterial, we preclude the Idea of substance from the soul, and conse-

quently are divided into the material and immaterial systems; not considering that there may be, and undoubtedly are, intelligent substances, specifically and intrinsically distinct from matter, and though they are by nature immaterial, are nevertheless substantial beings, and have a capacity of whereness or of possessing place. But this notion of spiritual substances of which the essence of inte[ligent*] beings exist, having altogether or too much been neglected, and [the] contrary doctrine that mere matter composes all substances, having been advanc[ed by] the Materialests, who argued Justly from their system, [that] Immaterial substances or souls coul have no existence, as the [Imma]terial system excluded them from being. And the Imma[terial]ests (of whom I was till lately one,) by denying the Mater[ial sys]tem, in order to make way for the Intelligent existence [of the] soul, advanced the doctrine of its Immateriality, and ra[n into] the egragious blunder of denying the soul the property of [possessing] substance at all; and consequently the property of possess[ing] place, which militates conclusively against its existen[ce in] theory; though not in practice and fact, (and it is a ma[zim] in law that facts are stubborn things,) and since in fact [we] have an Intelligent existence, we are obliged as philosop[hers] to ascribe such properties to that part of our nature, as [are] manifestly consistent therewith, and Essential to it, and deny to it, such [as are] incompatible to its being: and since in fact, if the soul ex[ists] any where, it exists in some place, and if so, it must ha[ve the] property of substance wherewith to occupy the same, [as it] is manifestly chimerical to ascribe the notion of place, * * * to it.

Those who adhere to the immaterial system, except they premise a real substance, specifically and intrinsically different from mere matter, of which the soul exists, do by consequence (though not designedly) preclude the existence of the soul; since place is necessary to existence, and substance is essential to possess or occupy place. And on the other hand, those who maintain the material system, by necessary consequence preclude intelligence from the soul, for that matter is incogitative and passive. And thus both systems seem to militate against the existence of the soul, the former, by not including in their Idea of the soul any kind of substance, whereby it could exist, and the latter, by ascribing to it no other substance but matter only, which by nature

* The edges of this portion of the manuscript have disappeared; and we have placed in brackets what we suppose, from the fragments and the context, the author originally wrote thereon.—EDITOR.

is incapable of reflection and consciousness, and thereby negative the intelligence of the soul. These with other considerations exhibited in the following discourse, induced me to premise that the soul existed of a specific kind of spiritual substance, which, however imperceptible through the medium of sense, is nevertheless a real substance, since the soul, in this life, has an actual existence in and possession of the body: we will therefore endeavour to investigate its essence as far as it may be in our power.

What has been hinted at in the introduction may serve to prepare the mind of the reader for the reception of the following arguments on this subject.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—CHURCH AFFAIRS IN BOSTON, 1720-30.

A LETTER FROM THE REV. HENRY HARRIS, A.M., [1] TO THE RT. REV. EDMUND GIBSON, D.D., THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

FROM THE ARCHIVES IN THE EPISCOPAL PALACE, AT FULHAM, ENGLAND, NOW FIRST PRINTED. COMMUNICATED, WITH ANNOTATIONS, BIOGRAPHICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL, BY THE REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D., PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN HOBART COLLEGE, GENEVA, NEW YORK; AND HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BOSTON, NEW-ENGLAND, June 22d, 1724

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

To receive my humble & most hearty thanks for your fatherly care & goodness, expressed towards your clergy of this province in your Lordship's Letter to the Hon'ble the Lieu' Governor, Will^m Dummer, Esq^r, who has on all occasions employed his authority & influence in protecting our excellent Church & its Ministers from open enemies & pretended friends, from non-jurors & Jacobites, who, under color of advancing religion, have given it a wound which can't easily be healed, & taken the most effectual method to prevent the growth of the Church in these parts of the world. That this may not be thought to be *gratis dictum*, I beg leave to lay before your Lordship a narrative of some occurrences, which I shall attest with sufficient vouchers. 'T would be too long to recount by what steps a defection from the present happy constitution & protestant interest has of late so much prevailed here. In general; 'tis to be ascribed to Scotch Highlanders and other strangers, who, flocking over into this country in great numbers, have fomented divisions &

propagated their seditious principles among the inhabitants; but none did they so egregiously pervert as one John Checkley, [2] who keeps a Toy shop in this place. Him they found to be an instrument as fit for their purpose as ever Jetzer was for the Monks of Bern in Switzerland, & desperate like James Shephard in modern times. Mr Lesley's rehearsals & other works falling into this man's hands, they work'd so powerfully upon his distempered brain that he was very impatient till he had communicated his discoveries to the rest of mankind. The first essay he made in order to the conversion of the dissenters, was his reprinting the short & easy method with the Deists, [3] tho' I don't suppose there is one Deist in New-England, excepting those of his own party. His next effort (as I remember the order of his proceedings) whereby he thought to extirpate independency, [was] his publishing Lesley's Dialogues concerning predestination, [4] which being very crude & mean, (notwithstanding the great name of the author,) soon met with a proper answer, so that the doctrine of predestination grew more into reputation than it had done before, & the dissenters' cause suffered nothing from such feeble attacks. Being thus unsuccessful in print, he resolv'd to try what he could do another way, & having some acquaintance with Mr Timothy Cutler, [5] then a Dissenting Minister in the neighboring province of Connecticut, he ply'd him with such irresistible arguments as compelled him to declare for the Church of England upon Jacobite principles, namely, the invalidity or nullity of the Baptism & other ordinances administered by the Dissenters. I had a great deal of reason to believe that the chief motive of this person's conversion was the prospect of a new Church in this Town, & sent to your Lordship's predecessor an account of that whole affair; but my letter not coming to his Lordship's hands till a few weeks before his death, his Lordship was not capable of considering the subject-matter thereof. The original is with Dr. Bearyman, the late Bp's Chaplain, & if your Lordship desires a sight of it, I presume he'll produce it.

Checkley valued himself so much upon the above mentioned Proselyte, that he followed him & the other Connecticut Gent^l to England, where he appeared as a Candidate for Holy Orders, applying himself to the Hon'ble Society *de propagando Evangelio* for a mission in their service & insinuating himself by his lies into the favor of several members of that Ven'ble body, that in all probability he would have obtained his ends had not His Excellency Col^l Shute, our worthy Gov^r laid open his villany by informing the Hon'ble Society that he had refused to take the oath of abjuration when tendered to him in New England, and that he had also embarrass'd

His Excellency's Administration by his factious & turbulent behavior. [6] Hereupon the society thought fit to reject him. After this repulse he pursued his old schemes & adhered to his old principles, re-printing while he was in London, Leale's Discourse concerning Episcopacy, intermixing some scurrilous stuff of his own with many positions of dangerous consequence to the Governm^t [7]. After his return to New-England he, in an audacious manner, exposed to sale the said treatise, for which offence the Hon^{ble} the Lieu^t Gov^r & His Majesty's Council ordered the Attorney General & another Counsel learned in the law, to draw up an Indictment, & the Grand Jury found the Bill against him. Conscious of his misdemeanours, he absconded & fled out of the province; which being a demonstratⁿ of his guilt, & the passages in the book being very flagrant, I thought it my duty to animadvert in a Sermon upon tenets of such pernicious tendency, the indefeasible hereditary right of princes being expressly asserted in Checkley's libels, & all Magistrates who derive their power in any measure from the consent of the people, stigmatized with the title & character of usurpers. As a good subject, I could not suffer such things to pass without reproof from the pulpit, & as the divine of the Established Church, I deemed it incumbent on me to condemn another doctrinal error maintained in that book, namely, the invalidity of the Baptism, administered by Protestant Dissenters, [8] which opinion, when it was broach'd in the late reign by Dr Hickey, Mr Lawrence & other writers of that side were strenuously opposed by the upper House of Convocation, and my Lords, the Bishops made a Declaration against it; besides I am convinced in my own private judgment, that the s^d doctrine is not defensible, for which conviction I own myself indebted to the learned writings of the Rev^d Mr Bingham; & this I am well assured of, that the introducing these notions into this Country has so incensed & exasperated the minds of the people, that it is morally impossible they should ever be brought over to the Church upon the terms of being re-baptized, now so violently urged upon them. On the other hand, the Jacobite party were to that degree enraged against me for preaching in derogation of their favorite book, that they held a consultation, wherein they devoted me as a sacrifice to their revenge, & for the effecting of it they contrived that the people who compose our vestry should call me to an account for abusing them, & representing them as disaffected to the Governm^t. They met at a tavern, & I had not then the least notion of their designs against me; but being indisposed, was absent from that meeting, so they sent one of the Church wardens with a message or summons for me to attend at the next vestry, which I

declined; as being inform'd by several honest Gent^l, whose words I could depend upon, that my enemies had already prejudged my sermon, & charged me with saying things that I did not, & had been likewise guilty of much insolence & ill-manners, which sort of treatment I had not deserved at their hands, & might, for aught I know, proceed from their being intoxicated with the fumes of tobacco & wine, (two things always offensive to me) I judged it necessary to present a memorial to the Hon^{ble} the Lieu^t Gov^r & his Majesty's Council, wherein I desired that the matter might be heard before them, which was granted, & what the event of that hearing was, your L^dship will see by the enclosed memorial, & the vote of the Council upon it. [9] While these things were transacting, the Tories became a little apprehensive of their danger, & procured a vote in the vestry that an address should be presented to His Majesty, the tenor & design whereof is to clear every individual person belonging to our communion, from the imputation of disloyalty, which address I refused to sign for the reasons specified in a remonstrance subscribed by myself & some other Gent^l of honor & veracity, who enjoy considerable posts & bear commissions under the King. This remonstrance is sent to his Excellency our Gov^r, now in London, who is desired to communicate it to your Lordship for the vindication of the subscribers. Here I must not omit to mention one circumstance in which Checkley's friends mightily triumph, and that is, his taking the oaths about 3 weeks ago, which all discerning people ascribe to the impending penalties of the law, his trial being not yet come on, he having escaped the last sessions by his flight, but now residing in Boston: his case is exactly described by the Right Rev^d Father in God, the Lord Bishop of Bangor, on the last 30th of Jan^y sermon preached before the Lords, wherein his Lordship, in a very true & lively manner, displays the notions which some people have of the oaths, upon what principles & with what views they take them. I submit it to your Lordship, whether I ought not to have warned & cautioned my hearers against such principles & practices; whether by these warnings I have represented them as Jacobites, or have they not rather (I speak only of some of them) by their malignant & froward carriage, represented themselves more effectually than I could possibly do, if their spurning at my admonitions & their abetting & encouraging a professed Non-juror & subscribing to a seditious book, be any proof of Jacobitism, then they have an undoubted claim to that character; but that I have reflected upon the whole body of the people belonging to the Church, or treated them ill, I utterly deny: on the contrary, I can with the strictest truth assure your Lord-

ship that I have shown a forgiving spirit, even to my most inveterate enemies, being contented with a liberty of differing from 'em in judgment, & not attempting anything to their prejudice. I have used all the gentle methods of persuasion to reclaim 'em from their errors, & have never been wanting in a meek condescension to their infirmities, nor in a becoming tenderness to their persons & reputations; having during the whole course of my ministry for more than 15 years behaved myself inoffensively, as they have themselves acknowledged upon a thousand occasions, as will in some measure appear by their former recommendations of me to your L^dship's predecessors D^r Compton & D^r Robinson.

I am not ignorant that at this juncture I am blamed by some for my conduct towards T Cutler, the Minister of the new Church in this place; tho' upon the most impartial examination, I can't charge myself with the least offence in that respect, & I have challenged his friends to produce any one instance of it; for from the time of his admission into the Hon^{ble} Society's service, it has been my particular care not to say or do anything which might tend to his disparagement; but what my opinion of him was when he declared for the Church, your Lordship will perceive by my letter to your Lordship's predecessor; & my present opinion of him is that his behaviour is so imprudent, his notions so wild & extravagant, & his principles so uncharitable, that I may venture to affirm that the Church will never flourish under his care, the affections of the dissenters being entirely alienated from him, & there is not so much as one person of tolerable note & distinction whom he has brought off from the congregational persuasion. This is what I foresaw would be the issue of his management, & to show my dislike of it, I declined having any intimate conversation with him, lest his principles should be thought to be espoused by all of our communion, & so the whole Church should suffer thro' the indiscretion of one man. I am satisfied that by this means I have promoted the interest & credit of the Established Church, & am favor'd with the approbation of all the King's Officers, (one only excepted) & the most intelligent part of the congregation; & the King's Chapel, wherein I officiate, is throng'd & crowded with a very numerous audience. This it seems is no small grievance to D^r Cutler's friends, who impute the ill success of his ministry to my coldness towards him, & as I am informed, have sent to your Lordship a complaint against me, which was kept a secret by the persons who were active in it; but a Gent^l (M^r. Rob^t Temple) to whom these people offered their Petition for his signing, gave me this account, that whereas I had

treated D^r Cutler very unkindly, & represented his hearers as Jacobites, to the great discredit of the Church & the comfort of the dissenters; they therefore petitioned your Lordship for my removal from my present station. The Gent^l observed to them, that as by their own confession they did not pretend to charge me with any miscarriages in my life & conversation, he thought it a proceeding of a very extraordinary nature & unparrall'd barbarity to endeavour to take away my bread, supposing the charge of the facts set forth in their petition was made good; but that he was not satisfied in the truth of them, & therefore could sign no such papers. I doubt not but your Lordship being apprized of the origin & grounds of the s^d petition will think it resembles the embassy which Philip, King of Macedon, sent to the Athenians, requiring them to banish Demosthenes out of their State. The arguments which the Grecian Orator urged in his defence are well known to your Lordship, & therefore, I think it needless to repeat them. I am told that some people who belong to the King's Chapel have concurred with those of the New Church; but how far my colleague, the Rev^d M^r Myles, is concerned in this dirty work, I can't say, only this I am sure of, that he has declared more than once, he had no quarrel with me & should not interest himself in the differences betwixt me & my adversaries; since which time he has rec'd large presents from them, which 'tis possible may be attended with the same effects they had in Solomon's days, viz., of blinding the eyes. However, I am not averse to the substance of the petition, that your L^dship would please to remove me from this place; I hope not in anger, or by way of punishment, but as a reward of my faithful & laborious services in these parts of the world—for tho' 'tis difficult to speak of one's self, yet no man shall stop me of this boasting in the regions of New-England, that I have both planted & water'd several flourishing churches here, [10] and have seen the happy & fruitful increase of my labors, which, by the blessing of God, succeeded according to my wishes—not that I gained the dissenters by any sinister arts, or made 'em any concessions, either in doctrine or discipline, but used the strongest reasons I could think of to convince their understandings, & the softest words with the most affable courteous behaviour to attract their esteem & engage their affections, commending the purity of their morals, & desiring their perfection in an union with our truly primitive and apostolic Church, to which end I dispersed 1500 copies of Bp King's Inventions of Men in the Worship of God, and Bp Williams's Lawfulness of Worshipping God by the Common prayer, these treatises being in my humble opinion best adapted to the

necessities & capacities of the people in this Country, & fully answering my expectations. I confess the scene at present is much altered, & the Church's interest visibly declines since Dr Cutler has tried his new experiments. Thus, tho' he was made a Doctor in the Schools he proves himself to be a novice in the Church, and obliges the World with the taste of the first fruits of his Novitiate—in supplanting me, into whose labors he is entered without expressing the least grateful sense of the benefit he reaps from my unwearied patience, toil, & industry. So that, with some variation & prejudice to the poetry, Virgil's words are not foreign to my present circumstances: *Hanc ego Ecclesiam struxi, tulit alter Honores sic Nos non Vobis.*

If your Lordship requires it, I will get these things attested by persons more considerable both for number, fortune & reputation, than my adversaries, who have complained of me to your Lordship. But, in the mean time, as I thought it my duty to refer these disputes to the Government, which I conceive to be agreeable to your Lordship's letter to the Clergy of this province, a Letter to your Lordship from the Hon'ble the Lieu' Gov' concerning my conduct seemed more satisfactory than from obscure persons.

I am now afraid that I have tried your Lordship's patience; & nothing but absolute necessity sho'd have induced me to trespass so long upon your Lordship's precious moments, being sensible that 't would be an injury to the public to give your Lordship any unnecessary trouble or interruption in the discharge of your weighty & important cares; & this consideration hindered me from congratulating your promotion to the See of London; being sensible that your Lordship's celebrated virtues can receive no addition from such poor compliments as mine. I beg leave to add one word more, & I have done; & that is, that the fatigue & vexation I have lately met with here have thrown me into such an ill state of health, that for the recovery thereof I shall be necessitated to undertake a voyage to England this year, & intend, God willing, to do myself the honor of waiting upon your Lordship; depending upon your Lordship's goodness in the continuance of my subsistence till I am provided for at home; for I am under no apprehension that your L'dship will let me starve, having suffered very much already in my worldly interest for a steady attachment to the present happy constitution both in Church and state.

I humbly recommend myself to your Lordship's blessing, and am, with the most profound veneration, may it please your Lordship, your Lordship's

Most dutiful & most obed^t humb^e serv^t

H. HARRIS.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, BY REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, D.D.

NOTE 1.—Page 196.

The Rev. HENRY HARRIS, A.M., the writer of this letter to Bishop Gibson, was, for twenty years, the Assistant Minister of the King's Chapel, Boston. The MSS., copied, under the direction of the late Rev. Francis Lister Hawks, D.D., LL.D., from the Archives, at Fulham and Lambeth, whence this letter is taken, contain frequent references to him; and betray the fact that, in his anxiety to commend himself to the Massachusetts Congregationalists, he forfeited the respect and confidence of his brethren of the Church of England, both Clergy and Laity. Notices of his life and ministry will be found in Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, 69-71, 82-84, 87, 90-93, 153, 155, 167-170, 209; in Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 70, 71; in the *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, i., 127; in Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, iii., 407; in Bolton's *History of the Westchester Church*, 189; in Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, i., 367, 561; in Drake's *History of Boston*, 471; in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, i., 135; and xv., 193; in Coffin's *History of Newbury*, 381; in the *New York Colonial Documents*, v., 406; in the *Documentary History of New York*, iii., 213; etc.; etc.

NOTE 2.—Page 196.

To the Rev. JOHN CHECKLEY, M.A., Oxon., to whom reference is made, in this sneering manner, the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts was largely indebted for its rapid growth, during the early part of the Eighteenth Century. Doctor Sprague, in his *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, (pp. 109, 110) has given a brief sketch of his career; and the Rev. Dr. E. H. Gillett, the learned historian of the Presbyterian Church, has, in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, [II., iii., 209-214] in prefacing Checkley's famous *Speech upon his Tryal*, added largely to the scanty information extant, respecting this noted controversialist.

In some few points, Doctor Gillett has labored under a misapprehension, as to some minute particulars respecting Checkley's early life; but his painstaking sketch of the history and his bibliography of the controversy, respecting Church polity, which grew out of Checkley's publications, is a most exhaustive and interesting addition to our ecclesiastical annals. Further light will be thrown upon the whole subject by the publication of the *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Massachusetts*, forming Volume III. of the *Historical Collections*.

of the *American Colonial Church*, now in process of publication under the editorship of the present Historiographer of the American Episcopal Church.

Abundant references to Checkley's life and controversies will be found in Eliot's *Biographical Dictionary*, Article CHECKLEY; in Volume VIII. of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*; in Updike's *History of the Narragansett Church*, 188, 205-211, 264, 281, 410-411, 457-466; in Staples's *Annals of Providence, R. I.*, 446, 447; in Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, 168; in Thomas's *History of Printing*, ii., 426-428; in Hawks and Perry's *Connecticut Church Documents*, i., 74; in Anderson's *Colonial Church*, iii., 451-453; in Hawkins's *Missions of the Church of England*, 225, 228; in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, ii., 353, 354; etc.; etc.

NOTE 2.—Page 196.

We give a bibliographical list of the editions of Checkley's issues of *The Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, together with the other controversial pamphlets, to which reference is made in this letter:

I.—*THE RELIGION OF JESUS CHRIST | the only True RELIGION, | OR, | A Short and Easy | METHOD | WITH THE | DEISTS, | Wherein the | CERTAINTY | OF THE | Christian Religion | Is demonstrated by Infallible Proof from | FOUR RULES, | WHICH ARE | Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet | has been, or that can possibly be | In a LETTER to a Friend. | The Seventh Edition. | Boston: Printed by T. Fleet, and are to be. | Sold by John Checkley, at the Sign of the Crown | and Blue Gate over against the West End of the | Town-house. 1719. |*

Title; reverse, blank; the Preface, pp. i-xii; *The Short and Easy Method*, pp. 1-51; THE EPISTLE | OF | St. IGNATIUS | TO THE TRALLIANS, | pp. 1-7.

This was the first issue of *The Short and Easy Method*, in this country; and the only foreign matter it contains is the *Epistle to the Trallians*. Stevens, in his *American Nuggets*, (i., 136, 137) attributes the Preface (pp. i-xii.) to Checkley; but this is a mistake. It is found in Leslie's works.

The tract, a copy of which is in the collection of the writer, is of great rarity; and is priced by Stevens at £3. 8s.

II.—A Short and Easy | METHOD | WITH THE | DEISTS. | Wherein the | CERTAINTY | OF THE | CHRISTIAN RELIGION | Is demonstrated, by infallible Proof from | FOUR RULES, | WHICH ARE | Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet | has been, or that can possibly be. | In a LETTER to a Friend. | The Eighth Edition. | LONDON: | Printed by J. APFLEEKE,

and Sold by JOHN CHECKLEY, | at the Sign of the Crown and Blue Gate, over | against the West-End of the Town-House in | Boston: 1723.

Octavo, pp. 182. Pp. 41-127 contain A | Discourse concerning EPISCOPACY. | pp. 128-132, THE | EPISTLE | OF | St. IGNATIUS | TO THE | TRALLIANS. |

Like the last, a copy of this tract is in the writer's collection. It is very rare; and is priced by Stevens at £3. 3s.

The *Discourse concerning Episcopacy* is largely taken from Leslie's works. In fact, all that is original in it is the occasional interpolation of some "home thrust" against the more common objections urged in New England, against the Church of England. These paragraphs and such other modifications as were necessary to adapt the work to the Boston public made up this tractate, which, though printed in London and mainly the production of an English clergyman, was deemed worthy of the action of the Massachusetts Council and the Courts; while its reputed author, or, rather the publisher, was fined fifty pounds for his temerity in assailing the validity of the ordination of New England Dissenters.

During his trial, as appears from a letter from Checkley to the Rev. Dr. Zachary Grey, the annotator of Hudibras, preserved in Nichols's *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, iv., 271, the following trenchant productions were "printed by stealth:"

1.—A | MODEST PROOF | OF THE | Order & Government | Settled by Christ and his Apostles | IN THE | CHURCH. | BY SHEWING | I. What Sacred Offices were Instituted | by them. | II. How those Offices were Distinguished. | III. That they were to be Perpetual and Standing in the Church. And, | IV. Who Succeed in them, and rightly | Execute them to this Day. | Recommended as proper to be put into the Hands of the Laity. | BOSTON: | Reprinted by Tho. Fleet, and are to be Sold | by Benjamin Eliot in Boston, Daniel Aurault in Newport, Gabriel Bernon in Providence, Mr Gallop in Bristol, Mr Jean in Stratford, and in most other towns within the Colonies of | Connecticut and Rhode Island. 1723. |

Small octavo; Title; reverse, blank; pp. i-v., the Publisher | TO THE | READER |; pp. 1-63, the *Modest Proof*.—(Vide Stevens's *American Nuggets*, ii., 580.)

2.—A | DISCOURSE | Shewing Who is a true Pastor of the | CHURCH OF CHRIST. | Octavo, pp. 16. Errata, one page. The *Epistle to the Trallians* occupies pp. 12-16.

On page 11, we find the following Note: "Those who have a Mind to see the Propositions in this small Tract prov'd beyond the Possibility of a Reply, are desir'd to read a

"Discourse concerning Episcopacy, which they may have at the *Crown and Gate* opposite to the West End of the Town-House in Boston. Where likewise may be had *Barclay's* perswasive, printed in London, by *Jonah Bowyer*, with other Books of the like Nature."

Vide Stevens's American Nuggets, i., 188.

Referring to these pamphlets, Checkley writes to Doctor Grey, in these words: "You must excuse the lowness of the diction; though, by the good it has already done, I would flatter myself that it is not ill-suited to the end proposed, viz.: demonstrating to either party the inconsistency of their respective schemes in their own dialect; to keep close to which, and to write with perspicuity, I assure you is not very Easy."

The appearance of the *Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, the *Modest Proof*, and the *Discourse shewing who is a True Pastor*, etc., following so close one upon another, excited no little alarm among the Independents, in New England. The controversy they provoked was carried on in the following order, viz.:

Sober Remarks on A Book lately Re-printed at Boston, Entitled, A Modest Proof of the Order & Government settled by CHRIST and his Apostles in the Church. In a Letter to a Friend. Boston: 1724.

Octavo, pp. 78. In Harvard-college Library.

Passing rapidly to a second edition, the same year, the size of this little tract was increased to one hundred and twenty-six pages. The author was Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Sacred Theology in Harvard-college, where he was graduated, in 1710, and subsequently "S. T. D.," from Edinburgh. The preface, after noting the disposal of the "first impression," "in about a Week's time," goes on to say: "As to the *Modest Proof*, I think it is a Collection of the main Scripture Arguments on the Episcopal Side; some of which are there given us in the best Light, & the whole represented in a manner not unpalatable: insomuch that many of the Author's Party upon it's first appearing among us, voted it a perfect Piece, boasted of it as unanswerable, & at length publicly challeng'd us to make a Reply."

Other controversial efforts appeared, in rapid succession.

An Essay upon that Paradox, Infallibility may sometimes Mistake. Or a Reply to a *Discourse Concerning Episcopacy*, Said in a late Pamphlet to be beyond the Possibility of a Reply. To which is Prefixed, Some Remarks upon said Pamphlet, Entitled, *A Discourse Shewing, Who is a true Pastor of the Church of Christ.* As also Remarks upon St. Ignatius's

Epistle to the Trallians. By a Son of Martin-Mar-Prelate. Boston: 1724.

Duodecimo, pp. 190. In Harvard college Library.

A DEFENCE OF Presbyterian Ordination. In ANSWER to a Pamphlet, entitled, *A MODEST PROOF, OF THE Order and Government settled by Christ, in the CHURCH.* Boston: 1724.

Octavo, pp. iii., 44. In Harvard-college Library.

The Ruling & Ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops, or Presbyters, Defended. Being Remarks on some Part of Mr. P. Barclay's *Persuasive*, lately distributed in New-England. By an Impartial Hand. In a Letter to a Friend. Boston: 1724.

Duodecimo, pp. 45.

The copy of this tract, in Harvard-college Library (*Tr.* 219. 44: 26) was given by the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft (*H. C.* 1714) to whom this tract is attributed; and contains MS. notes, in his handwriting.

A rarer tract in this controversy is the following:

REMARKS upon a Pamphlet Entitled, A Discourse shewing, who is a true Pastor of the Church of CHRIST. [together with] A Reply to the *Discourse of Episcopacy.*

Octavo, pp. 120. In the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library (98. 11).

The author of the following *Defence* was doubtless Checkley himself, with the aid, possibly, of the celebrated Doctor Cutler.

A Defence Of a Book lately re-printed at Boston entitled, A Modest Proof of the Order &c. In Reply to a Book entitled, Sober Remarks on the Modest Proof, &c. With some Strictures of J. Dickinson's *Defence of Presbyterian Ordination*, by way of Postscript. Also Animadversions upon Two Pamphlets, The one entitled, *An Essay upon that Paradox, Infallibility may sometimes mistake.* The other, *The ruling and ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops or Presbyters defended, &c.* Boston: 1724.

Octavo, pp. 78, 14. In Harvard-college Library (*Alc.* 41, *Pamph. Room*, "Church.")

With the opening of the following year, Doctor Wigglesworth again appeared upon the scene, this time with *A Vindication of the Appendix to the Sober Remarks.* Being a Reply to some Animadversions upon it, in the Appendix to the *Defence of the Modest Proof.* Wherein the Ruling and Ordaining Power of Congregational Bishops, or Presbyters, is further Defended. In a Second Letter to a Friend. Boston: 1725.

Duodecimo, pp. 59. In Harvard-college Library (Tr. 472. 40; 64.)

At this juncture a reprint of an English Dissenting tract appeared:

Plain Reasons, I. For Dissenting from the Communion of the Church of England. II. Why Dissenters are not, nor can be guilty of Schism, in peaceable Separating from the Places of Publick Worship in the Church of England. And III. Several Common Objections, brought by Churchmen against Dissenters, Answer'd. By a True Protestant. The Eighteenth Edition. Boston: 1725.

Duodecimo, pp. 40. In the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

This venture was followed by another, in the same vein:

A brief Account of the *Revenues, Pomp, and State of the BISHOPS and OTHER Clergy in the CHURCH of ENGLAND.* In a Letter, &c. Boston, N. E. Printed for Samuel Gerrish, and Sold at his Shop. 1725.

Small Octavo, pp. 18. In the Boston Athenæum Library (Tr. D. 12).

Frequent and amusing references are made to the controversy then raging, in consequence of the publication of the *Discourse concerning Episcopacy* and the *Modest Proof*. Thus, on page 2, the author says: "I hear the Government has done signal Justice to Mr. J. C. for 'the *Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, lately published' by him."

His great argument against Episcopacy is the great expense of supporting its prelates and clergy as compared with the cheapness of salaries of the Independent teachers.

A few years later, we have further evidences of the indomitable energy of Checkley, in the publication of two editions of his *Speech upon his Tryal*. This *Speech* has been re-printed in the third volume of the New Series of this Magazine, with an interesting Introduction by Rev. Dr. E. H. Gillett, which we have consulted with not little satisfaction. The title of this pamphlet is as follows:

THE | SPEECH | OF | Mr. John Checkley |
UPON HIS | TRYAL, | At Boston in New-ENG-
LAND, | FOR PUBLISHING | The Short and Easy
METHOD with the | Deists: To which was
added, A Discourse | concerning EPISCOPACY;
In Defence of | Christianity, and the CHURCH of
England, against the DEISTS and the DISSENT-
ERS. | To which is added: | The Jury's Verdict;
His Plea in Arrest of | Judgment; and the
Sentence of Court. LONDON: | Printed for J.
WILFORD, behind the Chapter- | House in St.
Paul's Churchyard. 1730.

Octavo, pp. 40.

To this is appended, on a single page, A |

SPECIMEN | Of a TRUE | *Dissenting* CATHE-
CHISM, | Upon Right TRUE-BLUE | Dissenting
PRINCIPLES | etc.

The Second Edition of this important pamphlet bears the following imprint:

LONDON: | Printed by J. APFLEBER, in Bolt-
Court, Fleet Street. | M.DCC.XXXVIII.

It is this edition which was re-printed by Doctor Gillett, in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and a few copies were issued separately.

An edition of the whole of Checkley's publications, save the *Modest Proof* and the *Discourses shewing who is a True Pastor*, has already been printed, the present century, with the following title, viz.: A SHORT AND EASY METHOD WITH THE DEISTS: WHEREIN THE CERTAINTY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IS DEMONSTRATED, BY INFALLIBLE PROOF, from four rules, which are incompatible to any imposture that ever yet has been, or that can possibly be. IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND. First American, from the Eighth London Edition. PRINTED BY J. M. POMROY, Windsor (Vt.) 1812.

Duodecimo, pp. 168.

To which is added A DISCOURSE CONCERNING EPISCOPACY (Pp. 43-134 incl). THE EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS to the TRALLIANS. (Pp. 135-139 incl) and THE SPEECH OF MR. JOHN CHECKLEY, Upon his TRIAL at Boston in New England, for publishing *The Short and Easy Method with the DEISTS*; to which was added, *A Discourse concerning Episcopacy*; in defence of Christianity and the Church of England, against the Deists and Dissenters. — To which is added, The Jury's Verdict; his Plea in arrest of Judgment; and the Sentence of Court (Pp. 141-168).

A list of publications on the Episcopal controversy, prior to the Revolution, is appended to the Rev. Dr. A. B. Chapin's *Puritanism not Genuine Protestantism*. (16 mo, New York: 1847.) Though not complete, it is of interest and value.

NOTE 4.—Page 196.

The titles of these tracts were as follows, viz:

I.

Choice Dialogues Between a Godly Minister. And an Honest Country-Man, Concerning Election & Predestination. Detecting the false Principles of a certain Man, who calls himself a *Presbyter of the Church of England.* By a *Reverend and Laborious Pastor* in Christ's Flock, by One who has been, for almost *thirty years, a faithful & Painful Labourer in Christ's Vineyard.* Rom 8. 29, 30.

It was an octavo, of forty-six pages; and is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, (56, 11). Pp. 39-46, inclusive, contain

THE EPISTLE OF St. IGNATIUS TO THE MAGNESIANS.

The reply was by the Rev. Thomas Walter, A.M. (Harvard-college, 1718).—*Vide* HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Second Series, iii., 210.

II.

A Choice Dialogue Between John Faustus A Conjuror, and Jack Tory His Friend. Occasioned by some *Choice Dialogues* lately Published, concerning *Predestination* and *Election*. Together with Animadversions upon the *Preface* to the *Choice Dialogues*. And an *Appendix* concerning the true Doctrine of *Predestination*, as held by the *Church of England*, and the *Absurdities* and *Inconsistency* of the *Choice Dialogues*. By a Young Stripling. Boston: 1720.

It is a small octavo, of pages xxi., 79; and is in the Harvard-college Library. (Tr. 526. 40: 65.)

NOTE 5.—Page 196.

The Rev. TIMOTHY CUTLER, M.A., Rector of Yale-college and, subsequently, of Christ-church, Boston, was graduated at Harvard-college, in 1701; took his Master's degree, in 1704; received the degree of S. T. D., from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, England, in 1723; and died, in 1765.

Notices of his life appear in Chandler's *Life of Johnson* (12°, New York: 1805) 17, 18, 27-39, 150-155, 169; *Ibid* (8°, London: 1824) 16, 17, 27, 30-38, 149, 152, 158, 170; in Beardsley's *Connecticut Church*, i., 22, 23, 32, 37-39, 41, 43, 47, 49, 51, 52, 86, 87, 89, 148, 188, 445, 446; in Hawks and Perry's *Connecticut Church Documents*, i., 50, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60-1, 65, 66, 69, 70, 72, 79, 80, 83, 90, 91, 97, 127, 213; in Sprague's *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, 50-54, 63, 109, 149, 227; in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, i., 494, and ii., 33, 38, 34, 36, 580-534; in Eaton's *History of Christ Church, Boston*, 7-11, 16, 26; in Drake's *History of Boston*, 614, 657, 691; in *Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society*, ii., 49, 50, 83, 251, 254; in Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, 84-86, 156, 172, 178; in Updike's *History of the Narragansett Church*, 88-90, 96-99, 102-104, 206, 207, 208, 251; in Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, i., 364-376, 560, 563, 566, 572, 587; ii., 72, 74, 462; in Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church*, iii., 381-395, 405-419; in Hawke's *Missions of the Church of England*, 42, 174-179, 186, 234, 337; in Humphrey's *Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 339-342; in Berrian's *History of Trinity-church, New York*, 110, 111; in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, i., 135; iv., 175; xiv., 204; xv., 198, 200, 309;

in the *Abstracts of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, 1724, and following years; etc.

NOTE 6.—Page 197.

The refusal of Holy Orders to the indefatigable Checkley was but temporary. He was, subsequently, ordained and sent as a Missionary of the Venerable Society, to Providence, Rhode Island, where he labored till his death.

The "factious and turbulent behaviour," so distasteful to the Governor and the Rev. Mr. Harris, appears, by the various letters and documents printed in the third volume of the *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*, to have been merely the restless activity of a man bent, above everything else, upon advancing the interests of his faith; and this "factious behaviour" was displayed, again and again, in circumventing the opposition, active or concealed, of the leading Independents of the Province, both clerical and lay.

NOTE 7. - Page 197,

Vide before. The "libel" was finally determined by the Court as not against the Government, but against the Dissenting Ministers of the Province.

NOTE 8.—Page 197.

The following title and extract will explain, somewhat, the allusion in the text:

A CAVEAT Against the New Sect of ANA-BAPTISTS, Lately sprung up at EXON. Shewing the Novelty and Schism, the Absurdity and dangerous Tendency of their Principles and Practices, who were concerned in the Rebaptization of Mr. Benjamin Read. In a LETTER to a Friend. . . . Optat. de Schismate Donatist. Lib. 5, Sect. 5. From the SECOND EDITION, at LONDON, 1714. BOSTON: Re-printed by T. Fleet, 1724.

It is an octavo, of forty pages; and is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library (98. 24).

"This Account (in all Probability) had never been Reprinted in this Country, had not the like Theatrical Performance begun to be acted here, with great Industry and Endeavours to gain Proselytes to act upon."—*American Preface*.

The scope of the original tract is as follows: "A Mr. Benj. Read of Exeter, born and bred a dissenter and designed for their ministry, became suddenly a zealous Churchman and shortly after conforming he was rebaptized at the Parish Church of Heavytree near Exeter by a Rev. Mr. Jenkinson. The Author of the Caveat examines into the authority for this act and pronounces it contrary to the doctrine and teachings of the Church as well as the practice

"of the English Clergy both collectively and severally, instancing clergymen and even a Bishop without Episcopal baptism."

NOTE 9.—Page 197.

The papers referred to by the Rev. Mr. Harris and further accounts of this difficulty will be found in the *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Massachusetts*, now in process of publication, as the third volume of the *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*.

NOTE 10.—Page 198.

The Rev. Mr. Harris deserves honorable remembrance for his zealous labors in introducing the services of the Church, in the neighborhood of Boston; and, although personally distasteful to his clerical brethren, and failing, finally, to secure the confidence and support of the people of his immediate charge, he gained the confidence and respect of the non-Episcopalian portion of the community, and met the charges of Cutler, Checkley, and others, with testimonials from the celebrated Benjamin Coleman, D.D., the Minister of Brattle-street Church, and others of the Independents. Doubtless, jealousy of the eminently-learned Cutler and a fear of being supplanted by one whom he knew to be held in such high esteem, at home, may have soured his temper and embittered the last years of an otherwise useful ministry.

III.—DESCRIPTION OF A RARE TRACT ON THE SWEDISH COLONY AND CHURCH, ON THE DELAWARE.

By HON. JOHN R. BARTLETT.

A small quarto volume, relating to the old Swedish Colony planted near the Delaware, but particularly to the Swedish Church, there, having lately come into my hands, I send an account of it, in the belief that it will interest the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The following is its title:

Dissertatio Gradualis, de Plantatione Ecclesie Suecane in America, quam Suffragante Ampl. Senatu Philosoph. in Regio Upsal-Athenae, Præside, viro Amplissimo atque Celebrissimo Mag. Andrea Grönwall, Eth. & Polit. Prof. Reg. & Ord. In Audit. Gust. Maj. d. 14 Jun. An MDCCLXXXI. Examinandam modesto cœtiti Tobias E. Biörck, Americano-Dalekarius. UPSALÆ Litteris Wernerianis. Quarto: Title, three preliminary leaves; text, thirty-four pages.

A peculiarity of the Latin dissertation is its preliminary articles, in English, which is singular, when it appears to have been published for Swedish readers, few of which could understand the English language.

The author was the son of Ericus Biörck—who was sent as a Minister to New Sweden, in the year 1697—and was born in America. The work is full of interest for its historical details as well as for its notices of the Indians. Among the preliminary portion, will be found a poetical dedication, in English, to Count Gyllenborg, of Lund, from which it is evident that the good Minister was not well-versed in the language. Having mingled with the English Colonists, in America, perhaps he wished to make a display of his learning. Following this, is a Latin dedication; and, next, a letter from Andrew Hesselius, in English:

"The tract has," says Mr. Muller of Amsterdam, "by some been attributed to A. Grönwall, but erroneously; the disputation having been held under his Presidentship and he is, therefore, named on the title, together with Mr. Biörck, as, in Sweden, it was the custom, as in Germany, for the Professors to write a dissertation, to be defended by their disciples; but there were honorable exceptions, as, for instance, here, Biörck is the sole author."

The following is the poetical dedication, *verbatim*:

"To the Most Honourable Lord, Count Charles Gyllenborg, Senator in the Kingdom of Sweden and Chancellour of the University at Lund.

"What think, Your Lordship, maketh me bold,

"To enter Your Palace?

"Yea, reason is, that I am told,

"Of Father dear, allways:

"How great to him Your Favour been,

"When you in London stood,

"And he by Sweds, about Christeen,

"In Pennsilvani—Wood.

"How Swedish Church is planted there,

"Of Swedish Priests and Sheeps,*

"Of both Sides of *de la Ware*.†

"Among great many Heaps,

"Of divers Sects and Indiana,

"Is now My Lord, the Same,

"I am perswaded of my Brains,

"To offer Your great Name.

"I hope, Your Lordship tak's it well,

"Although the Gift is Smal,

"For this do me assure and tell,

"Your Grace renoun'd to all.

"And, pray, who can here take away

"The Favour of such Lord?

"No more, than from the Sun, one Ray,

"A task, besure, too hard.

"And now it please Your Excellence,

* Probably Aock.

† Delaware.

"To cast a Beam on me,
 "And take this work in Your Defence,
 "How happy will I be!
 "Indeed, I think, I then dare say,
 "At all Bavy I boast,
 "For what a Cloud can ever stay,
 "Where Sun doth shine at most.

"LORD, pardon me, who made now bold,
 "To talke Your Praise in vain,
 "For when all told, is nothing told,
 "Still greater doth remain.
 "O, God therefore, gif Ear, I pray
 "That this *My Lord* may See,
 "For many's Sake, his latest Day,
 "As late as it can be!

"Your Lordships
 Most humble and most obedient servant.

"TOBIAS ER. BJORCK.

"Americ"

The following is the Letter of Professor Hesse-
 Jus:

"To the Learned American

"Mr. TOBIAS BJÖRCK,

"Upon Publishing his Gradual Disputation in
 "the Famous University at Lund.

"SIR,

"I hope You will not take it amiss, if
 "I cannot forbear declaring the great value I
 "have for Your Endeavours to lay before the
 "learned world *the Plantation of the Swedish
 "Church in America*. As it is Naturall to
 "have a Fondness for what has cost us much
 "time and attention in the different different
 "scenes of our life, so it is no Wonder, if
 "I (who have at least a competent Idea of some
 "of the most remarkable occurrences in the af-
 "fairs of Religion in America) do now heartily
 "congratulate your honourable and candid
 "Undertaking in settling those Matters in that
 "graceful light, which they deserve. Your
 "Abridgment of the Churches cannot fail of
 "being read with pleasure, since You have so
 "nicely informed your self of their several Cir-
 "cumstances and Changes. If You had been
 "conversant with all the Church-Ramblers* in
 "London, there might sooner, I believe, escape
 "Your Observations all the multifarious Sects
 "and Religion-Pretenders, than they now do.
 "But I shall look upon Your Disputation as a
 "Book, that administers more to curiosity, than
 "to the real Service to the publick; For I dare
 "præsume, that, after having seriously consider-
 "ed the Face of Religion in that wide and
 "before uncultivated Country, it must be a
 "grateful Reflection to some honest Gentlemen
 "who will rather choose to make any Part of

"the World their Home, than to sit, as it were,
 "in their Chimney-Corner, as inglorious Neuters
 "to the Christian Religion among Heathens) to
 "think that the sublimest Truths are now
 "grown familiar to the meanest Inhabitants of
 "those Nations. What can be more surprizing
 "than to see that people formerly ignorant and
 "savages, shall now outshine several Christians
 "of old standing, those, I mean, who are endow-
 "ed with such little souls, as the Poet says:

"So shy of one another they are grown,
 "As if they strove to get to Heaven alone,
 "Rigid and Zealous, Positive and Grave,
 "And every gift, but Charity, they have.

"As for our own National Church in America, I
 "heartily wish the Advantages arising from her
 "Purity may not be confined to narrow Tracts
 "of the Earth, but, that they may as certainly
 "promote the Interest of Your native Country,
 "as they never will or can lessen or obstruct
 "that of ours. I am fully perswaded, that the
 "Swedish Church in America will continue to
 "be the most safe and flourishing under the
 "influence of his Majesty Our Most Gracious
 "King Frederick, since it is to be hoped for,
 "that we shall never see such a deplorable Con-
 "dition, as that Church was in, before it
 "pleased God to put into the heart of His
 "Majesty King CHARLES the XIth of Glorious
 "Memory, to send your Venerable Father with
 "two other Missionaries thither. Now, to set
 "forward and perfect these glorious Designs,
 "and truly Christian purposes, for the future, it
 "is to be wished, that some of our Great and
 "Rich Gentlemen and Ladies, who are so emi-
 "nent for their Charities on other occasions,
 "would readily afford their assisting hands, to
 "the unspeakable Felicity of many thousand
 "pour souls in the West Indies taken out of
 "other Nations. Thus to bring men out of
 "darkness to light, is a God-like undertaking,
 "that will certainly baffle all the attempts of
 "the Churches Enemies. And, as for You,
 "Dear Cousin, if it should please God, to put
 "You into the same method of life, as Your
 "Reverend Father hath been engaged in,
 "(Whose particular Distinction is, to signalize
 "himself for the Welfare of the Church, both
 "abroad, and at home) I promise myself, You
 "will find more Reason for returning to Your
 "Native Country, and entering our Society,
 "than You could at first have expected. How-
 "ever, I shall not trespass against Providence
 "and Your own inclination, as a Fortune-Teller,
 "by a presage of future Changes and Adven-
 "tures; but, after wishing You all the felicities,
 "that an Agreeable station can furnish You
 "with, I shall interrupt You no further, than
 "by telling You, that I am with all Sincerity

* Church-goers.

"Sir
 "Your most affectionate Brother
 "and Humble Servant
 "ANDREW HESSELIUS
 "P. & P. in Gagnaf."

This is followed by a copperplate Map entitled
Delinatio Pennsylvaniae et Caesaris Nov. Occi-
dent seu West Njersey in America.
 PROVIDENCE, January, 1878.

J. R. B.

IV.—"THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS" OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR
 CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 189.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, AL-
 TERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIG-
 INAL MANUSCRIPTS.

New Hampshire Grants }
 Westminster Court House } October 30th 1776 Con-
 vention Opened accord-
 ing to Adjournment.

PRESENT the following Members.

Bennington	{ Nathan Clark Esq'
Manchester	{ Col ^o W ^m Marsh
Pollet	{ Capt. W ^m Fitch
Rutland	{ Capt Joseph Bowker
Colchester	{ Capt Ira Allen
Marlborough	{ Capt Francis Whitmore
Windsor	{ M ^r Ebenezar Hosington
Kent	{ M ^r Edwar Akins
Rockingham	{ Doct ^r Reuben Jones
Dummerston	{ Lieut Leonard Spalding
	{ M ^r Joseph Hildrith
Westminster	{ M ^r Joshua Webb
	{ Nath ^l Robinson Esq'
Brimley	{ Capt W ^m Utley
Townshend	{ Capt Sam ^l Fletcher
Putney	{ Dennis Lockland
Chester	{ Col ^o Thomas Chandler

- 1st Voted Capt. Ira Allen Clerk.
- 2^d Voted that Nathaniel Robinson Esq' M^r Solomon Phelps & Col^o William Marsh be a Committee to go to the Clerk of the County Committee of Safety for this County and get the Records of s^d Committee concerning sending Delegates to the Convention of the State of New York.
- 3^d Voted that M^r Ebenezar Hosington, M^r Joshua Webb, Capt Ira Allen, Capt William Fitch, & Doct^r Reuben Jones be a Committee to draw a plan for further Proceedings

of this Convention; and make report as soon as may be

- 4th Voted to adjourn this Convention till 8 o'clock to Morrow morning to be held at this place.

Thursday Morning 8 o'clock Meeting Open'd according to adjournment

- 5th Voted to adjourn this Meeting one hour at this place

Meeting opened according to adjournment.

- 6th Voted that Doct^r Reuben Jones & Col^o William Marsh be a Committee to invite Capt. Clay & Doct^r Day to sit with this Convention as spectators.

- 7th Voted to adjourn this Convention till 8 o'clock to morrow Morning at this place.

Friday Morning 8 o'clock Meeting open'd according to adjournment.

Report of the Committee of Proceedings.

It is the Opinion of this Committee that by the Reasons of the Incursions of the Enemy, and that the Militia of this State have lately been called and are now going to the Relief of their distressed brethren at Tyconderoga and the Northern Frontiers of this State, and that several of the Members of this Convention are more immediately called on to the relief of their Families &c which has so far taken up our attention and the attention of the people at Large that we have not Collected the full Sentiments of the People

It is not proper therefore to proceed to Compleat the Petition to the Hon^{ble} the Grand Council of the United States of America or to fill up the Committee for the purpose of delivering s^d Petition.

That an Answer be made to a Pamphlet dated the 2^d October 1776 and sent from the Hon^{ble} the Provincial Congress of the State of New York, to the County of Cumberland And with s^d Answer a Pamphlet sitting fourth the Advantages that would arise to the People at large on the district of the New Hampshire Grants by forming into a separate State. be wrote printed and Communicated to the inhabitants as soon as may be.

That a Manifesto be put in the Publick News papers setting fourth the Reasons in easy terms why we Choose not to Connect with New York.

The aforesaid Report is humbly Presented to the House by

Order of the Committee

W^m Fitch } Chairman

- 8th Voted to accept of the above Report.
- 9th Voted that a Petition be Drawn to send to

the hon^{ble} Provential Congress of the State of New York Requesting their approbation for the District of the N Hampshire Grants to form themselves into a State separte from N. York.

- 10th Voted that Col^o William Marsh, Capt Ira Allen & M^r Solomon Phelps be a Committee to make the above Writings.
- 11th Voted that Major Abijah Lovejoy, Col^o W^m Marsh, Capt Ira Allen, Col^o Jacob Bailey, M^r Solomon Phelps, Major Joseph Tyler, Col^o Benjamin Carpenter, M^r Benjamin Emmond, M^r Elijah Olcut, Doct^r Reuben Jones, & M^r Daniel Jewitt be a Committee to go through Cumberland & Gloucester Counties to carry the Proceedings of this Convention and to compleat getting the Associations formed by this Convention sign'd and Collected to the Clerk of this Convention at thier next Sitting.
- 12th Voted that it be and is hereby Recommended to each Member of this Convention to Assist the Above Committee as much as in them lies.
- 13th Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay be added to the Committee to make the Above Petition.
- 14th Voted that Solomon Phelps Write a Letter to Col^o Jacob Bailey Desiring him to Assist the Above Committee.
- 15th Voted to Adjourn this Convention to the third Wednesday of January next at 10 oClock in the Morning to be held at this place

Joseph Bowker } Chairman

Attest Ira Allen Clk.

A true Copy from the Original

Compared by

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

V.—EXPEDITION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA FRONTIERSMEN AGAINST THE OHIO INDIANS, IN 1782.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

(The following important letters, from the papers of General William Irvine, in possession of his grandson, Doctor W. A. Irvine, of Irvine, Pennsylvania, will be found interesting to all who care to know anything concerning the history of the early settlers in Western Pennsylvania or that of the aboriginal tribes formerly living in Ohio.—*Editor.*)

General Irvine to General Washington.

FORT PITT June 16th 1782

SIR

In my letter of the 21st of May J mentioned to your Excellency, that a body of Volunteer Militia were assembling at the Mingo Bottom to go against Sandusky— The inclosed letters, one

from Colonel Williamson second in Command, and the other from Lieutenant Rose my Aide de Camp, contain all the particulars of this transaction which have yet come to my knowledge. J am of opinion the cause of their failure was owing to the slowness of the march, and not pushing the advantage they had evidently gained at their first commencing the Action. They were ten days on the March when it might have been performed in seven, particularly as they were chiefly mounted; my advice was to attack the Town in the night, but insted thereof, they halted within ten miles in the evening and did not take up their line of March till seven in the morning— These people now seem convinced that they can not perform as much by themselves as they some time since thought they could; perhaps it is right that they should put more dependence on regular Troops. J am sorry J have not more to afford them Assistance

J have the honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most Obed^t Serv^t

WILLIAM IRVINE

[ENCLOSURE.]

I.

Colonel David Williamson to General Irvine.

June 18th 1782

DEAR SIR

I take this opportunity to make you acquainted with our retreat from Sandusky plains June 6th, we were reduced to the necessity of making a forced March through the Enemies line, in the night much in disorder but the main body March'd round the Shawanese Camp, who were lucky enough to escape their fire and March the whole night and the next morning, were reinforced by some Companies of which J can not give a particular Account as they were so Irregular and so confused, but the number lost cannot be ascertained at this time, J must Acknowledge myself ever obliged to Major Rose for his Assistance, both in the field of Action and in the Camp, his Character in our Camp is estimable and his bravery can not be out done, our Country must be ever obliged to General Irvine for his favours done on the late Expedition, Major Rose will give you a particular Account of our Retreat J hope your honour will do us the favour to call the Officers together and consider the distress of our brave Men on this Expedition and the distresses of our Country in General— our dependence is entirely on you and we are ready and willing to obey your Commands when called upon— J have nothing more to add particular— but am with Singular Respect your most Obed^t

Humble Serv^t

DAVID WILLIAMSON

N. B. Col. Crawford our Commandant we can give no Account of since the night of the Retreat.*

Gen' IRVINE Comm': Fort Pitt.

II.

Lieutenant Ross to General Irvine.

MINGOE BOTTOM. Friday. May 24th 1782.

SIR,—

the Mingoe Bottom is not a very long days' journey from F. Pitt: notwithstanding I did not arrive here untill the next Day late in the afternoon. I found every body crossing with the utmost expedition the Ohio, and I myself push'd over immediately after my arrival. My fears that the present expedition would miscarry, have been dispelled this very moment only. Col^l Williamson & Crawford did seem to have numerous & obstinate adherents. the latter carried the election this day but by five Votes, and I can not but give Col. Williamson the utmost credit for his exhorting the whole to be unanimous after the election had been made known. & cheerfully submitting to be the second in command. I think, if it had been otherwise, Crawford would have push'd home & very likely we should have dispersed: which would have been likewise the case, if Williamson had not behaved with so much prudence. (One Col. Gaddis is third in Command—Col. McClellan fourth & Major Brinton fifth in Command. My presence caused seemingly uneasiness. It was surmised, I had been sent to take the Command. An open declaration of mine at a meeting of the officers that I did not intend to take upon me any Command of any kind whatsoever, but to act as an Aid de Camp to the Command^r Officer, seem'd to pacify every thing, and all goes on charmingly. We expect to set out early to-morrow Morning, and are only detained by the want of some ammunition which has been sent for Yesterday to M^oIntosh. We march, as You Know, in four Columns. &c. Our number is actually 480 Men—Young, active & seemingly spirited. I have the most sanguine hopes of our undertaking and am very sorry Col. Marshall does not march with us, who was within 8 or 4 Votes of being the third Commander. I think him very popular; as much as Col. Williamson. the report of an attack from the ennemy upon the Rapids seems a mere invention. the men, said to be come from there, have not been seen by any Body. Major Pollock has furnished me and Doctor Knight 45 pounds of Bacon. I can not persuade him to take pay for it, but a mere receipt. I do not understand upon what principles they furnish these articles.

* Colonel Crawford was captured and put to death, by torture, by the Indians.—Burton.

I must beg the favour of You, to receive my half Boots from Patt: Leonard, and one pr: of Shoes, as I am already almost Barefooted.

I have the honor to be

Your

most obedient humble Servant

JOHN ROSE.*

W^m IRVINE, Brig^d General.

[Addressed]

The Honorab^{le}

W^m IRVINE Brigad^r General
Command^r

at

honored by

Col. Jam^s Marshall

FORT PITT.

[The following Letter, from Colonel James Marshall, Lieutenant of Washington-county, Pennsylvania, to General Irvine, will further illustrate this subject.]

WASHINGTON COUNTY 29th May 1783

DEAR SIR/

I have the Honour to Inform you that on Saturday Last about five hundred men (Including Officers) set out for Sanduskie Under the Command of Col. Crawford, a perfect Harmony Subsisted Amongst Officers and men, and all in high Spirits, no Accident of any Consequence hapning Either in Crossing the River or During their Stay at Mingo Bottom. I have not yet Ascertained with Exactness the number of men from the Different Counties, but I believe they are nearly as Follows Viz: Westmoreland About one hund^d and thirty, Ohio about twenty and Washington three hundred and fifty. M^r Ross your Aid de Camp was very hearty when I left him. his Services on this Occasion has Endear^d you much to the people of this County and given General Satisfaction to the men on the Expedition—a Report prevails in the County that Brittain have acknowledged Our Independance; I Could wish to be Informed of the truth of this Report. I have been Asked by a Presbyterian Minister and some of his people to Request you to Spare one gallon Wine for the use of a Sacrament, if it is in your power to Supply

* The writer of this letter, under the assumed name of "John Rose," was really a young Russian nobleman—the Baron Gustavus H. Rosenthal, of Livonia—who, because of having killed another in a duel, had been obliged to fly from his own country and seek safety, first in England and then in America. He had entered the Army as a Hospital Steward; but General Irvine having noticed him and become interested in his welfare, he was transferred and advanced until, as a Lieutenant, he became the Aide d^e that officer. He served, with fidelity, until the close of the War, without having revealed his true name or rank; and then, by permission, he returned to Europe; was rewarded with favor by the Emperor Alexander; and became Grand Marshall of the Province of Livonia.—Burton.

them with this Article I make no doubt you will do it as it Can not be Obtained in any other place in this Country. Mr Douglas or the Bearer will apply for it

I Am with Singular Respect and
Esteem Your Most Obed^t and verry
Humble Servant

JAM^s MARSHAL
L. W. C

Gen^l IRVINE.

VI—MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE GORDON MEADE, U. S. A.

ORATION, COMMEMORATIVE OF HIS MILITARY SERVICES, IN THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC, PHILADELPHIA, ON MONDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 18, 1873.

By GENERAL AND. A. HUMPHREYS, CHIEF OF ENGINEERS OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

[Since the date of our last number, the Republic has lost an accomplished and faithful servant, by death—GORDON MEADE, the senior Major-general in its Army; distinguished, in all time to come, as the last General in command of the Army of the Potomac; and the hero, as far as the commander of the Army could be considered as the hero, of the decisive Battle of Gettysburg.

The death of so distinguished a citizen, almost before it was known, outside of his own immediate neighborhood, that he was sick, necessarily produced an unusual shock, wherever the intelligence fell; but, in the city of Philadelphia, where his home was, the feeling was intense, in all classes of the community. His funeral was a day to be remembered, in the annals of Philadelphia; and, among other demonstrations of respect to the memory of the departed hero, and most noticeable among them, was the great meeting of Philadelphia's best-known citizens, in her Academy of Music, on Monday afternoon, the eighteenth of November, 1873, to commemorate the military services of the distinguished dead.

It is not the purpose of this paper to report, *in extenso*, all the proceedings of that notable meeting; and we content ourselves, therefore, with presenting, generally, only a passing notice of them.

On motion of Major Craig Biddle, the Hon. Morton Mc Michael was called to the Chair; and the Right Reverend William Bacon Stevens, D.D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, opened the proceedings with an impressive prayer. After appropriate music by the orchestra, the Chairman delivered the following admirable Address, on the personal character of General Meade:

[MR. MCMICHAEL'S ADDRESS.]

"One week ago, this great city was clothed in habiliments of mourning. Its public halls were hung with sombre draperies; from its conspicuous edifices, craped bound flags floated at half-mast; on its principal highways, private residences were marked by mortuary emblems. For the time, all business was suspended; and, at an early hour, men, women, and children, from all

quarters, thronged toward the thoroughfares that lead from St. Mark's Church to Fairmount. And well they might, for along those thoroughfares was soon to pass a procession as august and impressive, in the materials of which it was composed and the occasion that induced it, as any this metropolis had ever witnessed. The President of the United States and members of the National Cabinet; the General, Lieutenant-general, and distinguished chieftains of the Army; Rear-admirals and other officers of high rank in the Navy; Senators and Representatives in Congress; the Governor of the Commonwealth and the principal State functionaries; the Chief Magistrate and the municipal authorities of Philadelphia; the Judges of the Courts; the heads of learned and benevolent institutions; preceded by long lines of soldiers of all arms, and followed by numerous organizations, including veterans who fought in the War for the Union and civilians who combined to sustain them in the field by moral influences and to provide homes for the destitute children of such of their comrades as fell in battle or died in hospital—these were among the elements of that grand spectacle. Why were they then and there assembled? From the sacred portals of St. Mark, after due solemnisation of the funeral rites of the Church, whose doctrines he had faithfully cherished during his earthly career, and whose comforting assurances, when that career was closing, opened to his view the gates of Heaven, there was brought accompanied by white-robed Ministers, amid the mingling harmonies of swelling organ peals and choral anthems, the mortal remains of one in whose honor they had gathered, and to whom these tributes were affectionately rendered. As his inanimate body, unconsciously reposing beneath the standard which, with leaping pulse and flashing eye and stirring voice and stalwart arm, he had so often heralded to victory, was borne through clustered crowds, their reverent decorum, their hushed emotion, their subdued but visible sympathy, showed how deep, how strong, how sincere were the respect and admiration felt for General Meade. And when, passing under the canopied swords of the Cavalry-escort, while the air resounded with vocal dirge and echoing drum-beat and wall of trumpet, the coffin containing the dead hero was piously carried to the barge which was to convey it to its final resting-place, the Park, which he had so loved and which he had so largely helped to create and adorn, with its spacious plain, occupied at intervals by unmoving masses of glittering troops, and its sloping hill-sides densely covered with orderly citizens, all flowing with saddened, and, in many cases, tearful gaze the disappearing cortege—the Park presented a scene that neither pen of poet nor pencil of painter can adequately portray. I shall not attempt to describe the indescribable, but touched as I was—at such a moment and with such surroundings, how could I be otherwise—by tenderest thoughts of my departed colleague and friend, that scene fixed itself in my memory as an example of beauty and solemnity and fitness that, for me, at least, will have no parallel.

"To-day, General Meade is in his grave. The 'pomp, pride and circumstance' of the pageant attendant on his burial, so far as they relate to him, except as a matter for history, have passed away forever. The participants

"have returned to their several avocations; traffic has resumed its accustomed channels; and wayfarers come and go upon the streets as if nothing extraordinary had happened. But the recollection of the virtues that prompted and justified that pageant remains, and will remain, so long as a sentiment of patriotism survives in the breasts of his countrymen. The fervent expression of gratitude for his services and sorrow for his loss that came from all sections, on the announcement of his unexpected death, sufficiently attests the universality of the regard in which he was held. And while his name and his fame are the property of the nation at large—while the great deeds he achieved inured to the common benefit, and the great glory he won is reflected on all alike, we, who were his townspeople and neighbors, with whom he met in his daily walks and ate and drank and counselled and labored, desire, beyond the profound acknowledgment of his eminent deservings which we here make as citizens of the United States, especially to recognize the high place he had filled among us; and to declare his claims to the amplest consideration from our own State and city. For though General Meade was too broad-minded to be affected by local prejudice, he was too kindly-hearted not to feel local attachments; and as in times of peace his lot was cast mainly in our midst, without abating one jot or tittle of what he owed the national Government, he was to this community, a most valuable auxiliary. There was no duty so arduous that he shrunk from its performance; none so humble, if it involved a chance of doing good, that he was unwilling to undertake. And in whatever work he was engaged he manifested rare capabilities; quick natural parts, cultivated by liberal education and strengthened by constant exercise; sagacity that was seldom at fault; forecast; clear-sightedness; well-balanced judgment; systematic habits; indomitable purpose; unremitting perseverance; and tireless industry. He was, moreover, frank and outspoken; and though he never wilfully wounded the sensibilities of others, he never hesitated to assert his own convictions. Withal he was modest, unassuming and wholly free from self-conceit or affectation. To these and other manly qualities he added a bearing so dignified, manners so courteous, a temper so genial, that he was not less gracious as a companion than he was instructive as a coadjutor; and to sum up all he was, in the best sense of the word, a gentleman—a true and chivalrous gentleman.

"It is, however, in his military capacity that General Meade established his reputation in the present, and will be judged hereafter. We who know his civic worth and were benefited by his civic efforts, will preserve them in grateful remembrance, and in some form endeavor to requite them. To the world, he is, and must continue to be, the hero of Gettysburg—that momentous conflict which delivered Pennsylvania from pillage and devastation, and saved the Republic from imminent peril. It is as a soldier, therefore, that his character can be best illustrated; and this can be best done by a soldier. Fortunately, alike for the dead and the living, there is with us now one supremely qualified by skill and opportunity to do it; one who in the tumult of the fight and the deliberations of the tent has proved himself equally gallant and wise; and whose thorough knowledge of General Meade, acquired in the studies they pursued and the campaigns they

"shared together, will give to what he may say of that illustrious Commander, all the weight of authority and all the force of truth. I allude to General Humphreys, whom I have now the satisfaction of introducing."

At the conclusion of Mr. McMichael's remarks, General A. A. HUMPHREYS, Chief of Engineers of the Army of the United States, was introduced, as the appointed Orator of the day, and paid the following touching and beautiful tribute to the memory of his deceased friend and fellow-soldier:

GENERAL HUMPHREYS' ORATION.*]

As the friend and associate of the soldier, whose loss the Army and the Nation deplore, I have been asked to address you concerning his military services.

It is fitting that this duty should be devolved on me, for, undoubtedly, I was more intimately associated with him during the time he commanded the Fifth Corps and the Army of the Potomac, than any other officer. Besides, I have known him ever since his entrance into the service—then, an intelligent, a polished, and witty young officer, on duty with the troops in Florida.

My second recollection of him is as an Engineer, engaged under Captain Talcott, of the Corps of Engineers, upon an elaborate survey and investigation at the mouths of the Mississippi river, in which the facts elicited by some original experiments of his, led me, many years after, to a series of investigations which developed the law governing the formation of the bars and shoals at the mouth of that river, from which most important consequences have followed for the improvement of navigation and the increase of commerce.

We next find Meade engaged in the survey of the Northeast boundary line between the United States and Great Britain; then, in river and harbor-improvements; and, in the Mexican War, we see him as an officer of Engineers on the staff of General Taylor and in the Army of General Scott, distinguished for skill and intrepidity; subsequently, he was occupied with lighthouse construction; and, during the four years preceding the Civil War, had charge of the geodetic survey of the great lakes, in his conduct of which he added largely to his scientific and engineering reputation.

I have referred to these varied occupations, because they gave the training which fitted him for the great part he was soon to fill. In them,

* We print this Oration from a corrected copy of it, which our friend, its distinguished author, kindly sent to us, soon after he delivered it. He has, also, carefully corrected the proof-sheets of these pages; and we present it to our readers, therefore, exactly in that form in which its author desires it shall be read by those who resort to this work.—EDMONT.

he learned to plan carefully, in advance, and to execute promptly and thoroughly; here, he acquired the habit of quick and accurate observation, and became fertile in expedients to meet unlooked-for exigencies.

Early in the Civil War, we find him a Brigadier-general of Volunteers, commanding a Brigade in the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, which constituted a Division in the Army of the Potomac, and taking an active part in the Battles of Gaines' Mill and Glendale, in the last days of June, 1862, being severely wounded in the latter. Returning to the field, as soon as the condition of his wound would permit, he was assigned to the command of a Division, and distinguished himself in the Battles of South Mountain and Antietam, being placed in command of Hooker's Corps when that officer was wounded and taken from the field. For these services he was promoted to the rank of Major-general of Volunteers, in November of 1862.

As a Division-commander he was impetuous in attack, and, at Fredericksburg, broke through the right of Lee's line, and penetrated far to its rear, but was overborne by numbers, and forced back, with heavy loss. Quickly following this conspicuous service, he was, in the latter part of December, 1862, promoted to the command of the Fifth Army Corps, and, at Chancellorville, his sagacious advice and soldierly bearing made so profound an impression upon the commander of the Army of the Potomac, that, in asking, some two months later, to be relieved from its charge, he designated General Meade as his successor.

On the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, 1863, when in the vicinity of Frederick, Maryland, with the Fifth Corps. General Meade was placed by the President in command of the Army of the Potomac, which, at that time, was not far from Frederick, following carefully the movements of Lee.

Lee was, on that day, at Chambersburg, about fifty miles North, a little West, of Frederick, with two of his three Corps, Longstreet's and Hill's. Ewell, with two of his Divisions, was at Carlisle, about thirty miles North of Chambersburg—his third Division, under Early, being at York.

Let us see what Lee says as to the object of his presence, at these points, more than two hundred miles away from Fredericksburg, Virginia. In his official Report of his operations, written a month after the Battle of Gettysburg, he states that the Army of the Potomac occupied such a position opposite Fredericksburg, that it could not be attacked with advantage; and that, by his moving Northward, through the great Valley of Virginia, the corresponding movements of the Army of the Potomac would probably offer a fair opportunity to strike a successful blow at that Army;

that such a movement would disarrange our plan of Campaign, for the Summer, and consume our time; and that, in addition to these advantages, it was hoped that other valuable results might be attained by military success. Actuated, he says, by these and other important considerations that may hereafter be presented, the movement began.

These other important considerations have never yet been presented. The Campaign having failed, it is not to be expected that its great object will ever be any more distinctly acknowledged. Let us see further what he says in this Report. The absence of his Cavalry, which was making a raid around the Army of the Potomac, doing no harm to it, rendered it impossible for him (he says) to obtain accurate information of the movements of our Army; and he did not know whether it had crossed the Potomac. Preparations, he states, were now made (on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of June,) to advance upon Harrisburg. This sentence, I think, reveals the great object of his Campaign. It was the capture of this city, Philadelphia.

There were, at least, two fatal errors in the premises on which this plan was formed: one of these was the conviction the Army of Northern Virginia, derived from Chancellorville—that it could beat the Army of the Potomac, wherever it found it; the second was, that the handling of the Army of the Potomac, at Chancellorville, would be repeated in Pennsylvania. In both these convictions, they found themselves fatally deceived. The Army of the Potomac did not fight at Chancellorville. The Eleventh Corps, badly posted, was permitted to be surprised, by overwhelming numbers, and routed. The Third Corps, aided by Artillery posted by Pleasanton, threw itself into the breach, arrested the forward movement of the enemy, and, the next morning, was allowed to sustain the attack of Lee's whole force, for several hours, losing, in killed and wounded, a large part of its numbers. It was, of course, obliged to fall back upon the other portion of the Army, the First, Second, Fifth, and Twelfth Corps, in position near by, just in rear of Chancellorville. Only parts of some of these Corps were partially engaged, in covering the withdrawal of the Third Corps.

Sedgwick, advancing from Fredericksburg with the Sixth Corps and one Division of the Second Corps, was then attacked by Lee and forced back over the Potomac. Lee, in this operation, had sixty thousand men, Longstreet's Corps being absent: Hooker not less than ninety thousand men. It is not surprising, then, that the Army of Northern Virginia should have made a false estimate of its prowess, or, at least, of that of the Army of the Potomac.

On the night of the twenty-ninth of June, Lee learned that the Army of the Potomac had crossed the Potomac, and had advanced as far as Frederick: he also learned that its command had changed hands. His order for movement on Harrisburg was at once changed; and Longstreet, Hill, and Ewell were ordered to concentrate at Gettysburg, a small town twenty-five miles from Chambersburg and some ten miles east of the Blue Ridge, from which roads radiated in all directions.

Meade states that he passed the twenty-eighth of June in ascertaining the strength and position of the different Corps of the Army, and in bringing up the Cavalry from the rear. He also carefully inquired into the strength of the enemy, so far as known at Head-quarters. He further states that his predecessor left camp in a few hours after he was relieved; and that he did not receive from him any intimation of a plan of operations, nor any views upon the situation; that he was not aware that General Hooker had any, but was waiting further exigencies of the occasion to govern him, just as he (Meade) did, subsequently. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, Meade put his Army in motion for Harrisburg, expecting to compel the enemy to turn and meet him in battle. We have seen that Lee, on the evening of that day, prepared to do so.

On the evening of the thirtieth, the several Corps of the Army of the Potomac were on the roads leading to Gettysburg, from the East round to the South, and at distances from the town varying from ten to fifteen miles, excepting the Sixth Corps, which was more than thirty miles off. Buford, with his Division of Cavalry, was in Gettysburg. On that same night, Meade, learned from Buford that the heads of Lee's columns were moving on the roads leading to Gettysburg, and were probably nearer than his to Gettysburg.

Being entirely ignorant of the character of the ground about Gettysburg, he, at once, prepared a precautionary order of instructions to the Corps commanders—not to be executed unless specially ordered at a subsequent time in a certain contingency—explaining the routes which the several Corps should follow to concentrate in a good position on Pipe Clay-creek, some three miles in rear of his headquarters at Taneytown. Taneytown, it may be remarked, is about thirteen miles South of Gettysburg.

These instructions stated, "developements may cause the commanding General to assume the offensive from his present positions." Not many hours after the issuing of these instructions, new developements did cause him to change his plans; but these instructions evince that foresight which proves his capacity to command an Army. In similar circumstances, the

agreement between Wellington and Blücher to concentrate their two armies—nearly double the numbers of Napoleon—far to the rear, in the vicinity of Waterloo, has been esteemed a proof of their great ability. On the evening of the thirtieth, Reynolds, with the First and Eleventh Corps, was ordered to move, on the morning of the first of July, from Emmetsburg to Gettysburg, and to report whether that site afforded a good field of battle.

The Third Corps was to be in Emmetsburg on the morning of the first, and, in fact, reached there before all the Eleventh Corps had left it. About noon of the thirtieth, I was requested by General Meade to examine the ground in the vicinity of Emmetsburg, upon the arrival there of the Third Corps, the second Division of which I commanded, and ascertain whether it afforded a good position for battle. The importance of the general position of Emmetsburg is derived from the fact that a piked road leads to it, through the mountains, from the Chambersburg valley—along which part of Lee's force might move—and that good branch-roads lead to it, along the foot of the mountains, from the Cashtown-pass. I have mentioned these two facts, concerning Reynolds and myself, to show that Meade was active in learning all that could be ascertained of the several positions where he might fight to advantage, as well as in moving toward Lee, and bringing the different parts of the Army of the Potomac within supporting distance of each other. That Army consisted of about seventy thousand Infantry, ten thousand Cavalry, and three hundred guns. The Army of Northern Virginia consisted of about eighty-five thousand Infantry, eight thousand Cavalry, and a due proportion of Artillery.

We all know how, on the morning of the first of July, Reynolds encountered Hill, two or three miles West of Gettysburg, and was killed early in the day; how Ewell arrived on the ground, soon after; and how the First and Eleventh Corps were forced back to the position on which the fighting of the second and third of July took place. We know, too, that, as soon as Meade learned what had occurred, the Third, Twelfth, and other Corps were hurried up to the scene. Hancock, who was with Meade at Taneytown, at that time, was dispatched to take command of the advance; and he reported, at about half-past five, that the position was sufficiently good, when Meade set the remainder of the Army in motion for the field, and arrived upon the ground at midnight. All the Army was concentrated there by one o'clock next day.

One of Meade's first directions to his Chief-of-staff, Butterfield, upon reaching there, was to learn everything about the roads leading to and from Gettysburg, so as to be prepared for any

event that might occur—a very proper direction to give. All the Army of Northern Virginia was concentrated at Gettysburg, during the night, except Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps, which did not arrive until the morning of the third.

Lee explains, at some length, why he attacked, next day. Clearly, his true policy was to abstain from attack; to move in concentrated formation as rapidly as practicable toward the objective of his campaign; to trench every position he occupied. The country, every step of the way to Philadelphia, is full of strong positions. The exigencies of the case would have forced the Army of the Potomac to attack him. With nearly equal numbers, with rifled arms, and the trenches that may be thrown up, in half an hour, or even less, the chances are all against the attacking force. But here, at Gettysburg, we had no trenches, except for a short distance, on the right, on Culp's-hill and vicinity. In reality, the governing cause of Lee's attack was the success of the Army of Northern Virginia at Chancellorsville.

The disposition Meade made of his troops was the best the ground and circumstances permitted. The features of the battle-field are so well known that I shall not stop to describe them.

You all know how the battle, on the second day, went on; and that the hardest fighting of the three days of battle took place on it. Lee attacked our left, with Longstreet's Corps and part of Hill's, under the cover of woods, which concealed their approach; and a long-continued desperate struggle ensued, lasting from half-past four until seven o'clock, in which we lost the advanced part of the ground we had taken up; but the main position remained intact.

On the third day, Lee resumed the attack, with Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps (which had arrived that morning) and Heth's Division of Hill's Corps, supported by two Divisions which did not largely participate in the struggle. The advance of the leading Divisions was made over clear, open ground, and was preceded by a heavy fire from one hundred and fifty guns.

The gallant manner in which this advance was made, under the powerful fire of Artillery and Infantry, extorted the admiration of those against whom it was directed. But, through the excellent disposition of Meade, ably seconded by his commanders and the skill and courage of our officers and men, all the attacking force that reached our lines became our prisoners, as well as a considerable portion of the supporting Divisions; and the third day terminated in a victory for us, and the demolition of all the Confederate plans.

Of all the sublime sights, within the view and

comprehension of man, the grandest, the most sublime, is a great battle. Its sights and sounds arouse a feeling of exaltation, compared to which tame indeed is the sense of the sublime excited by all other great works, either of God or man. No grander sight was seen throughout the War than this great battle between two brave, well-disciplined, and ably commanded Armies.

Immediately upon the repulse, Meade ordered an advance from the left, which went forward; but the day was too far spent for any important results to be gained. Longstreet and Hill ardently wished for a return attack upon their lines.

During each of the three days of battle, heavy attacks were made by Ewell on our right, in one of which, on the evening of the second day's fighting, he gained possession of a portion of the entrenched line, during the absence of part of our troops belonging there, which had moved over to aid our left. From these trenches the enemy was driven out, early the next morning.

Lee's losses were eighteen thousand killed and wounded, and thirteen thousand, six hundred missing, a large part of the latter being our prisoners, making a total loss of thirty-one thousand, six hundred. Our losses were sixteen thousand, five hundred killed and wounded, and six thousand, six hundred missing, chiefly prisoners captured the first day, making a total loss of not less than twenty-three thousand.

The Army of Northern Virginia never recovered from this blow; but its *morale* remained good. Sixty thousand strong, it began to retreat, in good order, on the night of the fourth. Our experience has shown that one Army can draw off from another, in the night, without its being discovered. Learning, on the morning of the fifth, that it had withdrawn, Meade sent the Sixth Corps and the Cavalry to follow it to the mountain passes, through which Sedgwick found it would not be practicable to pursue, with any chance of success, owing to the facility with which they could be defended with a small force. Meade, therefore, moved, in pursuit, by the Boonsborough-pass—the first practicable route, through the mountains, South of those taken by Lee—and, on the twelfth of July, came up with him, near Williamsport, on the Potomac-river. Here, Lee occupied a strong position, his right resting on the river, at Falling Waters, and his left resting on it, at Williamsport, thus enclosing his crossing-places. This position, naturally strong, was well entrenched, with artillery judiciously posted. Careful reconnoissances failed to ascertain a suitable point of attack; but, notwithstanding, Meade ordered a reconnoissance in force, supported by the whole Army, at daylight, on the morning of the fourteenth. On the night of the thirteenth, Lee re-crossed the Potomac.

There was a great deal of clamor because Meade had not pressed Lee more vigorously, in pursuit, and had not captured his Army, at Williamsport. Let us see what means Meade had to accomplish all this. The Return of the Army of the Potomac, on the fifth of July, showed present for duty fifty-four thousand Infantry and Artillery and seven thousand Cavalry—in all sixty-one thousand men—just about the same force that Lee had; and Lee's Army was not demoralized, nor was it more fatigued or suffering than the Army of the Potomac; the only material reinforcement Meade received, before coming up with Lee, at Williamsport, was a Division of six thousand men, under French. Had he assaulted, he would have been repulsed with heavy loss, and without inflicting any material injury on the enemy.

Let me compare, a little, the Battle of Gettysburg and the movements immediately following it, with a certain great battle, in Europe, to which, in some respects, it bears a resemblance. This comparison will, I think, afford means of appreciating, properly, the real merits of Meade and his Army better than anything else I can say. I refer to the Battle of Waterloo, a splendidly fought battle, on both sides. Extending over a line only two or three miles long, it was all within view, from many points; the greater part of the fighting was comprised within the limited space of six or seven hundred yards square; and, in that space, at the close of the battle, lay many thousands killed and wounded men.

Wellington had posted his Army in a good position, on the crest of a long slope of open ground. He had, there, fifty thousand Infantry, twelve thousand Cavalry, and six thousand Artillery—one hundred and fifty-six guns—in all, sixty-eight thousand men.

Napoleon had drawn up his force, ready for attack, on an opposite crest, about a mile distant, the ravine between being equally distant from the two. His force consisted of fifty thousand Infantry, sixteen thousand Cavalry, and seven thousand Artillery—two hundred and forty-six guns—in all, seventy-three thousand men. But, of this force, he was obliged to keep over twelve thousand men posted on his extreme right, to meet the expected advance of the Prussian Army, which began to come up, from the direction of Wavre, soon after twelve o'clock. At Wavre, about ten or twelve miles to the French right, Grouchy, with some thirty-two thousand men and one hundred guns, was attacking one of the four Prussian Corps, which was left there to detain him. The remainder of the Prussian Army, under Blücher, fifty-two thousand strong, with one hundred guns, was hastening, as fast as the soft roads would permit, from an early hour in the

morning, toward the French right, to carry out the plan agreed upon with Wellington. Napoleon, too, looked for Grouchy to arrive from the same direction. You will perceive that Napoleon was dealing with nearly double his own force.

Napoleon's attacks on Wellington, five in number, began at half-past eleven o'clock, and continued, at intervals, until half-past seven in the evening. At half-past four, the Prussians were up in force, and attacked the French right, heavily and continuously, with increasing force, until the close of the battle.

The last attack of Napoleon was made, with great impetuosity, upon the whole of Wellington's line, the two forces being not more than sixty yards apart. Failing of success, the French rapidly withdrew; and, Wellington says, seeing that they withdrew in some confusion, he advanced his whole line. But they moved no further than the positions that had been occupied by the French Army, and from which its attacks had been made. There, they halted, for the night. The French right also drew off, followed, in pursuit, by the Prussians, who continued to press the French Army, all night.

In this battle, the losses were, in Wellington's Army, ten thousand killed and wounded; in Blücher's, six thousand killed and wounded; the French losses have been stated at eighteen thousand, five hundred killed and wounded, and seven thousand prisoners.

The French wounded and a large portion of their Artillery, the horses being killed, were left upon the field. The Prussians captured an immense booty—the trains, camp-equipage, and nearly all the remaining Artillery which was abandoned on the route.

Recollect that this battle was fought and all the operations preceding and following it were conducted in a perfectly open, gently undulating country; that the French were obliged to recross the river Sambre, on their frontier, some twenty-five miles from Waterloo, yet the prisoners captured by the Prussians, in this pursuit, amounted to only six thousand, the whole number of French prisoners taken being stated at seven thousand. This number does not include the wounded. Further, Grouchy did not hear of the battle until the next day, when Blücher and Wellington were between him and the river Sambre and the French frontier; yet he retreated into France without any loss.

I think this, taken with what has been previously said, is sufficient to dispose of the question why Meade did not capture Lee's Army.

After a careful examination of the subject, so far as I am capable of forming an opinion, I am led to the conclusion that Meade, at Gettysburg, had a more difficult task than Wellington, at Waterloo, and performed it equally well, al-

though he had no Blücher to turn the scale in his favor.

A word or two more. Wellington, for his services in Portugal and Spain, had been raised through every grade of the British peerage to its highest rank; and Parliament had voted him large sums of money to enable him to live in a manner corresponding to his position. For Waterloo, there was no additional rank in the peerage to give him; but Parliament voted him two hundred thousand pounds—about a million of dollars. The whole sum thus bestowed amounted to nearly four millions of dollars. What remaining honors or marks of esteem there were left in the hands of the sovereigns of Europe to distribute, he received.

Meade, who was a Major in the Corps of Engineers, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-general in the Regular Army, and was gratified at this mark of approval.

He had to bear many unjust criticisms on his conduct of the battle, and condemnation for not capturing Lee's Army. But time effaces all such attempted blemishes as these; and, I believe, Meade always felt satisfied that history would do him justice.

After crossing the Potomac, Lee was disposed to remain near Winchester, among the products of the fertile valley of Virginia; but a well-directed thrust, by Meade, through Manassas Gap, sent Lee rapidly out of the valley and across the Rappahannock.

On this river, the Army of the Potomac was ordered from Washington to rest; and several detachments were made from it, to the city of New York, to North Carolina, and elsewhere.

In September, Meade having ascertained that Longstreet's Corps had been sent to Bragg, on the Tennessee-river, excepting Pickett's Division, which was recruiting South of the James, moved forward, and Lee fell back, behind the Rapidan, a more defensible river than the upper Rappahannock. At this time, the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps were detached from the Army of the Potomac and sent to Chattanooga, and the two opposing Armies on the Rapidan were reduced to nearly equal numbers.

Early in October, Meade was contemplating a movement upon Lee, by our right flank, and, on the morning of the ninth, rode to Cedar Mountain, to have a better look at the country in the direction of a certain mountain-pass, when he discovered that Lee was making some movement, on our right; and, at the same moment, intelligence from the pickets and signal-stations began to pour in, but the nature of the movement could not be ascertained, with certainty, until Lee had concentrated his whole Army in the rear and right of Meade, threat-

ening to intercept and break up his lines of communication.

The Army of the Potomac was, at once, set in motion, and directed toward Warrenton, with the intention of attacking Lee, while in the act of crossing the Rappahannock, with every chance of a successful issue. But, when the movement was half through, one of Meade's commanders brought him wrong information of the movements, position, and apparent object of Lee; while, from another commander, who should have furnished the most important information of all, he received none whatever. In this manner he was misled; a part of his Army was placed in a critical condition; and the opportunity of attacking Lee was lost. There followed a series of manœuvres by the two Armies, during which the brilliant combats of Bristoe-station and Rappahannock Bridge took place, the movement ending in Lee's re-crossing the Rapidan. After the war, Lee acknowledged to Meade that his scheme had been frustrated in this operation—that he had been completely outmanœuvred.

Among the criticisms made on these operations, it was said: Lee uncovered Richmond by his movement—why did not Meade move on that, and swap queens? The answer to it was very obvious. The two queens were not of equal value. Richmond was a small town; and any other much smaller town would have furnished, equally well, all the conveniences required for the *personnel* of the Confederate Government. There were no Southern towns of any consequence within several hundred miles of it. Washington was twice as large as Richmond; was the capital of the country; and had collected in it all our national archives. Near to it, was the rich and populous city of Baltimore; and, not far off, the still richer and more populous city of Philadelphia.

The task of the Army of the Potomac was to cover all these cities and carry on offensive operations against the Army of Northern Virginia, in a country intersected with wide, deep, rapid rivers, and covered, in great part, with dense forests and thickets. To do all this required a large numerical superiority on the part of the Army of the Potomac. But it did not possess any material superiority of numbers, during the time Meade commanded it, until the Spring of 1864.

Having ascertained that Ewell's half of Lee's force was so posted that it could be surprised by a well-directed, rapid movement across the Rapidan, by the Army of the Potomac, Meade, in the latter part of November, secretly crossed the Rapidan, close to Lee's right, and advanced, with the Second Corps,

only eight thousand strong, to the point of concentration, close upon Ewell, at the hour named, twelve o'clock of the second day, and engaged the enemy. The left wing reached its designated position in time; but the right wing, consisting of about half the Army, which should have united with the Second Corps, at twelve o'clock, became entangled in the Wilderness forest, and did not move more than three miles from the river nor reach the point of concentration until the next morning. The opportunity for surprise was lost; and Lee had time to concentrate his Army and take up a strong position, on Mine-run, and entrench it by the time Meade reached there. The only points of attack offering any chance of success were on Lee's right and left flanks—he occupied the inner and much shorter line of an arc: we the outer and longer line. Dispositions were made to attack, from our right and left—the interval of four or five miles, between the two nearly equal parts of the Army, being thinly held with one or two Divisions of Infantry and Artillery—the most vicious disposition for battle possible; but the only one left Meade. Just as the Artillery-fire was about to cease and the Infantry, on the right, were about to run forward to the assault, an Aide from the commander on the left dashed up and informed General Meade it was impossible to attack, there. To have attacked, with our right, under such a condition, would have resulted in disaster; for Lee—having nothing to contend with, on our left, and much shorter distance to move over than we—could have concentrated on our point of attack and repulsed it; and, advancing on the open space between our two wings, which there was not time to close, could have divided our Army in two.

Instantly, the order was given to suspend the attack; and Meade rode to the left, to see, by personal inspection, what the chance was, there. He found it to be as represented; and the troops from the centre were returned to their former positions. By this time, the enemy had also discovered our plan of attack from former positions. By this time the enemy had also discovered our plan of attack, from the right, and were prepared for it: the scheme had to be abandoned.

It was, however, persistently urged on General Meade to attack, because the public would be dissatisfied, if he did not, and would not believe that he ought not to have attacked, unless he did attack and was bloodily repulsed. Meade knew, at the time, that if he did not attack there would be a clamor against him that would probably lead to his removal from command; but, notwithstanding, he gave no ear to the counsel I have mentioned, preferring

to be governed by his own judgment rather than by public opinion.

As the Winter had commenced, and as Meade believed that the line of operations from Fredericksburg would not be viewed with satisfaction, at Washington, he withdrew to his former position, on the North side of the Rapidan.

During the Winter, certain military events took place, which, though of interest, have no important bearing on the present subject.

Before the season for active operations returned, General Grant had been appointed Lieutenant-general, and placed in command of all the Armies. He concluded to make his Head-quarters with the Army of the Potomac, Burnside's Corps, and the Army of the James.

During the Winter and Spring, the Army of the Potomac was re-inforced, and, when the Campaign opened, consisted of seventy-six thousand Infantry, in three Corps, commanded by Sedgwick, Hancock, and Warren, and about twelve thousand Cavalry, commanded by Sheridan, with a large Artillery force, having its own guard, which, when the Artillery was reduced—about the middle of May—was joined to one of the Infantry Corps. Burnside had some fifteen or twenty thousand men, which were united with the Army of the Potomac, early on the morning of the sixth of May, the second day of the Battle of the Wilderness.

Lee's force consisted of three Corps, each about twenty thousand strong, commanded by Ewell, Hill, and Longstreet, who arrived on the third of May; and eight or ten thousand Cavalry, commanded by Stewart, with a due proportion of Artillery.

The Artillery of both Armies was more than could be used in that country; and, with us, was cumbersome; and, therefore, reduced when we were near Fredericksburg.

The object of the Campaign was to fight Lee's Army and break it to pieces. Failing in that, upon our forcing it back upon Richmond, we were to destroy all lines of supply to that city, upon the North bank of the James-river; then cross over, and, encircling the town, destroy all lines of supply, on the South side.

This project necessarily entailed many battles.

The question first settled was, shall the movement be by the right flank, passing through Madison Court-house, and crossing the Rapidan at or above Lee's left flank?

This was decided against, as, beyond the Rapidan—as far as could be learned—the roads did not admit of the ready movement of the different Corps, for concentration; and if, by Lee's movements, he should avoid heavy fighting, he could, while maintaining his commu-

nization with his supplies, at Richmond, harass the new lines of communication and supply which must be opened for the Army of the Potomac, toward the Potomac-river and Chesapeake-bay, as we advanced. The importance of this objection was shown by the necessity of sending so many thousands of wounded, from the Army of the Potomac, by Fredericksburg, in two or three days after we began to move.

The objection to moving by the left flank was, that it took us through the tangled mass of woods called "The Wilderness," where Lee, by prompt movement, could force us to stop and fight him; and where, from the denseness of the woods and undergrowth, the troops acting on the defensive were unseen, while those moving to the attack could be plainly perceived. It served almost as effectually as an intrenchment, for the Army acting on the defensive.

The advantage of moving by the left flank consisted in keeping close to the Potomac-river and all lines of communication and supply we should want to open, from time to time, and which our Army would effectually cover. Accordingly it was decided to move by the left.

The project was to get through the Wilderness quickly, and endeavor to cut Lee's line of communication—the Central Railroad—somewhere between Louisa Court-house and Gordonsville, and attack him in the comparatively open country.

The moment our movement was perceived, Lee concentrated. Ewell, being nearest to us, was thrust along the pike against us; Hill along the Orange Court-house plank-road; Longstreet was to come up, on our left flank. By simply thrusting himself against us, we were obliged to stop our movement to attack Lee. We could not go on: if we did, he would watch his opportunity and overwhelm some portion that was exposed.

Meade knew that Lee's best course was to move against us and force us to attack him in the Wilderness, as I have already stated. Therefore, when, early in the morning of the second day of the movement, advance parties of the enemy attacked our Cavalry, on the Orange Court-house plank-road, and the advance-guard thrown out on the pike, Meade apprehended that the first battle would be fought in the Wilderness. But there was no means of telling, at first, whether these small attacks were made simply by very advanced parties of the enemy, made for the purpose of interrupting and delaying our march, or were made by the advance guards of Lee's main Army. There was but one thing to do—to attack, at once; clear them out of the way, if we could; take prisoners; and find out where the main

force of the Army was. Hancock, who moved promptly, in the morning, from Chancellorville, on the route directed in the General Order of the third of May, was directed to halt at Todd's-tavern, until it could be ascertained what the enemy's intentions were. They were soon disclosed. Ewell and Hill were close upon us, and were, at once, attacked by the Fifth Corps. Hancock was brought back, from the vicinity of Todd's-tavern, to the intersection of the Orange plank-road with the Brock-road. Until he could get up, Getty's Division of the Sixth Corps was sent to that intersection; and was at once engaged with Ewell. The Sixth Corps was posted on our right.

Thus commenced that extraordinary series of battles, of two months' duration, at the termination of which the Army of the Potomac had lost more than sixty thousand men, in killed and wounded.

The position of General Meade, all this time, was a delicate one, owing to the near presence of an officer of superior rank and command. He acquitted himself, in it, in such a manner as to command the respect and esteem of General Grant, between whom and himself there was, I believe, complete accord. For his eminent services in the campaign, Meade was made a Major-general in the Regular Army.

The close of June saw the commencement of what is termed the Siege of Richmond and Petersburg, which lasted until the second of April, 1865. During this long period, many operations, battles, and combats took place, with varying success. Throughout them all, the marked ability of Meade, as a commander, was conspicuous.

The breaking of the lines of Petersburg, on the second of April, was succeeded by the flying, fighting retreat and surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia; and with that surrender came Peace.

Perhaps the very imperfect reference to General Meade's military life which I have just made may serve to show what a great experience he had; and how valuable to his country his life has been; and that his death, in full bodily and mental vigor, is a great national loss.

[At the conclusion of the Oration, Wieprecht's *Imperial March* was played by the orchestra; a telegram from the President of the United States was read; a series of Resolutions expressive of the respect which the assemblage entertained for General Meade, its gratitude for his services, and calling on the Councils of Philadelphia to erect a monument to his memory, was read and, after a speech by Mr. Gibbons, adopted; the *Marche des Flambeaux*, by Meyerbeer, was performed by the orchestra; and the audience dispersed.]

VII.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-
CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.—CONTIN-
UED FROM PAGE 77.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST
PRINTED.

[* The words, in *italics*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which were *erased*: the words, in *Roman*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which have been *obliterated* by time or accident.]

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
of y^e Said Citty on Munday
y^e 21st day of February Anno
Dom 1697

Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Robert Lurting }
William Merrett Esq
William Morris
Thomas Clarke
James Evetts
William Janeway.
John Crooke
David Jameson
Sam^l Burte
William Huddleston
Nathaniel Marston
Michael Hawdon
William Sharpas
Ebenezer Willson
Thomas Burroughs.

Whereas [*before*] the Protestants of this Citty of y^e Communion of y^e: Church of England as [*established*] by Law were Incorporated & made A body Politic [] Caleb Heathcote Major William Merrett Cap^t Thomas Wenham Cap^t Ebenezer Willson Cap^t Thomas Clarke William Morris Cap^t Jeremiah Tothill & Mr [] Vanderburgh did become and are Still Obligated by [their Bond] under their hands & Seals [*for ye*] in the Sum of four hundred pounds Currant Money of New Yorke on Condition to pay two hundred pounds like Money with the Interest of Six p Cen^t unto y^e Widow Hollogond Dekey itt being Employed for y^e: more Speedy & better Carrying on of the building of Trinity Church itt is therefore Order'd that the Same be A Corporation debt & y^e the Rector Church Wardens & Vestry men of y^e: Said Church for the time being doe Jndempnifie the Said Persons from ye: Said Obligation.

The Persons hereafter Named have Given the Several Sums of Money hereafter Named to y^e: use of Trinity Church itt being Money by them formerly lent to M^r Nicolls y^e: Agent &c:

~~Thomas Wenham~~ - - - 15- 00- 00
William Janeway - - - 03- 00- 00
Thomas Clarke - - - 03- 00- 00
William Morris - - - 09- 00- 00
Jeremiah Tothill - - - 03- 00- 00
Robert Lurting - - - 03- 00- 00
Thomas Burroughs - - - 03- 00- 00
John Crooke - - - 08- 00- 00
Nathaniel Marston - - -

M^r James Evetts Produced A Draft of the Church as the Pews are designed to be built which Nemine Contracente were desposed of & Allotted as followeth Viz'

The Pew 45 for y^e Rector f
46 Coll Caleb Heathcote & Major William Merrett
47 M^r Chidley Brooke
49 Cap^t Thomas Wenham [*& M^r. David Jameson*] and M^r Emott
35 M^r William Janeway & M^r Jeremiah Tothill
34 M^r William Morris & M^r James Emott
43 M^r Robert Lurting [*& Cap^t Thomas Clarke*] & David Jameson
15 M^r Gabriel Ludlow & M^r William Huddleston
32 M^r Lawrence Reade & Cap^t John Merrett
41 Cap^t John Tuder & [*M^r Michael Hawdon*] Cap^t Morris
42 Cap^t Ebenezer Willson & William Sharp-
as
33 M^r John Crooke & M^r James Evetts
18 [*Cap^t John Merrett &*] M^r Thomas Burroughs & M^r Marston
40 [*M^r Nathaniel Marston & M^r Samuel Burte*] Michael Hawdon & Cap^t Clarke

Citty of } ss Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church within the
Citty of New Yorke y^e: 7th
day of March 1697

Present The Reverend M^r William Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Robert Lurting }
Thomas Clarke
David Jameson
Michael Hawdon
John Crooke
William Huddleston
Nath Marston
Will Sharpas } Vestry men

Order'd the Persons hereafter Named doe Collect the Subscriptions Given for y^e Glazing of Trinity Church Viz' & make Return to this Board by y^e: Next Meeting

Thomas Wenham to Collect
Thomas Wenham . - - - 1. 04. 0

Thomas Palmer	p ^d	0. 12. 0
A friend	p ^d	0. 04. 0
Joseph Blydenburgh paid		0. 12. 0
William Anderson paid		0. 04. 0
Chidley Brooke Esq		1. 04. 0
Coll Caleb Heathcote		1. 04. 0
Gab ^l Ludlow	p ^d	0. 18. 6
James Grayham Esq ^r	p ^d	1. 04. 00
Rob ^t Lurting to Collect		
Robert Lurting	p ^d	1. 04. 0
William Merrett	p ^d	1. 04. 0
James Evetts	p ^d	0. 18. 0
William Morris	p ^d	0. 18. 0
Ebenezer Willson	p ^d	0. 18. 0
Thomas Clarke to Collect		
Thomas Clarke	p ^d	1. 04. 0
Sam ^l Burte	p ^d	0. 12. 0
Rob ^t Skelton	p ^d	0. 18. 0
Jacob Mayle	p ^d	1. 00. 0
Richard Willett	p ^d	1. 04. 0
William Morris to Collect		
Bartholomew Laroox	p ^d - - -	00. 12. 00
Peter Matthews	p ^d - - -	00. 05. 06
M ^r Davis	p ^d	01. 00. 00

Order'd that Cap^t Thomas Clarke M^r William Huddleston & M^r John Crooke doe take Care that the Church be Cleaned & put into the best posture they Can in Order that Divine Service & the Communion be there Administred the Next Sabbath day.

City of } N Yorke }	as	Att A Meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trini- ty Church on Munday y ^e 14 th day of March 1697
Present		Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens Rob ^t Lurting } William Morris } David Jameson } Will Janeway } Sam ^l Burte } John Tuder } Thomas Clarke } John Crooke } Nathaniel Marston } Will Sharpas }

Order'd that M^r Thomas Wenham doe draw a Note on Chidly Brooke Esq^r to pay to John Eliason Joyner the Sum of thirty pounds Curr^t Money of New Yorke itt being in parte paym^t for y^e: making of y^e: Pallpitt &c: the Same being Money Subscribed by y^e: Said Chidley Brooke for the better Carrying on of the Building of y^e: Said Church

Resolved that the pullpitt in Trinity Church be Removed According to a Draft this Night produced & [that] Ordered y^e Capt Thomas

Clarke & Capt Jeremiah Tothill doe take the Same be forthwith Effectad.

City of } New Yorke }	as	Att A Meeting of y ^e Rector Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church on [Tues- day] Munday y ^e : 21 th day of March 1697
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the Reverend M ^r William Vezey Rector	
Present Robert Lurting Church Warden	
Thomas Clarke	
William Merrett Esq ^r	
David Jameson	
William Morris	
John Crooke	
Nathaniel Marston	
William Sharpas	
Michael Hawdon	

Vestry men

Order'd that William Merrett Esq^r & Cap^t William Morris doe Collect the Contributions to be given in Trinity Church for the four Sabbath days Next Ensuing

City of } New Yorke }	as	Att A Meeting of y ^e : Rector Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church on Tuesday y ^e : 22 ^d day of March 1697
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Present	The Reverend M ^r William Vezey Rector
	Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
	Robert Lurting }
	William Merrett Esq ^r
	David Jameson
	John Tuder
	John Crooke
	Nathaniel Marston
	Will Sharpas
	Thomas Clarke
	Thomas Burroughs
	Ebenezer Willson
	William Morris
	Michael Hawdon

Capt Thomas Clarke & Capt Jeremiah Tothill y^e: Collectors of y^e: Contributions Given in [Trinity] the Church have this day paid to Cap^t Ebenezer Willson the Sum of twenty One pounds Six Shillings being Money by them Collected the four Sabbath days last past & Ordered that Cap^t Willson Acc^t for y^e: Same.

Order'd that the following Address be Signed by the Church Wardens in behalfe of this Board & forthwith presented to his Excell^{ty} & Council (Viz^d)

To his Excellency Benjamin Fletcher
Capt Gen^l And Governour in Chiefe of
the Province of New Yorke &c:

The humble Petition of y^e: Church

Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church [Wardens] in the City of New Yorke.

Sheweth

That there is a Certain Sum of Money Raised by Virtue of A License from Your Excell with Advice of y^e: Council from y^e: Voluntary Contribution of the Inhabitants of this Province & Others towards the Reliefe of Christian Captives in Salley which did belong to this Province & in Case of their death or other Escape or that it be Impossible to Relieve them by the Said License itt is to be Employed to the like or Some Other pious use as your Excell the Govern^r & Council Shall Appoint

That itt So happens the Said Captives are Escaped dead or otherwise not to be Relieved That the Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church for and towards the finishing of S^d Church did upon their humble Application by your Excell favour Obtain from Your Excell in Council on y^e: 2^d of Dec^r 1697 an Order for y^e: payment of Said Money to the Church Wardens of Said Church towards the finishing of Said Church upon Condition that if any of the Said Captives be in Captivity & to be Relieved the Corporation of Trinity Church Should procure their Reliefe and Redemption att their Charge. And that the Persons Intrusted by Your Excell with the Management of Said Money towards the Redemption of Said Captives (Viz^d) Coll Stephen Cortlandt Peter Jacobs Main D^r Kerbyl and Capt John Kip will not meet together att the Request of the Said Church Wardens to Deliver up the Acc^t of the Amount of the Said Money and to Assign the Same.

Wherefore Your Excell Petitioners humbly pray Your Excell to Order that the Said Persons be Summoned to Appear before Your Excell & Give an Acc^t of y^e: Amount of y^e: Said Money & be Ordered to Assign the Said Money to the Said Church Wardens for the Aforesaid use of Trinity Church without further Delay

And Y^r Excell Petitioners as in Duty bound Shall Ever pray &c

City of New Yorke } ^{as} Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church on Munday y^e: 26th day of March 1698

Present The Reverend M^r Will Vezey Rector
Rob^t Lurting Church Warden
Ebenezer Willson
James Emott

Thomas Clarke
William Morris
David Jameson
Will Sharpas
John Tuder
James Evetts
Michael Hawdon
William Huddleston
John Crooke
Nath Marston
Thomas Burroughs

Vestry men

Resolved y^e the Gallery design'd to be built on y^e: South Side of Trinity Church Att y^e: Charge of the Govern^r for the use of the Govern^r & Council of this Province [&] have a Part added to itt att y^e: Charge of this [Congregation] Corporation to run towards the West end of y^e: Church and that those persons that will have pews therein doe in proportion pay the Charge thereof.

M^r Jameson Reports to this board that y^e: Petition Order'd y^e: last Meeting of this board was read in Council [on] Thursday last & that Coll Cortlandt one of y^e: Council & one of y^e: persons Concern'd therein Inform'd y^e: Gov^r & Council y^e they were ready to deliver up all papers Relating to the Money Collected for y^e: Redemption of y^e [Slaves] Captives in Sally & to Assign the Same. Whereupon itt is Order'd that (M^r Thomas Wenham being much Indisposed) that M^r Rob^t Lurting M^r James Emott and M^r David Jameson doe waite upon y^e: Said Coll. Cortlandt & the other Persons [that have y^e] to whose Charge [of] the Said Money was Committed & Demand all papers Relating thereunto & Assignment of the Same.

M^r David Jameson Reports that his Excell y^e: Governour has Given A Bible & Some other Bookes to this Corporation for y^e: use of Trinity Church w^{ch} are Supposed to be in the hands of M^r Simon Smith Order'd that M^r Cap^t Willson and William Sharpas doe waite upon M^r Smith & Aske for y^e: Same.

The Board being Sensitive of Several Strangers being now in Town y^e have not yett Contributed to y^e: Carrying on of the Building of Trinity Church Order'd that Cap^t Willson and Cap^t Tuder doe goe About with y^e: list of Subscriptions & Endeavour to gett additions thereunto. & also to Collect the Arreage of Subscriptions yett unpaid

[City of New Yorke } ^{as} Att A Meeting of y^e Rector Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church y^e 1st day of April 1698

Present The Reverend Mr William Vesey Rector
Robt Lurting Church Warden
Will Merritt Esq
James Emott
John Tudor
David Jameson
Ebenezer Willson
Thomas Clarke
William Janeway
Wm Sharpas
William Huddleston
Michael Hawdon
James Evetts
William Huddleston
Nathaniel Marston
John Crooke
Thomas Burroughs

The following Address was three times read & Approved & Ordered to be Entred in these Minutes & that itt be Engrossed & that to morrow Morning at [Eight] Nine O Clock this board doe meet att y^e Mayors & present the same to his Excellency]

City of } Att A Meeting of y^e Rector
 New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
 of Trinity Church on Munday
 y^e 11th day of April 1698

The Reverend Mr Will Vezey Rector
 Present Robt Lurting } Church Wardens

Coll Caleb Heathcote
 William Merrett Esq^r
 Ebenezer Willson
 Will Janeway
 Nath Marston
 Thomas Burroughs
 Sam^{ll} Burte
 John Crooke
 James Evetts
 Michael Hawdon
 Will [Jane] Sharpas

Order'd that the Church Wardens together with Capt Thomas Clarke & Mr John Crooke or any three of them be A Committee for the Disposal of the pews in Trinity Church as they shall see meet for the Convenient seating of the Congregation and that A Note be put upon the Church Door to give Publick Notice thereof.

Mr William Huddleston Late Clarke of Trinity Church Informed this board that by reason of [great] Business & affairs that Call him Abroad he Cannot Attend that Service & Desires this board will Appoint some Other person to Execute that office itt is therefore Ordered that Mr Nathaniel

Marston be Clerke of Trinity Church Dureing his well Behaviour in the 8^d office & that he have A Sallery of twenty pounds p^y Annum for the said service to be paid Quarterly out of the Publick Stock of y^e Church. to Commence from the Ninth day of this Instant Month of April

City of } Att A Meeting of ye. Rector
 New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
 of Trinity Church on Monday
 the 18th day of April 1698

Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector

Coll Caleb Heathcote
 William Merrett Esq^r
 Ebenezer Willson
 James Emott
 Thomas Clarke
 David Jameson
 John Tudor
 William Janeway
 John Crooke
 William Morris
 Nath Marston
 Sam^{ll} Burte
 Mich Hawdon
 Will Sharpas

Order'd that Coll Heathcote Capt Willson Capt Clarke and Capt Tudor doe Attend y^e Rector to waite upon his Excell the Earle of Bellomont with A Draft of the Church in Order his Lordship Assign A place for the building of A Pew, for himselfe and family.

The Rector & Committee doe Reports y^e they Accordingly have waited on my Lord with the Draft of y^e Church & that his Lordship has [Appointed] desired A place on y^e South Side of y^e Church fronting the Pullpitt for the Setting of his pew w^{ch} is [Agreed to] Assigned for him Accordingly.

Att a meeting of the Rector
 Church warden^s and Vestrey
 men of Trinity Church on
 monday. April. 25. 1698 - - -

Trinity Church as
 Present The Reverend Mr W^m Vesey
 Tho^s Wenham
 Rob Lurton
 W^m Merrett - - - -
 Tho Clarke - - - -
 Jn^s Tudor
 Mich Hawdon
 W^m Huddlestone
 Eben Willson

Natha Maston
Jn^o Crook - - - - -
James Emote
W^m Janeway
W^m Morris
Samuell Burr
James Evertts

Ordered - - that the Easter Offerings -- att the Communion. on Easter. Sunday. lastt. . . be to the Vuse of. the Rector

Citty of } Att A Meeting of the Rector
New Yorke } Church Wardens & Vestry men
 } of Trinity Church on Tuesday
 } y^r: 26th day of April 1698

Present The Reverend M^r William Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens

The following Address [was] to Coll Fletcher was read & Approved & Ordered to be Entered in these Minutes dated 26th April 1698

William Merrett, Esq^r
Ebenezer Willson
David Jameson
James Emott
John Tudor
William Morris
Thomas Clarke
James Evetts
Michael Hawdon
Will Sharpas.
Will Janeway
Nath Marston

Pursuant to the Directions of the Charter for the Incorporating the Inhabitants the Inhabitants of this Citty in Communion of the Church of England as by Law Established the Inhabitants of y^r: Said Citty in Communion as Aforesaid did this day Convene together in Trinity Church [and] According to publick Notice and did the Elect and Choose the persons hereafter Named to Serve in the Respective Offices of Church Wardens & Vestry men of [the Said Citty for] Trinity Church for the Year Ensueing

Viz' Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Thomas Clarke }
Will Merrett Esq
Coll. Caleb Heathcote
William Morris
Ebenezer Willson
James Emott
Rob^t Lurting
Mich Hawdon
John Crooke
Will Sharpas
Jeremiah Tothill
Will Huddleston
James Evetts

Thomas Burroughs
David Jameson
Matthew Clarkson
Will Nicoll Esq^r
Will Anderson
Rich^d Willett
Rob^t Walters
Giles Gaudineau

William Welch Appeared before this board & being Informed y^t this Church wanted A Sexton told them he was ready to Execute y^t office & that for his wages or Sallery for the Same he be Allowed 6^s 3^d Annum of Every pew - for y^e Cleaning & looking after the same & that the persons that have A Right to the Said pews pay the Same Quarterly in Equal proportions

Order'd Cap^t Willson & M^r Anderson doe Collect the Contributions of y^r: Church for four Sabbath days following

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—“VERMONT CONTROVERSY.”— CONTINUED FROM PAGE 102.

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTENSE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[7.—*Resolutions of the Committee of Safety of New York, requesting the Continental Congress to recommend the Vermontese to submit to the authority of New York and asking that body to disband the Regiment authorised by it to be raised in Vermont and commanded by Colonel Warner.*]

IN COMMITTEE OF SAFETY FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK, FISKEILL, January 20th 1777.

WHEREAS, until the Commencement of the present Contest with Great-Britain, the inhabitants of Cumberland and Gloucester Counties in general submitted to the jurisdiction of this State; many of them obtained Grants and Confirmations of Title from the late Government, and justice was administered by magistrates of its Appointments;

AND WHEREAS a Spirit of Defection and revolt has lately been extended to those Counties through the arts misrepresentations of certain people inhabiting the County of Charlotte, distinguishing themselves by the name of the Green-mountain-boys, and their emissaries.

AND WHEREAS the Congresses and Conventions of this State have hitherto cotemplated the Effects of this dangerous Insurrection with silent Concern, being restrained from giving it a suitable Opposition by the Apprehension that it

might, at so critical a Juncture, weaken our Exertions in the Common Cause.

AND WHEREAS the said Insurgents and their Emissaries, taking advantage of the patient forbearance of this State, and flattered by the Countenance and Strength which they have acquired by being embodied into a regiment under the immediate authority of the Continental Congress and without the Consent or Co-operation of this State, have lately united divers of the Inhabitants of Towns within the said Counties of Cumberland and Gloucester to unite with them in assuming a total independence of this State, chusing a separate Convention, and framing a Petition to The Honourable Congress for its Sanction and approbation of this unprovoked revolt :

AND WHEREAS the loss of so valuable a territory as is now attempted to be wrested from this State by the violence of an inconsiderable part of its members, who have, during the present War, received liberal allowances out of the publick Treasury for their more immediate protection, will not only oppress the remainder with the payment of the enormous debts which have accrued in the Common Cause, but must at every future period, expose this State to be intruded into and overrun, its jurisdiction to be denied, and its authority contemned and set at Defiance :

AND WHEREAS divers ill-disposed persons have, with wicked and sinister purposes, reported that members of the Honble the Continental Congress, and other men of Influence and authority in the neighbouring States do favour and support the Insurrection aforesaid :

AND WHEREAS the said ill-disposed persons have also insinuated that the Honourable the Congress do Countenance a design of dismembering this State by appointing Seth Warner who hath heretofore been and still continues a principal Agent and Abettor of the riot and revolt aforesaid, to command the beforementioned regiment.

AND WHEREAS the appointment of the said Seth Warner is inconsistent with the usual mode adopted in Congress and approved of in this and the neighbouring States, and contrary to the express representation in similar Case made to the Honble Congress on the 11 Day of July last by the Convention of this State :

AND WHEREAS such reports and insinuations not only tend to justify the turbulent and disaffected inhabitants of the said Counties, but divers of the good Subjects of this State are discouraged from risking their Lives and Fortunes in the defense of America, while there is reason for apprehending that after all their vigorous efforts and all they have suffered and must continue to suffer for the Common Cause, and

even after a successful period to the present Conflict shall have restored Happiness and Security to their Sister States, this State alone may remain exposed to Havock devastation and anarchy, and be deprived of great and valuable Territories to gratify the ambitious unjust and selfish projects of its disorderly Subjects ;

AND WHEREAS the inveterate foes to the Liberties of America, from the earliest Commencement of the present serious Contest have endeavoured to alienate the minds of the good people of this State from the Common Cause by representing that nothing less than the power of Great-Britain can guard their territorial rights and protect their Jurisdiction against usurpation and Encroachment, and it is a Truth to be lamented that such representations have proved but too successful, and have now acquired additional Force by reason of the premises :

AND WHEREAS it has become absolutely necessary not only for the preservation of the authority of this Convention and the Confidence and respect of its Constituents ; but for the success of the United States, so far as they depend upon or are connected with this Branch of the Grand american Confederacy, that proper and vigorous means should be forthwith exerted for vindicating its rights and asserting and securing its jurisdiction : and as a preliminary Step to quelling the aforesaid disturbances, removing the jealousies and apprehensions of the good people of this State, and depriving the wicked emissaries of Great Britain of the principal argument by which they hitherto have, and still continue to debauch their minds and seduce them from their Allegiance to this State and their Attachment to the Common Cause, a suitable application to the Honble the Congress of the United States may be attended with the most salutary Effects, and thar, in the mean time, coercive measures be suspended :

RESOLVED THEREFORE,

That a proper application be immediately made to the Honble the Congress, to whose Justice the said insurgents have appealed, and on whose advice they pretend to rely, requesting them to interpose their Authority, and recommend to the said insurgents a peaceable submission to the jurisdiction of this State, and also to disband the said Regiment directed to be raised by Col^o Warner, as this Convention hath cheerfully and voluntarily undertaken to raise a Regiment in Addition to the Quota designed [?] for this State by Congress : have opened their utmost resources to the wants and necessities of the American Army : have a very great proportion of this Militia now in the field, and are heartily disposed to contribute to the publick Service in every respect as far as the

Circumstances and abilities of the State will permit.

Extract from the Minutes
ROBERT BENSON, Secy

[8.—*Letter of the Committee of Safety of New York to the Continental Congress, enclosing the preceding Resolutions and urging the requests contained therein.*]

FISHKILL, 20 January 1777.

SIR

I am directed by the Committee of Safety of New-York to inform Congress that by the arts and Influence of certain designing men, a part of this State hath been prevailed on to revolt and disavow the authority of its legislature.

It is our misfortune to be wounded so sensibly, while we are making our utmost exertions in the common Cause.

The various evidences and informations we have received would lead us to believe, that persons of great influence in some of our Sister-states have fostered and fomented these divisions in order to dismember this State at a time when by the inroads of our common Enemy we were supposed to be incapacitated from defending our just Claims. But as these informations tend to accuse some members of your honble Body of being concerned in this Scheme, decency obliges us to suspend our belief.

The Congress will doubtless remember that so long ago as in the month of July last, we complained of the great Injury done us by appointing officers within this State without our Consent or approbation. We could not then, nor can we now perceive the reason of such disadvantageous discrimination between this State and its neighbours. We have been taught to believe that each of the United States is entitled to equal rights: in what manner the rights of New York have been forfeited we are at a Loss to discover: and although we have never received an answer to our last Letter on this Subject, yet we did hope that no fresh Ground of Complaint would have been offered us.

The Convention are sorry to observe that by conferring a commission upon Col Warner, with Authority to name the Officers of a regiment to be raised independent of the legislature of this State, and within that part which hath lately declared an Independence upon it, Congress hath given but too much weight to the Insinuations of those who pretend that your honble body are determined to support these insurgents; especially as this Col Warner hath been constantly and invariably opposed to the Legislature of this State,

and hath been, on that very account, proclaimed an Outlaw, by the late Government thereof. However confiding in the Honour and justice of the great Council of america we hope that you have been surprised into this measure.

By order of the House, Sir, I enclose you the resolution upon the important Subject of this Letter, and am further to observe that it is absolutely necessary to recal the Commissions given to Col Warner and the officers under him, as nothing else will do justice to us and convince those deluded people that Congress have not been prevailed on to assist in dismembering a State which, of all others, has suffered most in the Common Cause.

The King of Great-Britain hath, by force of arms taken from us five Counties, and an Attempt is made in the midst of our distresses to purloin from us three other Counties. We must consider the persons concerned in such designs as open Enemies of this State, and, in Consequence of all America.

To maintain our Jurisdictions over our own Subjects is become indispensably necessary to the authority of the Convention, nor will any thing less silence the plausible arguments by which the disaffected delude our Constituents and alienate them from the Common Cause. On the Success of our Efforts in this respect depends, too probably, even the power of Convention to be longer serviceable in this glorious Contest. It is become a common remark in the mouths of our most zealous friends, that if the State is to be rent asunder, and its jurisdiction subverted to gratify its deluded and disorderly Subjects, it is a folly to hazard their Lives and fortunes in a Contest which, in every event, must terminate in their ruin.

I have the Honour to be,
with great Respect,

Sir

Your most obed^t and hble Serv^t
By Order,

ABRAHAM TENBROECK, Presd^t
Honble JOHN HANCOCK Esq.

[9.—*Second letter of the Committee of Safety of New York, to the Continental Congress, enclosing the two preceding papers.*]

KINGSTON, ULSTER-COUNTY 1 March 1777.

SIR

The enclosed Letters and resolutions were proposed sometime since, but for reasons with which you need not be troubled were delayed. Some late proceedings of the disaffected within this State, occasion their being now transmitted.

I am directed to inform you that the Convention are engaged in establishing a firm

and permanent System of Government, when this important Business is accomplished, they will dispatch a satisfactory State of their Boundaries, and the Principles on which they are founded for the Information of Congress. In the mean time they depend upon the Justice of your Honble House in adopting every wise and salutary expedient to suppress the Mischiefs which must ensue both to this State and the General Confederacy from the unjust and pernicious project of such of the Inhabitants of New-York, as merely from selfish and interested motives, have fomented this dangerous Insurrection. The Congress may be assured that the Spirit of Defection, notwithstanding all the arts and violence of the Seducers, is by no means general. The County of Gloucester, and a very great part both of Cumberland and Charlotte Counties continue steadfast in their allegiance to this Government. Brigadier-General Bailey's Letter, a Copy of which is enclosed, will be a sufficient proof of the temper of the people of Gloucester County. Charlotte and Cumberland continue to be represented in Convention, and from very late Information we learn that out of 80 Members which were expected to have attended the mock-Convention of the deluded Subjects of this State, twenty only attended.

We are informed by good authority that Col Warner was directed by the General to send forward his men as he should enlist them to Ticonderoga; notwithstanding which it appeared by a return from thence, not long since, that only 24 privates had reached that post, nor is there the least prospect of his raising a number of men, which can be an Object of publick Concern, though instead of confining himself to the Green-mountains, as we understand was the intention of the Honble the Congress, he has had the advantages of recruiting in Albany and other places.

I have the Honour to be
with great Respect

Sir,
your most obedient
and hble Serv^t

By Order,

ABM TENBROECK, Presid :
Honble JOHN HANCOCK Esq.

[10.—*Extract from the Journal of the Continental Congress, noticing the receipt of the three preceding papers, by that body, and its action thereon.*]

IN CONGRESS, 7 April 1777.

A Letter of the 20th of January, and one of the 1st of March last, from the Convention of the State of New York, with an Extract from the Minutes of the Committee of

Safety of said State dated January 20th 1777, was received and read :

ORDERED, That they lie on the Table.

Extract from the Journal of Congress
WILLIAM N. HOUSTON, D Secry

[11.—*Extract from the Journal of the Continental Congress, noticing the receipt, by that body, of a Declaration and Petition from the inhabitants of Vermont—No. 6, ante—and its action thereon.*]

IN CONGRESS 8th April 1777.

A Declaration and Petition from sundry Inhabitants of the New-Hampshire Grants was received and read :

ORDERED, That it lie on the Table.

Extract from the Journal of Congress
WILLIAM N. HOUSTON, D Secry

[12.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to the Council of Safety of New Hampshire, asking immediate assistance to oppose the progress of the Royal troops.**]

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY STATE OF VERMONT
MANCHESTER 15th July 1777

GENTLEMEN

This State in preticular seems to be at Present the Object of Destruction. By the Surrender of the fortress Ticondaroga a Communication is open to the Defenceless inhabitants on the frontier who having little more in present store than sufficient for the maintenance of their Respective Families and not ability to immediately to Remove their Effects are therefore induced to accept such Protections as are Offered them by the Enemy; by this means Those Towns who are most Contiguous to them are under necessity of Taking such Protection by which the next Town or Towns become equally a frontier as the former Towns before such Protection, and unless we can Obtain the Assistance of our friends so as to put it immediately in our Power to make a Sufficient stand against strength as they may send, it appears that it will soon be out of the Power of this State to maintain a frontier—this Country notwithstanding its infancy seems as well supplied provisions for Victualing an army as any Country on the Continent, so that on that account, we cannot see why a stand may not as well be made in this state as in the State of New Hampshire and more especially as the inhabitants are Heartily Disposed to Defend their Liberties—You Gentlemen will be at at once sensible that Every such Town as accept protection are rendered at that instant forever incapable of affording us any further assistance

* This paper is published in Slade's *State Papers*—pages 79, 80—but in a mutilated form.—W. F. G.

and what is infinitely worse, as some Disaffected Persons eternally Lurk in almost every Town such become Double fortified to injure their Country our Good Disposition to Defend ourselves and make a Frontier for your State with Our own cannot be carried into execution without your Assistance, should you send immediate assistance we can help you, and should you neglect till we are put to the necessity of Taking protection, you Readily Know it is in a moment out of our power to assist you your Laying these Circumstances together, will I hope induce your Honours to take the same into Consideration and immediately send us your Determination in the Premises.

I have the satisfaction to be your
Honours most Obed^t and very
Hum^{bl} Serv^t by Order of Council

IRA ALLEN, Secr^y

THE HONOURABLE THE COUNCIL OF SAFETY
STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

P. S. By express this moment received, we Learn that between 3 & 6 Thousand of the Enemy are Fortifying at the Town of Castleton—our case calls Loud for immediate assistance

I ALLEN

[13.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to all Officers of Militia, asking assistance.*]

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY STATE OF VERMONT
MANCHESTER 15th July 1777

TO ALL MILITIA OFFICERS WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is the second and perhaps the Last Express we may be able to send you from this part your immediate assistance is absolutely Necessary, a few hundred Militia troops to be joined to our present strength would greatly add to our present encouragement — as by Very Late information we Learn that a large Scout of the enemy are disposed to take a Tour to this part, the inhabitants with their Families cannot be quieted without an Assurance of the arrival of Troops directly for their Assistance, you will Please to let us know your determination without delay.

The Continental Store at Bennington, seems to be their present aim — you will be Supplied with provision here on your arrival, pray send all the Troops you can Possibly Raise—we can reimburse them if we have assistance

I have the honor to be your most obed^t

Hum^{bl} Serv^t By order of Council

IRA ALLEN Secr^y

[14.—*Reply of the President of New Hampshire to the letter of the Council of Safety of Vermont, of July 15th, 1777—No. 12, ante.*]

EXETER, July 19, 1777.

SIR:

I was favored with yours of the 15th inst. yesterday, by express, and laid the same before our General Court, who are sitting.

We had, previous thereto, determined to send assistance to your State. They have now determined that a quarter part of the Militia of twelve Regiments shall be immediately draughted; formed into three Battalions, under the command of Brigadier-general John Stark; and forthwith sent into your State, to oppose the ravages and coming forward of the enemy; and orders are now issuing and will all go out in a few hours to the several Colonels for that purpose. Dependence is made that they will be supplied with provisions in your State; and I am to desire your Convention will send some proper person or persons to Number Four, by Thursday next, to meet General Stark there, and advise with him relative to the route and disposition of our troops, and to give him such information as you may then have, relative to the manœuvres of the enemy.

In behalf of the Council and Assembly, I am,
Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MESSECH WEARE, President.*

IRA ALLEN, Esq.,

Secretary of the State of Vermont.

[15.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to Colonel Marsh and Major Smith, calling for immediate assistance.*]

STATE OF VERMONT 13th Aug^t 1777

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY BENNINGTON—

DEAR COL^l

By Express this Day reciev'd from the Commanding officer of the Northern department we Learn that a door has now opened for the troops of this State to do Duty on this side the North River which will be Clear from Gener^l Schuylers Command and as an Expedition is on foot of the greatest importance which is to remain a secret till the Troops are Collected these are Therefore in the most Positive Terms to Requite you without a Moments Loss of Time to March one half of the Regiment under your Command to this Place—no small Excuse at this Juncture can be reciev'd

Whilst I am writing this we are informed by Express that a large Bodey of the Enemys Troops were Discover two hours ago in St Eolk 12 Miles from this Place and another Bodey at Cambridg About 18 Mills from this that they march Boldly in the Road and there will Doubtless be an attack at or near this place within 24 howers we have the Assistance of Maj^r general

* In order to expedite the work of copying the volume of records which this series of articles re-produces, Captain Goodwin referred to the copy of this letter which is in Slade's *State Papers of Vermont*, from which we copy. If any variation shall be found between the original and this copy it will be explained by this circumstance.—EDITOR.

Stark with his Brigade You will hurry what
Rangers forward are Recruited with all speed
Now is the Time S^r

I am S^r your Hum^b Servant
S^r I Desiar By order of Counesel
You would send PETER OLCOTT Col^o
this Express to General Baley
Col^o MARSH

a Copy

To Maj Israel Smith

JONAS FAY } vice president

[16.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to "the
"Generals nearest commanding," calling for
assistance.*]

STATE OF VERMONT

IN COUNCIL OF SAFETY BENNINGTON

16th August 1777

GENTLEMEN

Brig General Starks from the State of N.
Hampshire with his Brigade together wth the
Militia & Companies of Rangers raised by this
State with Part of Col^o Symonds Regiment of
the Militia are now in Action with a Number of
the Enemies Troops assembled near this Place
which has been for some Time very Severe, we
have now in Possession (taken from them this
Day) Four Brass field pieces Ordinance Stores &c

And this Moment four or five hundred
Prisoners have arrived, we have taken the
Ground altho Fortified by Intrenchments, &c,
but after being drove about one mile and the
Enemy being reinforced made a Second Stand &
Still continue the Action, the Loss on each Side
is doubtless considerable, but the Numbers can-
not ascertain —

You are therefore in the most pressing
Terms requested by Gen^l Starks & this Council
to forward the whole of the Militia under your
Several Commands to this place without one
minutes loss of time they will proceed on
Horseback with all the Ammunition that can be
provided conveniently on our present exertion
depends the Fate of thousands—

I am

Gen^l

Y^r most Obed^t Hble Ser^{vt}

JONAS FAY Vice Presd^t

To the Gen^{ls}: nearest
Command^{rs} Reg^{ts} in y^e States }

[17.—*The Council of Safety of Vermont to the
Committee of Safety in Charleston, New
Hampshire, enclosing a copy of General Gates's
letter, asking immediate assistance.*]

BENNINGTON 18th Sept^r 1777

GENTLEMEN

I am ordered by this Council to Inclose a
Copy of General Gates Letter to you by which
you will see the Necessaty of forwarding your
Militia with Expdition. You will also forward

Copies to the Eastward of the Generals Letters
Requesting them to Come forward.

I am Gentlemen

Your most Obedient

Hum^bl Ser^{vt}

JOSEPH FAY Sec^y

TO THE HONORABLE COMMITTEE
OF CHARLESTON IN N HAMPSHIRE

[ENCLOSURE.*]

CAMP ON BEEHIVE HIGHTH

Sep^r 17- 1777

I have Rec^d Certain Intelligence that
Gen^l Burgoyne has Caused Skeensborough Fourt
Ann Fort George Fort Edward and the Post he
Lately ocupied to the Southward of Lake George
and Skeensborough, to be evacuated, and the
artilery, Stores and Provision to Be Brought to
his Army, now at Van Vaters Mills, Seven Miles
North of this Camp, Except Some Heavy Can-
non which are Carried to the five mile Island in
Lake George From this it is Evident the Gen^l
Designs to Rescue all upon one Rash Stroke, it
is there fore the Indispensible Duty of all Con-
cerned to Exert themselves in Reinfoursing this
Army without one moments Delay, the Militia
from Every Part Should be ordered here with
all Possible Expedition, I am S^r your most obe-
dient humble Ser^{vt}

HORATIO GATES

To the Honorable the Charman of the
Committe at Benington to be forwarded to the
Committees to the Eastward thereof

IX. - THE INVASION OF PENNSYLVAN- IA, BY THE CONFEDERATE STATES' ARMY, IN 1863.

REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS OF "EARLY'S
"DIVISION," C. S. A.

FROM A CORRECTED COPY, WITH ILLUSTRATIVE
NOTES, COMMUNICATED BY GENERAL J. A.

EARLY.†

HEADQUARTERS, EARLY'S DIVISION,
August 22nd, 1863.

Major A. S. PENDLETON,

A. A. General, Second Corps, A. N. Va.:

I have the honor to submit the following
Report of the operations of this Division, during
the recent Campaign, commencing with its de-

* It will be remembered that this is merely a record of
a copy of General Gates's letter. That officer did not
spell words exactly in the style employed in this copy of a
copy of his original letter.—EDITOR.

† This Report was printed in *The Southern Magazine*,
for September and October, 1872, but it was not printed
accurately: General Early having kindly sent us a *corrected*
copy, we have pleasure in presenting it to our readers
in the words which he has approved.—EDITOR.

pasture from Fredericksburg, and ending with its arrival in the vicinity of Orange Court-house.

On the fourth of June, the Division marched from Hamilton's-crossing, and having been joined by Jones's Battalion of Artillery, passed Spotsylvania Court-house, Verdiersville, Somerville's-ford, on the Rapidan, Culpeper Court-house, Sperryville, Washington (the county-seat of Rappahannock), and, crossing the Blue Ridge, at Chester-Gap, arrived at Front Royal late on the night of the twelfth. Hoke's and Smith's Brigades crossed both forks of the Shenandoah, that night, and encamped; and Hays's and Gordon's Brigades, with Jones's Battalion of Artillery and the Division trains, encamped on the East side of the South-fork, near Front Royal.*

Early on the morning of the thirteenth, Hays's and Gordon's Brigades, Jones's Artillery, and the trains were crossed over to the North side of the North-fork of the Shenandoah; and I received orders from the Lieutenant-general commanding to move my Division to the Valley-turnpike, and advance to the vicinity of Kernstown, and then move to the left, so as to get a position from which the main work of the enemy, at Winchester, could be attacked with advantage, information at the same time being given me that there was a hill to the westward of this work and commanding it, of which it was desired I should get possession. Lieutenant Barton of the Second Virginia Regiment of Walker's Brigade of Johnson's Division accompanied me as a guide; and Brown's Battalion of Reserve Artillery, under Captain Dance, was ordered to accompany my Division.

Having received the instructions of the Lieutenant-general commanding, the wagons, except the ambulances and the Regimental ordnance and medical wagons, were left at Cedarville; and I diverged from the Winchester and Front Royal-turnpike, at Nineveh, reaching the Valley-turnpike, at Newtown, and thence advancing towards Winchester. I found Lieutenant-colonel Herbert, of the Maryland line, with his Battalion of Infantry, the Battery of Maryland Artillery, and a portion of the Battalion of Maryland Cavalry, occupying the ridge between Bartonville and Kernstown, and engaged in occasional skirmishing with a portion of the enemy who had taken position near Kernstown. I

halted my command, here, forming it in line, on either side of the turnpike, and proceeded to reconnoitre the ground, for the purpose of ascertaining the position and strength of the enemy, near Kernstown, and also of finding the road by which I was to diverge from the turnpike so as to reach the position, in rear of the enemy's works, which I had been directed to gain. The only portion of the enemy in sight, on my arrival, consisted of Cavalry; but I was informed that an Infantry picket occupied Kernstown, and I soon discovered that a Battery of artillery was located on Pritchard's-hill, near Kernstown, which was the same position occupied by the enemy's artillery, at the time of General Jackson's engagement at this place. Finding it necessary to dislodge the enemy from this hill, after making a reconnoissance, I moved Hays's Brigade to the left, through a skirt of woods and a meadow, to the foot of the ridge along which General Jackson made his advance, and thence along a road which runs from Bartonville to the Cedar-creek-turnpike, until an eligible position for advancing upon Pritchard's-hill, from the left, was reached. From this point, Hays was ordered to advance and gain possession of the hill, which he did, without opposition, the enemy having hurriedly withdrawn his Battery; but, whilst advancing, General Hays sent me word that the enemy had a considerable Infantry force on the ridge to his left; and I immediately conducted Gordon's Brigade over the same route, and sent word to Hays to halt until Gordon could get up. Gordon then advanced rapidly to the left of Hays, and, in conjunction with skirmishers sent out by the latter, drove the enemy's force across the Cedar-creek-turnpike and over the ridge between that road and Abraham's-creek, which latter here crosses the Valley-turnpike. While this was going on, Hoke's and Smith's Brigades, which had been left in line, on the right and left of the Valley-turnpike, respectively, were ordered to advance towards Kernstown. Gordon having continued to advance until his right reached the Valley-turnpike, was halted, and Hays was moved to his left; and then Smith to the left of Hays—the three Brigades being formed in line, in rear of the crest of the ridge which is immediately South of Abraham's-creek, beyond which the enemy had been driven. The enemy then occupied Bowers'-hill, on the North of the creek, near Barton's-mill, with a considerable force of Infantry and Artillery; and as it was near night, and too late for further operations, Hoke's Brigade, under the command of Colonel Avery of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, which had been ordered to the support of the other Brigades, was ordered back to Kernstown, where it was placed in position to protect the ambulances, wagons, and artillery, which

* The Second Corps, composed of Rodde's, Johnson's, and my Divisions, under Lieutenant-general Ewell, had remained in the vicinity of Culpeper Court-house, on the ninth; and, on that day, my Division was moved towards Brandy-station, during the Cavalry fight there, but was not needed. On the tenth, we resumed the march; and, on the twelfth, Rodde's and Johnson's Divisions preceded mine in the march, crossing both Forks of the Shenandoah, and camping near Cedarville, a mile or two North of the North-fork.

had been brought to that point, from an attack from the left and rear; and Colonel Herbert was ordered to take position, with his Battalion of Infantry, on the right of Gordon, who had extended his line on that flank, across the Valley-turnpike. In this position, the troops remained all night under a drenching rain.

Very early next morning (the fourteenth) I ordered Gordon and Hays, respectively, to advance a Regiment across the creek and get possession of Bowers'-hill, then occupied by the enemy's skirmishers only, as his Artillery and main force of Infantry had been withdrawn during the night. This was accomplished after some skirmishing, the skirmishers of Smith's Brigade being also advanced across the creek, on the left, at the same time. General Ewell had come over to my position, in the meantime, and we proceeded together to reconnoitre the position, from the fort, on the top of Bowers'-hill, then occupied by my skirmishers, from which point we had a fair view of the enemy's works about Winchester; and we discovered that the hill, to the North-west of the enemy's works, which I had been ordered to gain, had also been fortified and was occupied. It was found to be necessary, then, to take this hill by assault; and a position, having been discovered, beyond it, on the North-west, from which it was thought an assault might be made with advantage, I was directed to move the greater part of my Division around to that position and make the attack, leaving a force at the point then occupied, to amuse the enemy and conceal the movement upon his flank and rear. I will here state that, when our skirmishers had advanced to Bowers'-hill, Major Goldsborough of the Maryland Battalion, with the skirmishers of the Battalion, had advanced into the outskirts of the town of Winchester; but, fearing that the enemy would shell the town from the main fort, I ordered him back.

After receiving final instructions from General Ewell, I replaced the skirmishers of Hays's and Smith's Brigades by others from Gordon's Brigade; and, leaving General Gordon, with his Brigade, the Maryland Battalion, and two Batteries of Artillery (the Maryland and Hupp's), to amuse the enemy and hold him in check, I moved, with Hays's, Hoke's, and Smith's Brigades and the rest of the Artillery, the latter all under Colonel Jones, to the left (West and North-west), following the Cedar-creek-turnpike for a short distance, and then leaving it and passing through fields and the woods, which latter I found sufficiently open to admit of the passage of artillery, thus making a considerable detour and crossing the Romney macadamised-road, about three miles West of Winchester and half a mile from a point at which the enemy had a

picket the night before. After crossing the Romney-road, where I left the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, of Hoke's Brigade, on picket, I continued to move on, through fields and woodland and on obscure paths, until I reached the position from which I wished to assault the enemy's works, which proved to be a ridge, with its northern end close to the Pughtown-road, a very considerable portion being wooded. On the South side of the main woods, immediately confronting the fortified hill which I desired to assault, were an orchard and the ruins of an old house, called "Folk's Old House," and on the North side was a corn-field, on Mrs. Brierly's land, both of which points furnished excellent positions for artillery, within easy range of the work I proposed assaulting, which was on the summit of a hill, on Fahnestock's land, adjoining the Pughtown-road. To the desired point I was guided by a worthy and intelligent citizen, whose name I withhold, as he has already been the subject of the enemy's persecutions; and I was so fortunate as to reach it without meeting with any scouts, pickets, or stragglers of the enemy, or exciting his attention, in any way.* I reached this point about four P. M.; and, as the day was excessively hot and the men had marched a circuit of some eight or ten miles, without getting any drinking water, and were very much fatigued, I massed them in the woods, out of view of the enemy, to give them time to blow. In the meantime, having proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's position and the ground over which I would have to operate, I discovered the two favorable positions for my artillery, before mentioned, and that the intervening woods afforded an excellent cover under which troops could advance to within a short distance of the foot of the hill on which was the work I wished to assault. I also discovered that the enemy occupying this work—which was a bastion front, presenting the appearance of an enclosed-work, from my point of view—were not keeping a

* My guide was Mr. James C. Baker, who resided a few miles from the town. As we were moving along an almost unused path or road, North of the Romney-road, at a sudden turn in it, we came upon a young girl, thirteen or fourteen years of age, on horseback, with her small brother behind her, and a large bundle of clothes tied up in a sheet. She was very much startled and frightened at meeting us; but, on discovering the Confederate gray, she pulled off her bonnet, waved it around her head, cried "Hurrah!" and then burst into tears. The enemy had been shelling the country about her father's house, and one or two shells had fallen near to or on the house, and she had been sent from home to get out of danger. She said: "Oh, I am so glad to see you! I had no idea any of our men were anywhere near here." That girl will make a good wife to some Confederate soldier, if she does not already occupy that position.

lookout, in my direction, but were looking intently in the direction of Gordon's command, on which a gradual advance was being made by Infantry, deployed as skirmishers, and some pieces of artillery, well supported. Meanwhile, Colonel Jones had quietly prepared for running his artillery into position as quick as possible, when the moment for attack should arrive; and the men having been allowed to rest, as much as possible, under the circumstances, I directed General Hays, whose Brigade had been selected to make the assault, to move near to the edge of the woods facing the enemy's work, and to keep his men under cover, until the artillery opened, and then to advance, as rapidly as possible, to the assault, with three Regiments in front and the two others following, a short distance in rear; as soon as he should discover that the enemy was sufficiently demoralised by the artillery-fire. The artillery, under Jones, was divided so as to put twelve pieces in the old orchard mentioned, and eight pieces near the edge of the corn-field, on the North of the woods. The Fifty-seventh North Carolina Regiment was detached and so posted as to protect these latter pieces from an attack, in the direction of the Pughtown-road, which ran not far from them; and the rest of Hoke's Brigade and the whole of Smith's were placed in line, in rear of Hays, ready to support him. The enemy's works, on the front, presented to me, consisted of the bastion-front, on the high hill, which has been mentioned, another smaller breastwork, between that and the Pughtown-road, and a more extensive but incomplete work, on the North side of the Pughtown-road. He had evidently been making recent preparations against an attack from this quarter, and had commenced felling the timber in the woods under cover of which I operated; but, strange to say, on this occasion, he failed to keep a lookout in that direction. About an hour by sun, everything being ready, Jones ran his pieces, by hand, into position and opened, almost simultaneously, from the whole of his twenty guns, upon the enemy, before he was aware of our presence in his vicinity.* The cannonading was kept up briskly, about three-quarters of an hour, when Hays advanced, as directed; ascended the steep slope of the hill leading to the enemy's works, through a brush-wood that had been felled to answer the purpose of abattis; and drove the enemy from his fortifications, in fine style, capturing, in the assault, six rifled pieces, two of which were immediately turned upon the enemy, thus preventing an effort to recapture the works before reinforcements could arrive, for which a portion of the

enemy's main force commenced preparing. As soon as I saw Hays's men entering the works, I ordered forward Smith's Brigade to the support, and also ordered Jones to advance, with the pieces that were posted on our left, leaving Colonel Avery, with that part of Hoke's Brigade with him, to look out for the rear. On reaching the captured work, which proved to be open in the rear, I found that it overlooked and commanded, as had been anticipated, the enemy's main work, near the town, and also a redoubt, to the North of the main work, which was also occupied by Infantry and Artillery; and that all the works on the left (North) of the captured one had been evacuated. The enemy was in evident commotion; but, by the time the Artillery and Smith's Brigade reached the captured hill, dusk was approaching, and it was too late to take any farther steps for the capture of the main work, which was very strong, and to accomplish which would have required the coöperation of the other troops around Winchester.* I contented myself therefore with directing an artillery-fire to be kept up, until dark, on the enemy's position, which was returned, from the main work and redoubt spoken of, though with but little effect.† During the night, I had the captured work turned and embrasures cut, so as to be able to open, at early light, on the main work. The Fifty-seventh North Carolina Regiment was ordered to the work on the North of the Pughtown-road; Hays's Brigade occupied the works captured by it; Smith's Brigade was formed in line, in rear of Hays; Avery was left, with two Regiments of Hoke's Brigade, to prevent any surprise by the enemy from that direction; and the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment was allowed to remain on picket, on the Romney-road. In this position, the troops lay on their arms, all night. I sent my Aide, Lieutenant Calloway, to General Gordon, to direct him to move upon the main fort, at light, next morning; and I also sent a courier to General Ewell, to inform him of what

* From Cedarville, Rhodes had been sent, by the way of Berryville, to Martinsburg; and he drove off a force from the former place, and captured some artillery and prisoners, at the latter. Johnson had moved, with his Division, on the direct road from Front Royal to Winchester; and during my operations at Kernstown, as well as on the North-west of Winchester, had made demonstrations against the enemy, on the East and South-east of the town, occasionally having some very heavy skirmishing, up to the very outskirts of the town; and my operations were very greatly facilitated and covered by those of Johnson. General Ewell was with Johnson's Division.

† A very valuable officer, however, Captain Thompson of the Louisiana Guard Battery, had his arm shattered by a shell, and died that night, from hemorrhage from his wound.

* This was the remarkable case of a surprise of a fortified position, by artillery, in broad daylight.

had been accomplished, and that I thought the enemy would evacuate, before morning.

As soon as it was light enough to see, the next morning, it was discovered that the enemy had evacuated, taking the Martinsburg-road; and, very shortly afterwards, firing was heard on that road, which proved to be from the encounter of Johnson's Division with the retreating enemy. I immediately ordered my whole command in pursuit, after having detached the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, of Smith's Brigade, to guard the abandoned wagons and property. Gordon's Brigade, which first reached the main fort and pulled down the flag left flying over it, preceded the rest of the Division; and, on reaching the point at which General Johnson had encountered the enemy, I found his Division halted and in possession of the greater part of the enemy's Infantry, as prisoners. It was evident that further pursuit, on foot, of Milroy and the small body of mounted men who had escaped with him, was useless; and I therefore halted my command and camped it near the place of Johnson's engagement.

The enemy had abandoned, at Winchester, all his artillery, all his wagons, and a considerable quantity of public stores. Twenty-five pieces of artillery, in all, with their caissons, were secured, as was a considerable quantity of artillery ammunition, though somewhat damaged. In the hurry of the pursuit, in the morning, I gave such directions and took such steps as were possible, under the circumstances, to preserve the captured property; nevertheless, much of it was pilfered and damaged by stragglers, and, even after it got into the hands of the Quartermasters and Commissaries, much of it seems to have been made away with.

I cannot too highly commend the conduct of Generals Hays and Gordon and their Brigades, in the two days' fighting which occurred around Winchester. The charge of Hays's Brigade upon the enemy's works was a most brilliant exploit; and the affair of the day before, when General Gordon drove the enemy from the position he occupied near Kernstown, reflected equal credit on himself and his Brigade. All the arrangements of Lieutenant-colonel Hilary P. Jones, and the conduct of himself and his artillery (including that under Captain Dance), were admirable, and have not been surpassed during the war. I must also commend the gallantry of Lieutenant-colonel Herbert and Major Goldsborough of the Maryland line and their troops. Hoke's and Smith's Brigades did not become engaged, on either day. The members of my Staff, Major Samuel Hale, Division Inspector, Major John W. Daniel, A. A. General, and Lieutenants A. L. Pitzer and William G. Calloway, Aides-de-camp, acquitted themselves to

my entire satisfaction; and Mr. Robert D. Early and Mr. Lake, Volunteer Aides (the latter being a citizen of Maryland who had been sent through the lines, by the enemy, the day before our arrival), rendered me efficient service, as did Lieutenant Barton of the Second Virginia Infantry, detailed to accompany me as a guide. My loss in the whole affair was light, consisting of twenty-nine killed, one hundred and thirty wounded, and three missing. Among the killed and wounded, however, were some gallant and efficient officers.

Having been, afterwards, assigned to the command of Winchester, for a short time, I sent to Richmond, by way of Staunton, one hundred and eight officers and three thousand, two hundred, and fifty enlisted-men as prisoners, leaving in Winchester, several hundred prisoners, sick and wounded. The greater part of the prisoners were captured by General Johnson's Division, while attempting to make their escape, after the evacuation.

While in command, at Winchester, I detached the Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment, of Hoke's Brigade, and the Fifty-eighth Virginia Regiment, of Smith's Brigade, to Staunton, in charge of the prisoners; and, leaving the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment, of Smith's Brigade, on duty at Winchester, I left that place, on the afternoon of the eighteenth, and proceeded, with the residue of Hoke's Brigade and Jones's Battalion of Artillery, to Shepherdstown, on the next day, Gordon's and Hays's Brigades and the three remaining Regiments of Smith's Brigade having preceded me to that place. On the twenty-second, I crossed the Potomac, at Shepherdstown and moved through Sharpsburg and Boonsboro', encamping on the road towards Hagerstown, about three miles from Boonsboro'.*

* My tri-monthly Field-return, made out at Shepherdstown, the original of which is now in my possession, shows the strength of my Division, present, on the twelfth of June, as follows:

	Officers.	Enlisted Men.	Agg'te.
General, Division, and Brigade Staff . . .	27	"	27
Troops present for duty	487	5,194	5,611
Total present for duty	514	5,194	5,638
Present sick	7	836	343
" Extra duty . .	16	452	468
" In arrest . . .	6	16	22
Total present . . .	543	5,928	6,471

It was the portion of this force which was able to march, with which I crossed the Potomac and entered Pennsylvania. The large number of men on extra duty is accounted for by the fact that we had no employes, but all teamsters, ambulance-men, artificers, etc., etc., were enlisted soldiers. My Division, notwithstanding the absence

The Seventeenth Virginia Cavalry, under Colonel William H. French, of Jenkins's Brigade, reported to me, on this day, by order of General Ewell, and remained with me, until the Battle of Gettysburg. On the twenty third, I moved through Cavetown, Smithtown, and Ringgold, (or Ridgeville, as it is most usually called) to Waynesboro', in Pennsylvania. On the twenty-fourth, I moved through Quincy and Altodale to Greenwood, on the macadamised road from Chambersburg to Gettysburg.* At this point, my Division remained in camp, on the twenty-fifth, and I visited General Ewell, at Chambersburg, and received from him instructions to cross the South Mountain, to Gettysburg, and then proceed to York, cut the Northern Central railroad, running from Baltimore to Harrisburg, destroy the bridge across the Susquehanna, at Wrightsville and Columbia, on the branch railroad from York, towards Philadelphia, if I could, and rejoin him at Carlisle, by the way of Dillstown.† Colonel Elijah White's Battalion

of three small Regiments, was fully an average one in our Army; and we had but nine, in all, of Infantry.

* Rodde's and Johnson's Divisions had preceded me across the Potomac—the former at Williamsport and the latter at Shepherdstown—taking the route, through Hagerstown and Greencastle, to Chambersburg. My route was along the western base of South Mountain; and the very excellent public maps of the Counties, in Maryland and Pennsylvania, which we obtained from citizens, enabled me to move along this part of the route, as well as afterwards, without the assistance of a guide.

† It will be seen that General Lee says in his Report, published, some time since, in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, that orders were given to me to seize the bridge from Wrightsville to Columbia. The orders received by me were as stated in my Report, which was written very shortly after the close of the Campaign. This discrepancy may have arisen from a misapprehension, by General Ewell; but my recollection is very distinct, and I have now a memorandum, in pencil, made at the time, in General Ewell's presence, showing what was to be my march on each day, and the time of my probable junction with him, and also a note from him, from Carlisle, all of which rebuts the idea that I was to hold the bridge. However, afterwards, I determined to depart from my instructions and to secure the bridge, cross the river, and move up, in rear of Harrisburg, as I found the condition of the country different from what was contemplated at the time the instructions were given. This discrepancy is a matter of very little moment, really, as the destruction of the bridge, by the enemy, settled the question without any agency of ours; and I have made this explanation simply from the fact that the statement, as contained in my original Report, is variant from that in General Lee's Report. I can well see how General Ewell may have misapprehended General Lee's directions, or how the latter, writing several months after the events had happened, may have fallen into the mistake, from the fact that I really attempted to secure the bridge and the enemy burnt it, to thwart my purpose.

of Cavalry was ordered to report to me, for this expedition; and, on the morning of the twenty-sixth, having sent all my wagon trains to Chambersburg, except the ambulances, one medical wagon for each Brigade, the Regimental ordnance-wagons, one wagon with cooking utensils for each Regiment (including the officers), and fifteen empty wagons to use in gathering supplies, and carrying no other baggage, I moved towards Gettysburg.* On reaching the forks of the road, on the East slope of the mountain, about one and one-half miles from Cashtown, I sent General Gordon, with his Brigade and White's Battalion of Cavalry, on the macadamised road, through Cashtown, towards Gettysburg; and I moved, with the rest of the command, to the left, through Hilltown, to Mummasburg. I had heard, on the road, that there was probably a force at Gettysburg, though I could get no definite information as to its size; and the object of this movement was for Gordon to amuse and skirmish with the enemy while I should get on his flank and rear so as to capture the whole force. On arriving at Mummasburg (with the Cavalry advance) I ascertained that the force at Gettysburg was small; and, while waiting here for the Infantry to come up—its march having been considerably delayed by the muddy condition of the country-roads—a Company of French's Cavalry, that had been sent towards Gettysburg, captured some prisoners, from whom it was ascertained that the advance of Gordon's command—a body of forty Cavalry-men, from White's Battalion—had encountered a Regiment of Militia, which fled on their first approach. I immediately sent forward Colonel French, with the whole of his Cavalry, to pursue this Militia force, which he did, capturing a number of prisoners. Hays's Brigade, on its arrival, was also sent towards Gettysburg; and the other Brigades, with the artillery, were ordered into camp near Mummasburg.† I then rode to Gettysburg, and found Gordon just entering the town, his command having marched with more ease than the

* Before leaving Greenwood, I had the iron-works of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, near that place, burned and destroyed, as the enemy had made it an invariable rule to burn all such establishments wherever he had gone in the Confederacy.

† In speaking of camping my men, on this whole Campaign, it must be understood that I merely mean that they bivouacked—their beds being generally the naked ground, and their covering the sky above them. A few officers only had some tents, which were absolutely necessary to enable them to attend to their duties; but on this expedition to the Susquehanna, no officer, of any rank, including myself, had a tent or any baggage that he did not carry on his back or on his horse. This day had been a very cold rainy one; and the night was most uncomfortable and dreary.

other Brigades because it moved on a macadamised road. The Militia Regiment which had been encountered by White's Cavalry was the Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania, consisting of eight or nine hundred men, and had arrived in Gettysburg, the night before, and moved out, that morning, a few miles on the road towards Cashtown, but had fled on the first approach of White's advance, taking across the fields, between Mummasburg and Gettysburg, and going towards Hunterstown. Of this force, a little over two hundred prisoners, in all, were captured and subsequently paroled. Hays's Brigade was halted and camped about a mile from Gettysburg, two Regiments having been sent to aid French, in the pursuit of the fugitive Militia, but were not able to get up with it. The authorities of Gettysburg declared their inability to furnish the supplies required of them; and a search of the stores resulted in securing only a very small quantity of Commissary supplies; but about two thousand rations were found in a train of cars and issued to Gordon's Brigade. The cars, numbering ten or twelve, were burned, as was also a small railroad-bridge, near the place. There were no railroad buildings of consequence. The day was cold and rainy and the roads were very muddy; and, as it was late when I reached the place and desired to move upon York, early next day, I had no opportunity of compelling a compliance with my demands on the town or ascertaining its resources, which, however, I think were very limited.*

I ordered Tanner's Battery of Artillery and a Company of French's Cavalry to report to General Gordon, during the night, and directed him to move, with them and his Brigade, on the turnpike, towards York, at light, next morning; and I also directed Colonel White to proceed, with his Cavalry, to Hanover Junction, on the Northern Central-railroad, destroying the railroad-bridges on the way, and to destroy the Junction and a bridge or two South of it, and then proceed to York, burning all the bridges up to that place. Having returned to Mummasburg, that night, I moved, next morning, from that place, with the rest of my command, through Hunterstown, New Chester, Hampton, and East Berlin, towards Dover, and camped a short distance beyond East Berlin. I then rode over to Gordon's camp, on the York-turnpike, which was about four miles distant, to arrange with him the manner of the ap-

proach upon York, if it should be defended. But all the information we could gain induced me to believe that there was no force in York; and, that night, a deputation came out from the town, to Gordon's camp, to surrender it. I directed General Gordon, in the event of there being no force in the place, to march through and proceed to the Columbia-bridge and secure it, at both ends, if possible. Next morning (the twenty-eight) General Gordon marched into the town of York, without opposition; and I proceeded, with the rest of the command, by the way of Weigalstown, leaving Dover to my left. At Weigalstown, I sent Colonel French, with the greater part of his Cavalry, to the mouth of the Conewago, to burn two railroad-bridges, at that point, and all other bridges on the railroad, between there and York; and I then proceeded on to York, sending Hays's and Smith's Brigades into camp, at Lauck's-mill, near the railroad, some two miles North of the town. Hoke's Brigade, under Avery, was marched into the town and quartered in some extensive buildings put up for hospitals. I found General Gordon in the town, and repeated to him the directions to move to the Susquehanna and secure the Columbia-bridge, if he could; and he promptly moved his command in that direction. I then made a requisition upon the town-authorities for two thousand pairs of shoes, one thousand hats, one thousand pairs of socks, one hundred thousand dollars, in money, and three days' rations of all kinds for my men. Subsequently, between twelve and fifteen hundred pairs of shoes and boots, the hats, socks, and rations, were furnished and issued to the men; but only the sum of twenty-eight thousand, six hundred dollars in money was furnished, which was paid to my Quarter-master, Major Snodgrass—the Chief-burgess, or Mayor, and other authorities protesting their inability to raise any more money, as they said nearly all in the town had been previously run off; and I was satisfied that they had made an honest effort to raise the amount called for.

A short time before night, I rode out in the direction of the Columbia-bridge, to ascertain the result of Gordon's expedition, and had not proceeded far before I saw an immense smoke rising in the direction of the Susquehanna, which I subsequently ascertained arose from the burning of the bridge in question. On arriving at Wrightsville, on the bank of the Susquehanna, opposite Columbia, I learned from General Gordon that, on approaching Wrightsville, in front of the bridge, he found a command of Militia, some one thousand, two hundred strong, entrenched; and after endeavoring to move around the flank of this force, to

* I subsequently saw it stated that the people of Gettysburg boasted of their failure to comply with my requisition, and twitted the people of York with their ready compliance with the demand on them. The former pleaded their poverty, most lustily, on the occasion, and the people of York were wise in "accepting the situation."

cut it off from the bridge, which he was unable to do promptly from want of knowledge of the locality, he opened his artillery on the Militia, which fled at the bursting of the third shell, when he immediately pursued; but, as his men had then marched a little over twenty miles, on a very warm day, the enemy beat them running. He, however, attempted to cross the bridge, in pursuit, and the head of his column got half-way over; but he found the bridge, which had been prepared for the purpose, on fire in the middle. As his men had nothing but muskets and rifles to operate with, he sent back for buckets to endeavor to arrest the flames; but, before they arrived, the fire had progressed so far that it was impossible to extinguish it—he had therefore been compelled to return and leave the bridge to its fate. This bridge was one and one-quarter miles in length, the superstructure being of wood, on stone abutments and piers; and it included, under one covered structure, a railroad-bridge, a pass-way for wagons, and also a tow-path for the canal which here crosses the river by means of locks and a dam below. The bridge was entirely consumed, and, from its flames, the town of Wrightsville caught fire and several buildings were consumed; but the farther progress of the conflagration was arrested by the exertions of Gordon's men.* I regretted very much the failure to secure this bridge, as, finding the defenceless condition of the country, generally, and the little obstacle likely to be afforded by the Militia to our progress, I had determined, if I could get possession of the Columbia-bridge, to cross my Division over the Susquehanna, cut the Pennsylvania Central Railroad, march upon Lancaster and lay that town under contribution, and then move up and attack Harrisburg, in the rear, while it should be attacked in front by the rest of the Corps, relying, in the worst contingency that might happen, upon being able to mount my whole command from the immense number of horses that had been run across the river, and then move westwardly, destroying the railroads and canals and returning back again to a place of safety. This project, however, was entirely thwarted by the destruction of the bridge, as the river was otherwise impassable, being very wide and deep, at that point. I therefore ordered General Gordon to move his command back to York, next day, and returned to that place, myself, that night.

Colonel White succeeded in reaching Hanover

Junction and destroying the depot, at that place, and also one or two bridges in the vicinity; but he did not, however, destroy all the bridges between that point and York, as one or two of them were defended by an Infantry force, as he reported. Colonel French succeeded in destroying the bridges at the mouth of the Conewago and all the bridges between that point and York; and I sent him to destroy the remaining bridges over the Codorus, between York and Hanover Junction, which he succeeded in doing, any force which may have been defending them having disappeared. I found no public stores at York. A few prisoners found in the hospital, with some others captured by Gordon, at Wrightsville, were paroled. All the cars found at the place were destroyed; but the railroad buildings, two large car-manufactories, and the hospital buildings were not burned, because, after examination, I was satisfied that the burning of them would probably cause the destruction of the greater part of the town, and, notwithstanding the barbarous policy pursued by the enemy, in similar cases, I determined to forbear, in this case, hoping that the example might not be without its effect even upon our cruel enemy.*

* Before leaving York, I wrote and had printed the following address to the citizens; and I think they will bear me out in the assertion that my troops preserved the most perfect order, and that they themselves were deprived of nothing, except what was furnished on the requisition made upon the town authorities. It was well that my demands were complied with, as otherwise I would have been compelled to have resorted to measures that would not have been agreeable either to them or to me. The balance of the money, however, is still unpaid:

[ADDRESS OF GENERAL EARLY TO THE INHABITANTS OF YORK.]

“YORK, PA., June 30th, 1863.

“TO THE CITIZENS OF YORK: I have abstained from burning the railroad-buildings and car-shops in your town, because after examination I am satisfied the safety of the town would be endangered; and acting in the spirit of humanity which has ever characterized my Government and its military authorities, I do not desire to involve the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty. Had I applied the torch, without regard to consequences, I would have pursued a course that would have been fully vindicated as an act of just retaliation for the many authorized acts of barbarity perpetrated by your own Army upon our soil. But we do not war upon women and children; and I trust the treatment you have met with at the hands of my soldiers will open your eyes to the monstrous iniquity of the War waged by your Government upon the people of the Confederate States, and that you will make an effort to shake off the revolting tyranny under which it is apparent to all you are yourselves groaning.

“J. A. EARLY.

“Major-general C. S. A.”

* These men were Georgians; and it is worthy of note that the town of Darien, in their own State, was destroyed, about this time, by an expedition sent by the enemy for the express purpose.

It has been lost upon the Yankees, however, as, so far from appreciating the forbearance shown, I am informed that it has been actually charged by some of their papers that Gordon's command fired the town of Wrightsville; whereas the exertions of his men saved the place from utter destruction.* On the afternoon of the twenty-ninth, I received, through Captain Elliott Johnson, Aide to General Ewell, a copy of a note from General Lee, and also verbal instructions, which required me to move back and rejoin the rest of the Corps, on the western side of the South Mountain; and, accordingly, at daylight, on the morning of the thirtieth, I put my whole command in motion, taking the route, with the main body, through Weigalstown and East Berlin, in the direction of Heidlersburg, from which place I could move either to Shippenburg or Greenwood, by the way of Arendtsburg, as circumstances might require. I, at the same time, sent Colonel White's Cavalry on the turnpike from York towards Gettysburg, to ascertain if any force of the enemy was on that road. At East Berlin, a small squad of the enemy's Cavalry was seen and pursued by my Cavalry advance; and I received information, at this point, from Colonel White, by a messenger, that a Cavalry and Infantry force had been on the York and Gettysburg-road, at Abbotstown, but had moved South towards Hanover. A courier from General Ewell met me here with a dispatch, informing me of the fact that he was moving with Rodes's Division, by the way of Petersburg, to Heidlersburg, and directing me to move in that direction. I encamped, that afternoon, about three miles from Heidlersburg, and rode to see General Ewell, at that point, where I found him with Rodes's Division, and was informed that the object was to concentrate the Corps at or near Cashtown; and I received directions to move, next day, to the latter point. I was informed that Rodes would move by the way of Middletown and Arendtsville; but it was arranged that I should go by the way of Hunters-town and Mummasburg.†

Having ascertained that the road from my camp to Hunterstown was a very rough and circuitous one, I determined, next morning (July 1st) to march to Heidlersburg, and thence, on the Gettysburg-road, to the Mummasburg-road. After passing Heidlersburg a short distance, I

received a note from yourself,* written by order of General Ewell, informing me that General A. P. Hill was moving towards Gettysburg, against the enemy, and that Rodes's Division had turned off at Middletown and was moving towards the same place; and directing me to move directly for Gettysburg. I therefore continued on the road I was then on; and, on arriving in sight of the town, I discovered that Rodes's Division was engaged with the enemy, to my right, on both sides of the Mummasburg-road. A considerable body of the enemy occupied a position in front of the town; and the troops constituting his right were engaged in an effort to force back the left of Rodes's line. I immediately ordered my troops into line and formed them across the Heidlersburg-road, with Gordon's Brigade on the right, Hays's in the centre, Hoke's (under Avery) on the left, Smith's in the rear of Hoke's, and Jones's Artillery in the field immediately in front of Hoke's Brigade, on the left of the Heidlersburg-road, in order to fire on the enemy's right flank. As soon as these dispositions could be made, a fire was opened by my Artillery on the enemy's Infantry and Artillery, with very considerable effect; and Gordon's Brigade was advanced to the aid and relief of Doles's Brigade, which was Rodes's left, and was being pressed back by a considerable force of the enemy that had advanced, from the direction of the town, to a wooded hill on the West side of Rock-creek—the stream which is on the North-east and East of the town. When Gordon had become fairly engaged with this force, Hays's and Hoke's Brigades were ordered forward, in line, and the Artillery, supported by Smith's Brigade, was directed to follow. After a short, but hot contest, Gordon succeeded in routing the force opposed to him, consisting of a Division of the Eleventh Corps commanded by Brigadier-general Barlow, and drove it back, with great slaughter, capturing, among a number of prisoners, General Barlow himself, who was severely wounded. Gordon had charged across the creek, over the hill on which Barlow was posted, and through the fields towards the town, until he came to a low ridge behind which the enemy had another line of battle extending beyond his (Gordon's) left. The Brigade was halted here to reform and replenish its ammunition; and I then ordered Hays and Avery, who had been halted on the East side of Rock-creek, while I had ridden to where Gordon had been engaged, to advance towards the town, on Gordon's left, which they

* The houses that were burned adjoined the toll-house, which was connected with the bridge; and their destruction was thus inevitable from the burning of the bridge.

† When I had moved across South Mountain, Ewell had moved with Rodes's and Johnson's Divisions and Jenkins's Cavalry, to Currie—Rodes's Division and Jenkins's Cavalry going from there, towards Harrisburg.

* Major A. S. Pendleton, A. A. G., to whom this Report is addressed.

did, in fine style, encountering and driving into the town, in great confusion, the second line of the enemy on this part of the field. Hays's Brigade entered the town, fighting its way, while Avery moved to the left of it, across the railroad, and took his position in the fields, on the left and facing Cemetery-hill, which here presented a very rugged ascent. This movement was made under the fire of the enemy's Artillery, from Cemetery-hill, which had previously opened when my Artillery first opened on the enemy's flank; but Avery succeeded in placing his men under the cover of a low ridge, which runs through the fields from the town. Hays's Brigade was formed, in line, on a street running through the middle of the town. A very large number of prisoners was captured in the town and before reaching it—their number being so great as really to embarrass us. Two pieces of artillery (Napoleons) were also captured, outside of the town, the capture being claimed by each Brigade; but it is unnecessary to decide which reached the pieces first, as their capture was due to the joint valor of the two Brigades—Hays's and Hoke's.

While these operations were going on with Hays's and Hoke's Brigades, I saw, farther to our right, the enemy's force, on that part of the line, falling back and moving, in comparatively good order, on the right of the town, towards the range of hills in the rear; and I sent for a Battery of artillery to be brought up, to open on this force and on the town, from which a fire had been opened on my advancing Brigades; but, before the Battery got up, my men had entered the town, and the retreating force on the right had got beyond reach. I had, at the same time, sent an order to General Smith to advance, with his three Regiments; but he thought it advisable not to comply with this order, on account of a report that the enemy was advancing on the York-road, near which he was. As soon as my Brigades entered the town, I rode into that place myself; and, after ascertaining the condition of things, I rode to find Generals Ewell and Rodes, or General Hill, for the purpose of urging an immediate advance upon the enemy, before he could recover from his evident dismay, in order to get possession of the range of hills to which he had fallen back, with the remnant of his forces; but, before I found either of these officers, General Smith's Aide came to me with a message from the General, stating that a heavy force of the enemy, consisting of Infantry, Artillery, and Cavalry, was advancing on the York-road, and that we were about to be flanked; and, though I had no faith in this report, I thought it best to send General Gordon, with his Brigade, to take charge of Smith's, also, and to

keep a lookout, on the York-road, and stop any further alarm. Meeting with an officer of Major-general Pender's Staff, I sent word, by him, to General Hill (whose command was on the Cashtown-road and had not advanced up to Gettysburg) that, if he would send up a Division, we could take the hill to which the enemy had retreated;* and, shortly afterwards, meeting with General Ewell, I communicated my views to him, and was informed by him that Johnson's Division was coming up; and General Ewell then determined, with this Division, to take possession of the wooded hill,† on our left of Cemetery-hill, which commanded the latter. But Johnson's Division arrived at a late hour, and the movement having been further delayed by another report of an advance on the York-road,‡ no effort was made to get possession of the wooded hill, that night.§

* I subsequently learned that my message was delivered by this officer to General Hill; but the latter said he had no Division to send.

† This was the hill mentioned, in the accounts of the battle, as "Culp's-hill."

‡ Not from Gordon, however, but from some straggling courier or Cavalryman. These reports all proved to be false; but they were very embarrassing to us.

§ Johnson had come by the way of Shippensburg and the Greenwood and Cashtown Gap, and did not arrive until after the fighting was all over, on that day.

As much censure has been cast upon General Ewell for the failure to prosecute the advantage gained on the first day—more, however, by private than public criticism—I will make the following statement: He was on his way to Cashtown, or Hilltown, near it, to which point he had been ordered by General Lee, when he received Hill's message in regard to his expected engagement with the enemy; and, though Ewell was the ranking officer, he moved promptly to the aid of Hill. He found the latter engaged with the enemy, at great disadvantage, and immediately ordered the Division with him into action, when the enemy turned his main force on that Division (Rodes's) which had to bear the brunt of the battle, until the arrival of my Division turned the fate of the day. Hill did not advance to the town of Gettysburg, and made no offer of cooperation in any advance on Cemetery-hill, that I am aware of; and I must say that I do not recognise the justice of throwing the whole responsibility on Ewell. I was anxious for the advance, and urged it with great earnestness; but two of my own Brigades were neutralised by the reports of flanking columns, on the York-road, as I found it necessary, in the excitement that then prevailed, to put an adequate force on that flank, under an officer who I knew would not permit any false alarms to be raised, at a critical moment, the evil consequences of which all experienced soldiers can understand. Though I had strong faith in the result of an advance, the troops at Ewell's command had then marched from twelve to fifteen miles and were embarrassed with several thousand prisoners; and from our then stand-point—however it may

Having been informed that the greater portion of the rest of our Army would move up, during the night, and that the enemy's position would be attacked, on the right and left flanks, very early next morning, I gave orders to General Hays to move his Brigade, under cover of night, from the town, into the field on the left of it, where it would not be exposed to the enemy's fire, and would be in position to advance on Cemetery-hill, when a favorable opportunity should occur. This movement was made; and Hays formed his Brigade on the right of Avery, and just behind the extension of the low ridge on which a portion of the town is located. The attack did not begin in the morning of next day, as was expected; and, in the course of the morning, I rode with General Ewell to examine and select a position for artillery. Having been subsequently informed that the anticipated attack would begin at four P. M., I directed General Gordon to move his Brigade from the York-road, on the left, to the railroad, immediately in rear of Hays and Avery—Smith, with his Regiments, being left under General J. E. B. Stuart to guard the York-road.* The fire from the ar-

tillery, on the extreme right and also on the left, having opened at four P. M. and continued for some time, I was ordered, by General Ewell, to advance upon Cemetery-hill, with my two Brigades that were in position, as soon as Johnson's Division, which was on my left, should become engaged at the wooded hill [Culp's] in its front, on which it was about to advance, information being given me that the advance would be general, and that Rodde's Division, on my right, and Hill's Divisions, on his right, would unite in it. Accordingly, as soon as Johnson became fully engaged, which was about or a little before dusk, I ordered Hays and Avery to advance and carry the works on the heights, in their front. Their troops advanced in gallant style to the attack, passing over the ridge in front of them under a heavy fire of artillery; then crossing a hollow, between that and Cemetery-hill, and moving up the rugged slope of this hill, in the face

appear now—it was not apparent that we would not encounter fresh troops, if we went forward; and the fact was that two fresh Corps (Slocum's and Sickles's) were very near the battle-field; while a reserve of three or four thousand men (Steinwehr's Division) had been left on Cemetery-hill and had not been engaged.—See statement, in Swinton's *Army of the Potomac*, and Doubleday's testimony, *Report on the Conduct of the War*, II., I., 309.

* General Lee had come to the rear of the position of our Corps, between sunset and dusk, on the evening before the first, and had a conference with Ewell, Rodde, and myself, for the purpose of ascertaining the exact condition of things; and, after we had given him all the information in our possession, he expressed the determination to attack the enemy, at daylight, next morning, and asked us if we could not make the attack from our flank, at that time. We suggested to him that, as our Corps constituted the only troops that were immediately confronting the enemy, he would manifestly concentrate and fortify against us, by morning (which proved to be the case); and we informed him that the enemy's position, in our immediate front, was by far the strongest part of the line, as the ascent to it was very rugged and difficult; by reason of all of which we thought it would be very difficult to carry the position; and if we did so it would be at immense sacrifice. We also called his attention to the more favorable nature of the ground on our right, for an attack on the enemy's left; and pointed out to him the outline of Round Top Hill, which we could see, in the distance, notwithstanding the approaching dusk, as a position which must command and inflame that of the enemy. The three of us concurred in these views; and General Lee, to whom the day's battle had been unexpected, and who was not familiar with the position, recognized the force of our views.

He then remarked that if our Corps remained in its then position, and the attack was made on the left flank of the enemy, from the point suggested, our line would be very much drawn out and weakened, and the enemy might take the offensive and break through it; and he said it would perhaps be better for us to be drawn to the right, for the purpose of concentration. We were very loth to yield the position we had fought for and gained, especially as a large number of the enemy's wounded and a large quantity of small arms were in our possession, in the town, and many of our own wounded were not in a condition to be moved; and we assured General Lee that we could hold our part of the line, against any force, and suggested that, in the event of a successful attack on the enemy's left, we would be in a better condition to follow it up from where we were.

All of his remarks were made in that tone of suggestion and interrogation combined, so familiar to those who had frequent intercourse with General Lee, and which often left those with whom he was conversing under the impression that they were really prompting him, when he was only drawing them out and trying to ascertain whether they understood what they were expected to perform. He finally announced his purpose to make the main attack, at daylight, from the right of the Army, while an attack, by way of diversion, was to be made from the left of our Corps, to be converted into a real attack on a favorable opportunity. He then left us to give the necessary orders for carrying out his plans; and we prepared for co-operation, at the designated time, having undoubting faith in a successful result. If General Lee had contemplated receiving the attack of the enemy, at Gettysburg, the arrangement of his line would have been faulty, by reason of its length and form; but neither he nor any one else apprehended such an attack; and, for the purpose of attack, on our part, the arrangement was the best that could have been made. Had we concentrated our whole force at one point, the enemy could have concentrated correspondingly, and we would not have been in as favorable a position for taking advantage of success.

of at least two lines of Infantry posted behind stone and plank-fences, but these were driven from their positions; and, passing over all obstacles, the two Brigades reached the crest of the hill and entered the enemy's breast-works crowning it, getting possession of one or two Batteries; but no attack was made on their immediate right; and, not meeting with the expected support from that quarter, these Brigades, whose ranks were very much depleted, could not hold the position they had gained, because a very heavy force of the enemy was turned against them, from that part of the line which the Divisions, on the right, were to have attacked, and they had therefore to fall back, which they did with comparatively slight loss, considering the nature of the ground over which they had to pass and the immense odds opposed to them. Hays's Brigade, however, on this occasion, brought off four captured colors from the top of Cemetery-hill. At the time these Brigades advanced, Gordon's Brigade moved forward to support them, and advanced to the position from which they had moved, but was halted there, because it was ascertained that no advance was being made on the right, and it was evident that the crest of the hill could not be held by the three Brigades, without other assistance, and that the attempt would be attended with a useless sacrifice of life.* Hays's and

Hoke's Brigades were reformed on the line previously occupied by them, on the right and left of Gordon, respectively. In this attack, Colonel Avery, of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, commanding Hoke's Brigade, was mortally wounded; and, with this affair, the fighting on the second of July terminated.

After night, I was directed by General Ewell to order Smith's Brigade (three Regiments) to report to General Johnson, on the left, by daylight, next morning; and General Smith, in pursuance of the orders given him, did report to General Johnson, and his three Regiments were engaged, on the third, on the extreme left, under that officer's direction. As the operations of this Brigade, on that day, were under the immediate control of General Johnson, I will, in that connection, merely refer to the Report of Colonel Hoffman, the present Brigade-commander, which is herewith forwarded.

Before light, on the morning of the third, Hays's and Hoke's Brigades—the latter now under the command of Colonel Godwin, of the Fifty-seventh North Carolina Regiment—were withdrawn to the rear, and subsequently formed in line, in the town, on the same street formerly occupied by Hays's Brigade—Gordon's Brigade being left to occupy the position held by these Brigades on the previous day. In these positions, the three Brigades remained during the day, and did not again participate in the attack, though they were exposed, during the time, to the fire of sharpshooters and an occasional fire from the enemy's artillery posted on the heights.

At two o'clock, on the morning of the fourth, my Brigades were quietly withdrawn, under orders, from their positions, and moved around to the Cashtown-road, where they were formed in line across the said road, in rear of Rodes's and Johnson's Divisions, which occupied the front line; on our left, along the crest of Seminary-ridge, West of the town.*

carrying them out, that this most promising movement was thwarted just as it was on the point of proving a grand success.

* As there has been much criticism in regard to the management at this battle, and, especially, in regard to the lateness of the attack on the second, I make the following extracts from Swinton's *Army of the Potomac*. He says: "Indeed, in entering on the Campaign, General Lee expressly promised his Corps-commanders that he would 'not assume a tactical offensive,' but force his antagonist to attack him. Having, however, gotten a taste of blood, in the considerable success of the first day, the Confederate commander seems to have lost that equilibrium in which his faculties commonly moved; and he determined to give battle."

[Foot-note.] "This and subsequent revelations of the purposes and sentiments of Lee, I derive from General Longstreet, who, in a full and free conversation with the

* The position attacked by my Brigades was held by the Eleventh Corps, under Howard; and General Gibbons, U. S. A., in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, in speaking of the attack, by Longstreet, on their left, says: "After we had repulsed one attack, there was heavy firing over on the right of Cemetery-hill. I received a message from General Howard, commanding the Eleventh Corps, asking for reinforcements. Just about the same time, General Hancock became alarmed at the continued firing and desired me to send a Brigade, designating Colonel Carroll's, and afterwards three other Regiments from my Division, to the assistance of our right centre. Colonel Carroll moved off promptly, and, as reported to me, arrived on the right of Cemetery-hill, to find the enemy actually in our Batteries and fighting with the cannoniers for their possession. He gallantly moved forward with his command; drove the enemy back; retook the position; and held it till the next day."—*Report of the Committee*, II., 1., 440, 441.

At the same time, Johnson was making excellent progress in capturing the works on Culp's-hill, when the part of the Twelfth Corps that had been sent to meet Longstreet's attack, on their left, returned and arrested his progress. Had Rodes's Division, on my immediate right, and one of Hill's Divisions, on his right, advanced simultaneously with my two Brigades, we would have attained such a lodgment on Cemetery-hill, while Johnson would have been enabled to gain Culp's-hill, that the enemy must have been forced to retire from his position, in great disorder; but there was such a misconception of orders or delay in

My loss, in three days' fighting, at Gettysburg, was one hundred and fifty-four men killed, eight hundred wounded, and two hundred and twenty-seven missing—a large proportion of the missing being, in all probability, killed or wounded.

At two o'clock, on the morning of the fifth, under orders from General Ewell, my Division moved, on the road, towards Fairfield, following in the rear of the Corps and constituting the Rear-guard of the whole Army. While I was waiting at the junction of the road on which the Corps had moved with the direct road from Get-

tysburg to Fairfield, for the passage of all the troops and trains, a few pieces of artillery were run out by the enemy and opened, at long range, but without doing any damage. The whole force having got on the road, in front of me, I moved on slowly in the rear, Gordon's Brigade bringing up my rear followed by White's Battalion of Cavalry.* On arriving in view of Fairfield, which is situated in a wide, low plain, surrounded by hills, I found the wagon-trains, in front, blocked up; and, while waiting for the road to be cleared, I received a message from Colonel White that a force of the enemy was advancing in our rear. I immediately sent word forward to hasten the trains up; but as they did not move, I was preparing to fire a blank cartridge or two, for the purpose of hastening their movements, when the advance of the enemy appeared on a hill, in my rear, and it became necessary to open on him with shells. The enemy also brought up a Battery and returned my fire; and the trains very soon moved off and cleared the road. One of Gordon's Regiments—the Twenty-sixth Georgia—was deployed, as skirmishers, and sent against the enemy, and drove back his advance, thus holding him in check while my Division was gradually moved forward, in line, past Fairfield, to a favorable position for making a stand, when the Twenty-sixth Georgia Regiment was called in. In this affair, it sustained a loss of some eight or ten killed and wounded. The enemy not advancing, the Division was encamped not far from Fairfield, and so posted as to protect the trains which had been parked a little further on.† The enemy did not again molest me; and, at light, next morning—the sixth—my skirmishers were replaced by those of Rodes, whose Division was this day to constitute the Rear-guard, when I moved to the front of the Corps, and, passing the Monterey Springs, on the summit of the mountain, crossed over to Waynesboro', where I encamped for the night. Early next morning, I moved towards Hagerstown, by the way of Leitersburg, following Rodes and being followed by Johnson, whose Division this day constituted the Rear-guard. My Division was halted and encamped about a mile North of Hagerstown, on the Chambersburg-turnpike, where it remained until the afternoon of the tenth, when it was moved through the town and placed in line of battle, along

“writer, after the close of the War, threw much light on “the motives and conduct of Lee, during this Campaign.” —Page 240.

“Longstreet, holding the right of the Confederate line, “had one flank securely posted on the Emmetsburg-road, “so that he was really between the Army of the Potomac “and Washington, and, by marching towards Frederick, “could undoubtedly have manœuvred Meade out of the “Gettysburg position. This operation, General Long- “street, who forboded the worst from an attack on the “Army in position and was anxious to hold General Lee “to his promise, begged, in vain, to be allowed to exe- “cute.”

[Foot-note.] “The officer named is my authority for “this statement.”—Pages 240, 241.

“The absence of Pickett's Division, the day before, “made General Longstreet very loth to make the attack; “but Lee, thinking the Union force was not all up, would “not wait. Longstreet urged, in reply, that this advantage “(or supposed advantage, for the Union force was all up) “was counterbalanced by the fact that he was not all up “either; but the Confederate commander was not minded “to delay. My authority is again General Longstreet.”—Foot-note, page 258.

These extracts should serve to throw much light on the causes of the extraordinary delay in the attack, on the second, and show who was mainly responsible therefor. The statement that General Lee had promised his Corps-commanders not to take the offensive, but force the enemy to attack him, is a very remarkable one; and it is very certain that neither General Ewell nor General Hill claimed the benefit of any such promise, for both of them advanced to the attack, on the first, without General Lee's knowledge even. The “Union force” was not all up when General Lee wanted to make the attack, for Meade's Army was arriving all the morning, and Sedgwick's Corps (the Sixth) did not get up until two P.M. A large portion of Meade's Army did not get into position until the afternoon; and Sickles did not take the position which Longstreet subsequently attacked until three P.M.; while Round Top was unoccupied all the forenoon and until after the attack began.—(See the testimony of Meade and his Staff, in the Report before quoted from.) An attack, “therefore, in the early morning or at any time in the forenoon, must have resulted in our easily gaining positions which would have rendered the heights of Gettysburg untenable by the enemy. It was the delay which occurred in the attack, that thwarted General Lee's well-laid plans.

* I did not leave the view of the enemy's position at Gettysburg until the afternoon of the fifth.

† It was Sedgwick's Corps which followed us as far as Fairfield, and it did so most cautiously; but it followed no further. There were presented none of the indications of a defeated Army, in the rear of ours; and my Division came off with a feeling of defiance, and was as ready to give battle as ever.

the crest of a ridge, a little South-west of the town, with the left resting on the Cumberland-road. On the next day—the eleventh—the Division was moved to the right and placed in position, with its right flank resting on the road from Hagerstown to Williamsport, and remained there until after dark, on the twelfth, when it was moved, across the Williamsport road, to the rear of General Hill's position, for the purpose of supporting his line which faced the Sharpsburg-road, along and near which a considerable force of the enemy had been massed in his front.

At dark, on the thirteenth, my Division was withdrawn and moved to Williamsport, that night, bringing up the rear of the Corps; and, after light, on the morning of the fourteenth, it was crossed over the Potomac—Gordon's, Hoke's, and Smith's Brigades (the latter now commanded by Colonel Hoffman, as General Smith had resigned and received leave of absence, on the tenth) fording the river, above Williamsport; and Hays's Brigade with Jones's Artillery crossing on the bridge, at Falling Waters.* The Division encamped near Hainesville, that night, and, the next day, moved through Martinsburg, reaching Darksville on the sixteenth, where it went into camp and remained until the twentieth, when it was ordered to move across North Mountain, at Mills's Gap and then down Back-creek, to intercept a body of the enemy reported to have advanced to Hedgeville. On the night of the twentieth, I camped near Gerard's Town, and, next day, crossed the mountain, and, proceeding down Back-creek, reached the rear of Hedgeville, but found that the enemy had hastily retreated, the night before, when I re-crossed the mountain, through Hedgeville, and encamped on the East side. That night, I received orders to move up the Valley, for the purpose of crossing the Blue Ridge; and I moved, next day, to Bunker-hill, and then, through Winchester, on the twenty-second, to the Opequan, on the Front Royal-road; but, in consequence of instructions from General Ewell, I turned off to the main Valley-road from Cedarville, the next day, and marching by the way of Strasburg, New Market, Fisher's or Milam's Gap, Madison Court-house, Locust Grove, and Rapidan Station, I reached my present camp, near Clark's Mountain, in the vicinity of Orange Court-house, on the first of this month. The Fifty-fourth North Carolina Regiment and Fifty-eight Virginia Regiment re-joined their Brigades, near Hagerstown, on the

march back, after having participated in the repulse of the enemy's Cavalry-attack on our trains, near Williamsport, on the sixth of July; and the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment re-joined its Brigade on our passage through Winchester.

The conduct of my troops, during the entire Campaign, on the march as well as in action, was deserving of the highest commendation.* To Brigadier-generals Hays and Gordon I was especially indebted for their cheerful, active, and intelligent co-operation, on all occasions; and their gallantry in action was eminently conspicuous. I had to regret the absence of the gallant Brigadier-general Hoke, who was severely wounded in the action of the fourth of May, at Fredericksburg, and had not recovered; but his place was worthily filled by Colonel Avery of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, who fell, mortally wounded, while gallantly leading his Brigade in the charge on Cemetery-hill, at Gettysburg, on the second of July. In his death, the Confederacy lost a good and brave soldier. The conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Jones and his Artillery Battalion, on all occasions, as well as that of Brown's Battalion, under Captain Dance, at Winchester, was admirable. My commendations are also due to Colonel French and Lieutenant-colonel White and their respective Cavalry commands for the efficient services performed by them. To the members of my Staff, Major S. Hale, Division-inspector, Major J. W. Daniel, A. A. General, Lieutenants A. L. Pitzer, and William G. Calloway, my Aides, and Mr. Robert D. Early, a Volunteer Aide, I was indebted for the active zeal, energy, and courage with which they performed their duties.

Accompanying this Report will be found lists of the killed, wounded,† and missing, and also the Official Reports of Brigadier-generals Hays and Gordon, Colonels Godwin and Hoffman, and Lieutenant-colonel Jones; also a Report by Colonel Murcheson, of the Fifty-fourth North

* Smith's Brigade had not gone into action under my immediate command; but, on the third, at Gettysburg, his three Regiments present had gone into action under General Johnson's command, on his extreme left, when he attacked the enemy's right flank on that day. They acted with their usual gallantry; and the Forty-ninth Virginia Regiment sustained a very heavy loss—heavier, perhaps, than that of any other Regiment in my Division. The loss of this Brigade is included in that of the Division mentioned in the Report.

† One hundred and ninety-four of my wounded were left in the Field-hospital, near Gettysburg, under the care of competent Surgeons, because they were too badly wounded to be transported. Ample provisions for them, for several days, were left, and a sum of money—part of that obtained at York—was left with the Surgeon in charge, for the purpose of buying such comforts for the wounded as might be needed.

* The river was quite high and the current, at the Ford, was so strong that the men could not cross there, but had to be crossed above, where the water was deeper. The river was rising at the time, as it had been raining a good deal; and, very shortly after the crossing of my Division, the water was too deep for Infantry to cross by wading.

Carolina Regiment, of the part taken by his Regiment, is the repulse of the enemy's Cavalry, near Williamsport, Maryland.

Very Respectfully,

J. A. EARLY,
Major-general Commanding Division.

X.—PLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

THE MAN WHO SET UP THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.—The printer boy who, in 1814, set up, in the *Baltimore American*, the MS. of Francis Scott Key's poem, *The Star-spangled Banner*, still lives, in full vigor, being none other than Samuel Sands, the editor of the *American Farmer*. The *American* received the MS. from John S. Skinner, who, after the bombardment of Fort Mc Henry and the withdrawal of the British fleet, was sent down to them in a flag-of-truce boat to negotiate for an exchange of prisoners. Mr. Skinner chanced to meet Mr. Key on the boat and obtained from him a copy of his song. It was not for some time after its publication that the modest Key would permit it to be known that he was the author. Mr. Sands has long been known as the editor of the *Farmer*; but the fact of his having "set up" *The Star-spangled Banner* will be new to many.

THE FIRST DAILY IN CHICAGO.—*Rounds Printer's Cabinet* for April, has the following: "The first daily paper in Chicago was named *The American*, and published by William Stuart. (subsequently Postmaster) who, also, was the founder of the first paper in Binghamton, Broome-county, New York, where he at present resides. Stuart sold (if we remember aright,) to W. W. Bracket; and, at a later date, the paper came into the hands of Richard L. Wilson, and still lives as the *Journal*. The next daily was the *Democrat*, published at the outset by John Calhoun, though soon becoming under the control of John Wentworth."

While there is no doubt the *Journal* can lay claim to being the oldest daily paper published in Chicago, we are of the opinion that the *Democrat*, as a weekly, was the first newspaper published in that city—its initial number bearing date November 26, 1833, with John Calhoun as Editor and Proprietor. Mr. Wentworth purchased

it two years later, and continued its publication until 1861, when its subscription list was transferred to the *Daily Tribune*.—*American Press*.

THE FIRST SHORT-HAND REPORTER TO CONGRESS.—The first to report the proceedings of Congress, in short-hand, was Thomas Lloyd, an Englishman, who served with distinction in the Army of the Revolution. In 1819, he invented a system of stenography, by the aid of which he was able to take down the speeches for subsequent translation.

SCRAPS.—A manuscript by Elam Crane has been discovered in Western New York, containing the following anecdote of Red Jacket, which is new: "He was once on a visit to a house in Canandaigua, and not arriving till after dinner, the girl was ordered to make preparations for him. She, through carelessness or thinking it would do well enough for an Indian, placed on the table a dish of meat that had been visited by the flies. Red Jacket advanced to the table, and, seeing the insects busily engaged in the meat, took the dish and placed it on the sill of the door; stepped back; took his rifle; deliberately took aim; and discharged the contents through the meat. The report of the gun alarmed all in the house. They ran to inquire the cause. Red Jacket replied that he always killed his meat before he ate it. The joke had its desired effect."—*Syracuse Journal*.

—A Poughkeepsie journal revives some historical reminiscences which are of general interest. When Holt's *New York Journal* was driven out of New York city, by the British, it was, for many years, published by Mr. Holt, in Poughkeepsie. His successor was Nicholas Power; and he, in turn, was followed by Paraclete Potter, brother of the late Bishop Alonzo Potter, of Pennsylvania, and of Bishop Horatio Potter, of New York. In connection with his newspaper business, Mr. Potter, in 1806, opened a bookstore in which book-publishing and selling were carried on for sixty-four years, till the store was burned down, last Winter. In this store, both Alonzo and Horatio Potter were once clerks. Mr. Paraclete Potter published school-books and a variety of miscellaneous works, among them *Baron Steuben's Military Tactics*. He was a federalist in politics; and, for a time, his journal was the State-paper. The little reading-room, in the rear of the bookstore, was, for many years, the favorite assembling place of many men whose names are noted in our State history, such as James Kent, afterwards Chancellor, James Tallmadge, N. P. Tallmadge, Philo T. Ruggles, James Duane Livingston, Gulian C. Verplank,

Peter R. Livingston, James K. Paulding, Edmond H. Pendleton, Charles H. Rugeles, and many more, who made the place a resort for social, literary, and political intercourse. Bishop Alonzo Potter used to declare that he received his first literary impulse from listening to the animated and interesting discussions in that old reading-room.—*Albany Argus*.

—Joseph Twitchell, the first white child born in the limits of what is now the town of Bethel, Maine, died on the twenty-fifth of November, 1871, in the ninetyeth year of his age.

The *Leviston Journal* says his grandfather, Joseph Twitchell, was one of the principal original proprietors of the town, which was run out by him, into lots, in 1769. His son, Eleazer, built the first mill and dwelling-house in the town, in 1774, and raised a large family of children of which Joseph was one. Mr. Twitchell has thus lived to see the wilderness changed into a thriving town, while he has survived all his companions save one who was older than himself.

—A curious bit of history concerning Cape May, the fashionable watering-place on the New Jersey coast, shows how, as early as 1758, when the Cape was in its infancy, as a community, a certain frantic rage for fashion prevailed among the wives and daughters of the pilots and oystermen who composed, with their families, the settlement. Benjamin Franklin, it appears, while Minister to France, sent from that country to some female denizen of the Cape, a new style of woman's cap. In order to make enough money to secure a similar cap, all the young girls of the Cape took to knitting mittens, which, when completed, were sold. The mitten-making became in time a remunerative feature of industry, at the Cape; and it is easy to perceive how unbroken is the chain between the Cape May of 1758 and the Cape May of 1871. Fashionable instincts put money in its purse, a hundred years ago, as they do to-day. If Cape May should ever take to itself a coat of arms, the device should be a field bearing an antique, fashionable cap, supported by two knitting needles with a mitten for a crest. This would be neat—we will say gaudy—and, as heraldry should always do, will succinctly tell the story of Cape May's start as a watering-place.—*Albany Argus*.

—A letter from the Powell, Colorado, exploring expedition furnishes some interesting information in regard to the Aztecs, that singular people who formerly inhabited Mexico. Aztec "picture-writing" has been discovered on the rocks, near Uintah; and, from there to the gulf, traces of their ancient residence abound. As an example of the discoveries, the record of the fifteenth of last September will be interesting. On that day, a party of three men started in

quest of the ruins. Climbing up and along a steep and narrow ledge, they came to a cluster of dilapidated houses, with but six feet of wall remaining. They found pieces of pottery and fragments of arrow-heads, with occasional perfect specimens of the latter. One of the most interesting and valuable prizes was in the form of an earthen jug, artistically fashioned, and in an excellent state of preservation. It was hidden under a rock, with the mouth covered with a stone. The jar had a capacity of four or five gallons, and contained small bundles of split willows, used for baking corn bread. The bundles had been tied with twine made from wild hemp, and were rotten with age. The explorers propose to visit many of the "cities" of the Aztecs, this Winter, and learn more of their history, habits, and religious rites, from personal observation and study.

—Phillips Wharf, in Salem, just leased for twenty years, at eighteen or twenty thousand dollars per year, by the Lowell Railroad, as a coal station, is a famous structure, and has been, for years, the busiest place in that old but growing city. It is the wharf built by the Crowninshields, and known by their name, during the War of 1812, when it received from the deck of the Crowninshield cartel *Henry*, commanded by a Crowninshield, the honored remains of Captain James Lawrence and his Lieutenant, Ludlow, who perished in the wild fight between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*, just off Marblehead, on the afternoon of the first of June, 1813. On this funereal day, the wharf was crowded with conspicuous men. Eldridge Gerry, then Vice-President, was there, with members of the National and State administrations; and an Oration was delivered by Judge Story, parts of which enjoyed a long life in school readers and prize declamations. No solemnities comparable with these ever occurred in Salem, though the burial of Brigadier-general Frederick W. Lander, in presence of Governor Andrew, Hon. Caleb Cushing, and a vast concourse, approached them, nearly.

XI.—NOTES.

JOHN MILTON AND ROGER WILLIAMS.—In Doctor Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*—article on Roger Williams—I find the following:
 "We spoke of our mutual friend, Mr. Roger
 "Williams of Rhode-Island, * * * that
 "noble confessor of religious liberty. * * *
 "We rejoiced in the zeal of that extraordinary
 "man and most enlightened legislator, who,
 "after suffering persecution from his brethren,
 "persevered, amidst incredible hardships and
 "difficulties, in seeking a place of refuge for
 "the sacred ark of conscience."—*John Milton*

"Letter to the Count Pallavicini de Saluces, the Genoeae Envoy into England—quoted in the *Piedmontese Envoy*, 292-294, and in Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton's *Oration on the Annals of Rhode Island, etc., New York, 1863, 53, Note 1.*"

Doctor Vinton, here quoted by Doctor Allibone, begins his eloquent and learned *Oration* with these words: "Rhode Island, the smallest of the United States, was the cradle of the civilization of the nineteenth century. This is a bold statement, as well as lofty praise. And yet it is not arrogant in the sons of Rhode Island to repeat what European philosophers have asserted and the truth of history confirms." Doctor Vinton then refers to "Note 1." on page 53 of his *Oration*, where the, so-called, "Letter of John Milton" is reprinted, at length, with the following prefatory words: "The intimacy of Roger Williams with the historic men of his generation, and the lofty hopes of the future grandeur of America, which the bold thinkers of that age cherished, are set forth in the letter of John Milton to Count Pallavicini de Saluces, the noble Genoeae Envoy into England, (quoted in *The Piedmontese Envoy*, pp. 292-294.)" Then follows the letter to "MY DEAR COUNT," concluding "Forget not, as you will never be forgotten by, your devoted friend,

"JOHN MILTON."

One of the best authorities on American history, and particularly versed in Rhode Island history, writes to me that this letter "had no other existence save in the brain of the late Mrs. Professor Elton, from whose novel, called *The Piedmontese Envoy*, Dr. Vinton quoted the letter as veritable history. It may admonish us how history often is made up."

That Milton and Williams were one in Puritan convictions, sympathy, and affiliations is well known; and Dr. Vinton quotes proof of their personal intimacy from a letter of Mr. Williams (Knowles's *Memoir of Roger Williams*, 264): "It pleased the Lord to call me for some time, and with some persons, to practice the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Secretary of the Council (Mr. Milton) for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages."

The apparent acceptance of Mrs. Elton's fiction by so respectable an authority, as an authentic document and veritable history, renders it important to note the error, and, as far as may be, check its circulation.

BOSTON.

J. W. T.

"TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF BOSTON."—This seems to be a favorite

title with Boston authors, no less than three of them having chosen it for their works, namely, Thomas Pemberton, in 1794, Charles Shaw, in 1817, and Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, in 1871. These are all independent works, and not different editions of the same book.

BOSTON, MASS.

DELTA.

CEDAR COUNTY, IOWA.—*The Cedar Post*, published at Tipton, Cedar county, Iowa, contains a series of papers, entitled *Outlines of the History of Cedar-county*, which will interest all collectors of locals.

D.

THE BATTLE OF MOBLEY'S MEETING-HOUSE.

[CHARLESTON, 18th Augt, 1850.]

DEAR SIR: Some time ago, you enquired of me for a description of the Attack on a party of Royalists at Mobley's Meeting-house, by a party of Americans. Domestic affliction prevented me from paying earlier attention to the subject, and I now offer an imperfect sketch of its origin, progress, and result. It may aid in your collection of such matters, and I submit it with fears that it may be too late if not otherwise useless for your purposes.

In your first number, giving the description of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, you give several references to the description or narrative of Ensign and of Lieutenant De Berniere. We presume that they were the same person, but the christian or given name is not mentioned. If it was John De Berniere we have some of his descendants among us, and they would be glad to know where his narrative may be seen and if any copy of it can be procured.

I remain very respectfully, Yours,

MR. H'Y B. DAWSON.

JOS. JOHNSON.]

About the middle of June, 1780, or one month after the surrender of Charleston to the British Army and Navy, Colonel Richard Winn heard of an intended meeting of the Royalists at this point, in the Northern portion of South Carolina. It stands on the road which leads to Chesterville, about fifteen miles South-west of that village, just where that road crosses the Southern branch of Little-river, but is in Fairfield District. This had become a place of rendezvous for the Tories, during the siege; and, after the surrender of Charleston to the British forces, much of the plunder taken from the Whigs was there paid for and delivered to British Agents. One of them had appointed the proposed meeting at this point.

Colonel Winn called on his neighbor, Colonel William Bratton, and proposed that they should unite in the surprise of those Tories. After some consultation, it was agreed that as their friends united were but little more than thirty, they would go together to Colonel John McClure of Chester District, residing near Rocky Mount, and propose his co-operation. Here they again

numbered their probable adherents, and, although many were well-disposed, not more than sixty could be relied on for the expedition, still they determined to proceed with that or any such number. The leaders in this expedition had the utmost confidence in the patriotism and bravery of their respective followers, but some of them had been disarmed by the British agents and adherents; while others were incited by injuries and provocations, in the seizure of their horses and cattle, and by personal feelings and apprehensions, to join in the expedition, hoping to recover their property or a part of it.

The rendezvous of Royalists was appointed to take place on the thirtieth of June, and the Whigs had made their arrangements for a simultaneous attack on that station. The Whigs had the utmost confidence in their leaders and were united by all honorable motives, as friends, neighbors, and brother-patriots. The expedition was judiciously arranged and perfectly executed as it had been planned. The Royalists being taken by surprise, broke and dispersed, at the first fire. Very few were killed or wounded on either side. Among other property recovered, were about one hundred horses, which were restored to their respective owners, and kept with more care thereafter out of the reach of the enemy. The mother of Colonel McClure recovered five or six of her horses and other residents in proportion. This was the first resistance made in South Carolina to the British arms, after the capitulation of Charleston. Huck's defeat followed, in about ten days after it; and opposition was then kept up, on a greater scale, by Sumter, Marion, Pickens, Harden, and others—their forces being thus increased and encouraged by the patriotism, bravery, and success of the first adventurers.

XII.—QUERIES.

THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.—In Doctor Bassett's *History of the Reign of George III.*—Edition, Philadelphia: 1828—Volume I., Pages 431, 432, I find the following, while alluding to the services, opposite Chad's ford, in this battle, of Major Patrick Ferguson, who subsequently commanded the Royal troops at King's Mountain, and fell, there: "Ferguson, in a private letter of which Dr. Adam Ferguson has transmitted me a copy, mentions a very curious incident, from which it appears that the life of the American General was in imminent danger. While Ferguson lay, with a part of his Riflemen, on the skirt of a wood, in front of General Knyphausen's Division, the circumstance happened, of which the letter in question gives the following account: 'We had not lain long, when a rebel officer, remarkable by a

"Huzzar dress, passed towards our Army, within a hundred yards of my right flank, not perceiving us. He was followed by another, dressed in dark green and blue, mounted on a good bay horse, with a remarkable large, high, cocked-hat. I ordered three good shots to steal near to them and fire at them; but the idea disgusted me; I recalled the order. The Huzzar, in returning, made a circuit; but the other passed within a hundred yards of us; upon which I advanced from the wood, towards him. Upon my calling, he stopped; but, after looking at me, proceeded. I again drew his attention and made sign to him to stop, levelling my piece at him; but he slowly continued his way. As I was within that distance at which, in the quickest firing, I could have lodged half a dozen balls in or about him, before he was out of my reach; I had only to determine; but it was not pleasant to fire at the back of an unoffending individual, who was acquitting himself very coolly of his duty, so I let him alone. The day after, I had been telling this story to some wounded officers who lay in the same room with me, when one of our Surgeons, who had been dressing the wounded rebel officers, came in and told us that they had been informing him that General Washington was, all the morning, with the Light troops, and attended only by a French officer, in a Huzzar dress, he, himself, dressed and mounted, in every point, as above described. I am not sorry that I did not know, at the time, who it was."

Will those readers of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE who can throw any light on this matter be kind enough to do so?

WESTCHESTER, PENN.

L.

THE STATE OF HIS MAJESTY'S COLONY IN VIRGINIA.—Is this work, mentioned in Duyckinck's *Cyclopadia of American Literature*, i., 84, as having been printed in 1727, the same as that printed, from a manuscript copy, in 1798, in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, v., 124-166, under the title of *An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia*? I have before me a copy of a work, without title-page, bearing the same title as that in the *Historical Collections*, and evidently printed in the last century, signed "HENRY HARTWELL, JAMES BLAIR, E. CHILTON," which has, as an Appendix, the Charter of William and Mary College, and contains this additional sentence: "It" [the College] "is honestly and zealously carry'd on by the Trustees, but is in danger of being ruin'd by the Backwardness of the Government."

BOSTON.

J. W. D.

"FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD," IN MASSACHUSETTS.—In Doctor Smalley's *Worcester Pulpit*, pages 518, 519, that gentleman, in alluding to the Scotch Presbyterian Church in that city, says of the members of that sect who originally settled in Worcester, "Oppressed, on the other side of the water, they fled hitherward; arrived here, they found the same spirit of religious persecution, only in a different form. They were disposed to be peaceable; but they wished to worship God in their own way. They attempted to 'build him a house.' Its site was selected; the timbers had been cut and raised; the building was in the progress of construction. But it was never completed. No winds beat upon it to overthrow it; no floods carried it away; no fire devoured it; no earthquake swallowed it. The inhabitants gathered, tumultuously, by night, and demolished the structure. Persons of consideration and respectability aided in the riotous work of violence; and the defenceless foreigners were compelled to submit to the wrong."

Will some reader of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE please inform me what more is known of this riot in Worcester; and where the information may be found?

MORRISAN:A, N. Y.

H. B. D.

"HEATHCOTE."—On a City map of Savannah, Georgia, one of the Wards of that City is named "HEATHCOTE WARD." Can any one give information how this name came to be given?

PELHAM, N. Y.

"HEATHCOTE."

TRUMBULL'S INDIAN WARS.—In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for December, 1857, will be found an article on the book which generally goes by the above title. It is there shown that the book was originally published, probably about the year 1802, at Brooklyn, L. I., under the title of "*History and Discovery of America*." By the Rev. JAMES STEWARD, D. D." The book was next printed, in 1812, at Norwich, with the name of Henry Trumbull substituted for that of the Rev. James Steward, D. D.; and it has always since borne Trumbull's name on its title page.

The writer of the article seems to have been unable to learn anything further about Steward or Trumbull. I presume the former was a fictitious name. I have lately met with a pamphlet entitled *Narrative of the Pious Death of the Penitent Henry Mills, who was executed in Galeboro' (Penn.), on the 15th of July last, for the Murder of his Wife and Five children*, which bears this imprint: "Boston: Printed by Henry Trumbull, 1817." I find by the

Boston Directory of 1818, that there was, then, a Henry Trumbull, printer, doing business in Washington-street.

Query. Was this the compiler of the book whose title is given above?

BOSTON.

DELTA.

THE CROSS OF CALATRAVA ON THE BASE METAL FIVE CENT PIECE.

Why is the Shield, on the base-metal five-cent piece, surmounted by the Cross of the Order of Calatrava? Is the President of the United States, *ex officio*, a member of that knightly Order, founded by the Catholic Sovereigns of Spain? I am not a numismatist proper, but simply an inquirer.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. S.

THE PILGRIM AND THE PURITAN FATHERS.

"What is to be thought of the intelligence or candor of a Massachusetts newspaper, which, in this nineteenth century, is capable of publishing such a paragraph as the following:

"The opinion of the Puritans on this' [Christmas] 'and some other subjects, not strictly of the same category, appears from the following provisions of an early Statute of Plymouth Colony: 'No one shall keep Christmas, or any Saint-day, read Common-prayer, make mince-pies, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet, and jews-harp.'"

"The Puritans had no more to do with the laws of Plymouth Colony than they had with those of France; while that Colony never had such a Statute, nor any resembling it."

The foregoing, cut from a recent number of *The Congregationalist*, a widely-circulated weekly, edited by Henry M. Dexter, D. D., and published in Boston, very properly distinguishes "the Pilgrim Fathers" from "the Puritan Fathers" of Massachusetts; but, it seems to us, the learned Editor shows an uneasiness, in view of the possible association of the two sets of "Fathers," which is inconsistent with what we have heard said concerning the effect, on the United States and the world—if not on "the world to come"—of the emigration of that party which landed, from the *Mayflower*, on the rock at Plymouth, in December, 1630.

As *The Congregationalist* is so anxious to keep "the Puritans" distinct from the Plymouth Colony, are we to understand that it also relinquishes all the claims to the alleged grand results of that particular Colony, which, in common with every other New Englander, it has, hitherto, so diligently and loudly, if not so learnedly, thrust before the world?

Are all the glories which, it is said, cluster around Plymouth-rock, to belong, hereafter, indisputably, to the descendants of "the Pilgrim Fathers," and to them only?

Are "the Puritan Fathers" and their descendants, hereafter, like other folks, to depend entirely on their own merits, without recourse to "the Pilgrims," the *Mayflower*, or Plymouth-rock?

Will *The Congregationalist* be so kind as to inform us, on these subjects, and to tell us what the new programme is, for "Forefathers'-day" orators and other exponents of New England's pretensions?

MORRISANIA. N. Y.

HIST. MAG.

CONNECTICUT ON THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES.—"Thirty-five years ago, the State of Connecticut passed a law against teaching colored children of other States to read in Connecticut; and the school-house of Prudence Crandall, of Canterbury, was burned to the ground because she was so far in advance of New England ideas as to teach colored children."

I find the above in a recent number of the *Free Press*, one of the most influential papers in Vermont, published at Burlington. Can the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE throw any light on the subject?

BUNNINGTON, VT.

J. F. S.

XIII.—REPLIES.

GENERAL SEDGWICK'S REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS AT FREDERICKSBURG.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 102.]

DEAR SIR: I have just seen your number for February last, having been absent in Richmond when it arrived. I find in it the Report of General Sedgwick, U. S. A., in regard to the operations at Fredericksburg, in April and May, 1863, which you claim to be published for the first time. You are mistaken in this respect. By referring to the *Report of the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War*, Second Series, Vol. I., pages 104-108, (published in 1865) you will find the Report, in full, appended to Sedgwick's testimony before the Committee. The Report is dated May 7th, 1863, and is identically the same as the one published by you to the close of the latter, with several paragraphs added, beginning in line third from bottom, page 107, (*Committee's Report*) making reference to the conduct of particular officers and commands. You will find that Report signed, in due form.

I was opposed to Sedgwick on that occasion, and have noted a number of mistakes into which he has fallen, more particularly in his testimo-

ny, where he has made my force equal to his own. The fact was, I had less than nine thousand men.

In his Report he says that a force of fifteen thousand, coming from the direction of Richmond, occupied the heights of Fredericksburg, on the morning after he broke through the line. That force was mine; and not a man had come from Richmond, or anywhere else, to me. He is also greatly mistaken in saying that the troops attacking them, on the afternoon of the fourth, were scattered and driven back. They were three Brigades of my command, and were not repulsed, at all, but drove them toward Banks' ford.

LYNCHBURG, VA.

J. A. EARLY.

NEWBERNE AND PUREYSBURG.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 120.]—In a *History of the German Settlements, and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, by G. D. Bernheim, Pastor of St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Wilmington, N. C., published by the Lutheran Book Store, Philadelphia, 1872, pp. 67-81, will be found a history of the settlement of Newberne, North Carolina, by De Graffenreid, etc., with reference to Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, ii., 530.

In the same volume of Bernheim, pp. 88-99, will be found the account of the Swiss Colony at Pureysburg, South Carolina, with reference to *Mill's Statistics of South Carolina*, page 369, and Carroll's *Historical Collections*, ii., 121, etc.

This is the fullest account of the settlement of Pureysburg, that issued so singularly, which we have seen.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

SACRAMENTAL TOKENS.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 57.]

I.

MY DEAR SIR: Owing to my absence from the city when your note of 18th May came to hand and to my having been repeatedly absent since, your note has lain until to-day, overlooked.

In reply, I beg to state that, from 1784 to 1870, tokens were in use in my church. Previous to every Communion-season, each member, in good standing, received from the Session, through the hands of the Moderator, his or her token, which secured admission to the Table. When all were seated, one or more of the Elders collected the tokens, carefully seeing that no one was at the Table but such as the Session judged to be worthy. Our tokens were small oval pieces of Lead, bearing on the one side, the former name of the church—"Associ-

'ATE CHURCH, N. Y."—and, on the other side, the date—"1799." In 1870, we discontinued the use of them, the arrangements then made in the "Fourth church" rendered them unnecessary.

The Fourth Church, you will perceive, from the above, was originally the "Associate Presbyterian Church." It was organized in 1784, although, for several years previous to that time, there was a Society, or brotherhood, strongly attached to the old Scottish secession testimony, who could not, in conscience, worship in any one of the three Presbyterian churches, then existing in the city. From 1777, they met together, every Lord's day, in private houses, for the worship of God; and, out of this Society, rose the Associate Presbyterian Church, in New York. Their first church-building was located in Nassau-street, between Maiden-lane and John-street. In 1822, the congregation moved up to a new edifice, at the corner of Grand and Mercer-streets. There, they continued until 1852, when they purchased the larger edifice, at the corner of Grand and Crosby-streets, then vacated by the Scotch Church. In that same year, the Congregation voted to transfer their church-relations to the Old School Presbyterian-church, in which connection they entered into the Union between the Old and New School Presbyterian-churches. In 1866, they moved up to Thirty-fourth-street, and assumed the name of "The Fourth Presbyterian Church."

I am, My Dear Sir, very truly, yours,

JOHN THOMSON.

150 West 37th-street, N.Y.

II.

In THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, III., i., 57—January, 1872—is an inquiry about Sacramental tokens. Some time ago, we sent an inquiry, either to the *New York Observer*, or to this Magazine, or both, in regard to the origin and use of these, but never had any answer. Dr. George Howe, in his *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, lately published, speaks of the Huguenots of France, in 1683, using them at their communions: they consisted of pieces of block-tin, of the size of a *sous*—a small copper coin of less value than our cent. In Burder's *Religious Ceremonies*, p. 401, we find that, in the Scotch Presbyterian church, "Tickets were given to each communicant, and also to strangers who brought sufficient testimonials. None can commune without such tickets;" and, on page 444, it is said that, "in the Presbyterian church in the United States, they do not require such tickets."

The author of the last-named book was not acquainted with the usage of all the churches

of that denomination in the country. A few years ago, they were in use among the Scotch-Irish, in Western North Carolina.

They consisted of pieces of lead, like large buck-shot, flattened down and stamped with some letter of the alphabet, a specimen of which accompanies this communication. They were distributed to the persons qualified to commune, by an Elder appointed for the purpose, either on Saturday before, or on the Sabbath morning of the Communion. Then, when the communicants had taken their seats at the table, an Elder went along and took them up again. If the number was large, as they attended often from all the churches around, in the Spring and Fall, from fifteen or twenty miles, many would come in late; and the same tokens might be given out, and taken up again, several times the same day. A person might get a token, take his seat, and return it again the next moment to the same officer. They seem to have been associated with the use of tables in this service. When tables were disused, they went out of use also.

In a church of which the writer was Pastor, about 1847, the tokens had been borrowed by a neighboring Session, on a communion occasion. It was too late to recover them, when their absence was discovered: we went through the services, at that time, without them. They have never been in use, there, since. We think it is many years since any of these churches have resorted to them, to exclude unworthy communicants. They did not always accomplish this, as we happen to know. We have heard of their being used in some churches with the colored members only. We have also heard of strangers present, at such times, who had never seen or heard of such things before; and who supposed that, when the tokens were returned, it was a payment of money for the privilege of the ordinance.

We do not know whether they continue in use in any branch of the church; but think that some of the Associate Reformed retain them.

We would still continue the inquiry *when*, and *why* were tokens first introduced? We have examined many works connected with the history and antiquities of the church, without finding what we wanted.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

III.

In the Presbyterian churches in Pennsylvania and, probably, generally, in this country, leaden tokens were formerly used on Communion occasions, in accordance with the Scottish custom. They were given out by the Pastor and Elders, to those entitled to partake of the Sac-

rament, and taken up after the communicants were seated at the table. These tokens were usually flat pieces of lead, something over half an inch square, with the initials of the name of the church stamped upon them. I have some of them in my possession. They are not now in use, in any of the churches, so far as I am aware. In this section of country, I believe they generally ceased to be used about fifty years ago.

WESTCHESTER, PENN.

J. S. F.

IV.

In the January number of your valuable Magazine, which has just been received, under the head of "Queries," page 57, a correspondent designating himself by the initial letters, "R. I. B., BROOKLYN, N. Y.," writes to inquire, "if any of your readers can inform him in regard to certain *Sacramental Tokens*, which are alleged to have been used, in olden times, in many churches, throughout the United States, and particularly, what was the character of these coins, their inscriptions, by whom issued, and to whom, and if they are now in use, and where?"

Perhaps, the following reply may, to some extent, answer the purpose of your correspondent, R. I. B.

When the writer of this was a lad, some fifty or sixty years ago, such tokens, as those referred to above, were used in the old Scotch Presbyterian Church, situated on the corner of Chapel and Fox-streets, in the city of Albany—at that time, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John McDonald, D.D. The leading members of this church, and, indeed, the principal element of it, was composed of Scotch immigrants and their families, chiefly from Stirlingshire, Perthshire, and Mid-Lothian, who had formerly been connected, either with the Burgher or Anti-Burgher Dissenters from the established church of Scotland. The custom of using metallic Tokens, on Sacramental occasions, most probably originated in that body of Christians, and was afterwards introduced into this country, by successive immigrants. If so, the Presbyterian churches, in Galway, Broadalbin, Johnstown, Mayfield, and Kingsborough, belonging to the Presbytery of Albany, which were largely made up of such immigrants, must have used similar tokens.

In Doctor McDonald's church, they were distributed to the communicants, on the Friday or Saturday, previous to the administration of the Lord's Supper, at what was called a "*Preparatory lecture*." Every communicant present received a token from the Minister, which was a small round piece of lead, about the size of a dime or cent of the United States coinage now in

use, only twice as thick; but whether there was any inscription or device engraved upon it, the present writer does not remember, having only seen one occasionally, and then, merely by accident, so carefully and secretly was it kept by the recipient. At the time of the administration of the Sacrament, after all the communicants were seated at a long table, covered with a fair linen cloth, which traversed the centre aisle, as well as that in front of the pulpit, the Elders of the Church passed quietly and reverently along, and took from each communicant his or her token. None were allowed to communicate, who were not in possession of such a token.

Whether any other Presbyterian Church in Albany observed the same custom, the writer is unable to say, although he has a sort of indistinct recollection that it was practised, at one time, in the *First Presbyterian Church*, then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Arthur J. Stansbury, and also, under that of his successor, the Rev. Henry R. Weed. If such, however, were the fact, Doctor James P. Boyd, son of the late Elder Peter Boyd, will be able to furnish any information relating thereto, that may be desired. And, in regard to the custom in Doctor McDonald's church (which, by the way, has long since ceased to exist) Doctor James McNaughton, a distinguished physician of Albany, who married a daughter of the late Archibald McIntyre, formerly Comptroller of the State of New York, whose wife was the daughter and only child of Doctor McDonald, will readily furnish any information respecting the use of Sacramental tokens in Doctor McDonald's church. Some of those tokens, perhaps, many of them, are still in the possession of Mrs. McNaughton or some other member of Mr. McIntyre's family. Hoping that the above may serve as a clew, if nothing more, to the information sought,

I remain

Respectfully Yours,

WM. M. CARMICHAEL.

NAVAL LYCEUM,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

REV. EVAN EVANS.—[*H. M., II., ix., 380.*]

—Doctor Perry says, in his note to the paper quoted, in regard to Rev. Evan Evans, "re-mov-ing into Maryland, he was presented to 'St. George's Parish, in Baltimore, now Har-ford, County, where he ministered until his death, which occurred in 1721.'"

Doctor Perry does not expressly say that Doctor Evans died in Maryland; but such is the inference, from the language quoted, as well as that of Humphreys, from whose *Historical Account* is derived the statement made by Doctor Doir—*History of Christ Church, Philadelphia*—"shortly after his removal to Maryland, he," [Evans] "died."

This has generally been understood as a statement that Doctor Evans died in Maryland. But such is not the case, as the following extract from the *Pennsylvania Mercury* of October 12, 1721, will show :

"The Rev. Evan Evans, D. D., who has been minister of this Church Twenty Years, from hence removed to Maryland, from which place he made a journey hither to visit his friends having, on Sunday the 8th inst., read prayers and preached in our church, in the morning was taken with an apoplectic fit while he was in the same devotion in the afternoon. He sunk down, immediately, in the desk, and was thence carried to his lodgings where he remained speechless until Wednesday morning about 2 O'clock, at which time he breathed his last among us. He was much beloved for his piety and peaceful disposition and is now lamented by most who knew him. It is remarkable that, as the Rev. Gentleman in his life-time was instant in admonishing his parishioners 'to constancy in their devotion to God,' because they might happily be taken away in that holy exercise by a sudden death, which he esteemed a great favor, he had this favor by the Divine hand bestowed on himself. And his body now quietly rests in the Church where he so often instructed others in the paths of virtue and true Christianity and his soul we doubt not is joining in hallelujahs with the saints above."

Rev. Evan Evans appears to have been buried in Christ Church, Philadelphia. His grave is probably one of the two which are located in the aisle, in front of the chancel, numbered XLII. and XLIV.—*Clarke's Record of Inscriptions upon tablets and grave-stones in the burial grounds of Christ Church, Philadelphia*. The inscriptions upon these stones are entirely worn away. XLII. is probably the grave of Evans, because, next to it is number XLIII., that of the Rev. Robert Jenney, who died in 1742. XLIV. may be the grave of Rev. Nathaniel Evans, who died in 1767. XLV. marks the grave of Rev. Richard Peters, who died in 1776. The arrangement of these graves, with the position, justifies the inference that these were appropriated to clergymen in the order of their deaths.

PHILADELPHIA.

THOMPSON WESTCOTT.

Hox. WILLIAM DARLINGTON, M.D., LL.D.—
[*H. M., III., i., 32-34.*]

I was gratified to see, in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for January last, Mr. Lanman's interesting memoir of Doctor Darlington, who was one of the earliest and warmest friends of this periodical, and a frequent contributor to its pages. The latest published work of Dr. Darlington was

his *Nota Centriensis: Notices of Chester County Men and Events*, which appeared in numbers in the *Village Record*, a newspaper printed at West Chester, Pennsylvania, where the author resided. The first number appeared in that paper, on the nineteenth of June, 1860; and the series, consisting of eighty-six regular numbers and several supplementary numbers, was finished not long before Dr. Darlington's death. The author placed three perfect sets of this series in public libraries, namely, in those of the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, D. C., the Pennsylvania Historical Society, at Philadelphia, and in the Village Library, at West Chester, Pennsylvania. An index to the series is printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, xvi., 362-363. These articles show great research and contain many facts not to be found in print, elsewhere. They deserve to be reprinted, in book form.

BOSTON.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

EARLY STEAMBOATING.—[*H. M., III., i., 54.*]
—In Westcott's *Life of John Fitch*, Philadelphia, 1857, you will find the *Advertisement* which you publish, quoted, with eight others, published in Philadelphia papers, between the fifteenth of June and the tenth of September, 1790, giving information, by intervening publications of the same advertisement, before they expired, twenty-three times, and specifying thirty-one distinct trips.

I calculate that, in those trips, the steamboat passed over thirteen hundred and eighty miles. The boat probably ran much more than was advertised, as, at that time, her performances were so much matters of notoriety, as not to need public notice of her trips. Probably, in that season, she passed over two thousand, five hundred miles, before she was laid up. See account of the performances of this boat, in the *New York Magazine*, 1790, page 493; *Statement of Rembrandt Peale—Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, i., 34; *New York Review*, iv., 148.

Dr. Thornton says, in *A Short Account of the Origin of Steamboats*, that Fitch's boat went, in 1790, eighty miles in one day.

Rufus Wilmot Griswold, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, some years ago, quoted a letter of Noah Webster, stating that he was a passenger in Fitch's steamboat. Commodore Charles Stewart, U. S. N., is known to have frequently told the story of his passage, to his friends. There is much more about the matter in my *Life of Fitch*.

PHILADELPHIA.

THOMPSON WESTCOTT.

P. S. In looking again, at your advertisement of the steamboat, I notice that the *Doylestown*

Democrat assumes that it shows "at what time" steamboat communication was first opened between Philadelphia and Trenton. I may mention that the first advertisement, quoted in my biography, published in the *Pennsylvania Puck*, June 15, 1790, states that the boat sets off from Arch-street ferry, in Philadelphia, "every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, for Burlington, Bristol, and Trenton, and returns on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. Price for passengers, 2/6 to Burlington & Bristol, 3/9 to Bordentown, and 5s to Trenton."

THE BOSTON BAR.—[*H. M.*, II., viii., 182.]

There are several mistakes, in your Boston Bar article, September, 1870, pages 184-185.

The remark "For heaven's sake don't let Otis get hold of it" was applied to Mr. Choate, by Chief-justice Shaw. The remark was not applicable to Mr. Otis—though smooth and effective, he was not redundant. But the remark was not without wit, applied to Mr. Choate, as he was in the habit of using expletives, though often with great effect; and these Judge Shaw was not pleased with.

Mr. Otis, I think, never appeared before Judge Shaw, in the Supreme Court. He left practice before Shaw's appointment.

Mr. Dexter was appointed Secretary of War, by John Adams; and, afterwards, Secretary of the Treasury, also, by Mr. Adams. The last office he held till 1802, under Mr. Jefferson: then Mr. Gallatin was appointed. Mr. Dexter never was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Mr. Madison; but, in 1815, Mr. Madison offered him the mission to Spain, which he declined.

The paragraph in relation to the peculiar habit of Mr. Otis, is another mistake. Mr. Dexter had the lounging habit; and the remarks were made by the students concerning him. This is set forth in the reminiscences of Mr. Dexter, written by Lucius Manlius Sargent, Esq., one of Mr. Dexter's students.

Your correspondent is rather *mixed*.

BOSTON.

ARTHUR W. AUSTIN.

THE FIRST EDITION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LAWS.—[*H. M.*, II., iii., 85.]

Charles Shaw, in his *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (12mo. Boston: 1817,) p. 136, prints extracts from the *Book of General Laws and Liberties concerning the inhabitants of the Massachusetts*, which he informs us was "published at Boston in May, 1649, with this republican motto: 'Whosoever there fore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist receive

"to themselves damnation."—*Rom.*, xiii., 2. "This work," he adds, "is alphabetically arranged."

The book from which Mr. Shaw made extracts was, I presume, a copy of the first edition of the Laws of Massachusetts, of which no copy is now known to be in existence.

BOSTON.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

EARLY PRINTING, IN THE WEST.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 120.]

Father Gabriel Richard procured a printing-press and had it in operation, here, as early as 1809. During that year, he published a small bound volume with the following title: *L'Âme Pénitente ou le nouveau Pensez-y-Bien: Considérations sur les Vérités éternelles avec des Histoires & des Exemples*. Au Detroit: Imprimé par Jacques M. Miller. M.DCCC.IX.

So far as I know, this is the first book printed West of the Alleghanies.

DETROIT, MICH.

C. J. WALKER.

COLONIAL TEA-POTS.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 57.]

I.

In the recently-published volume entitled *Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century*, by Samuel D. Alexander, under the head of PHILIP VICARS FITHIAN, the following notice of the destruction of the tea, in New Jersey, will be found: "In connection with his class-mate, Andrew Hunter, and about forty other young patriots, he assisted in the destruction of a cargo of tea, at Greenwich, New Jersey. This cargo had been brought over by the ship *Greyhound*, which sailed up Cohansey-creek and deposited the tea in the cellar of a storehouse which is still standing. In imitation of the proceedings of the Whigs of Boston, in 1773, and animated by the same patriotic spirit, this company of young men, disguised as Indians, assembled on the evening of the twenty second of November, 1774; removed the chests of tea from the storehouse; conveyed them to an adjoining field; and there burned them."

This Mr. Fithian was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, but was never ordained, and died, in 1776, from disease contracted in camp. The Andrew Hunter, too, was a clergyman, serving in the Revolutionary Army and in the Navy; and died in 1823.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

II.

Permit me to refer you to Barber and Howe's *New Jersey Historical Collections*, page 145, Edition 1852, for a somewhat particular account

of the destruction of tea in New Jersey, in November, 1774. It was by fire—not by water.

In a small duodecimo, of one hundred and seventy pages, of an *Historical Account of the First Settlement of Salem, in West Jersey*, the story is told by R. P. Johnson. Barber and Howe have told the story in his words. The names of the principal actors are given, and how they escaped punishment. Johnson's little book was published in Philadelphia, in 1839. Possibly it is in the New York Historical Society's Library.

NEWARK, N. J.

SAMUEL H. CONGAR.

III.

I enclose an account of the tea affair referred to. You will notice that it took place in Cumberland, not Salem, County. See Mulford's *History of New Jersey*, page 391, where Johnson's *History of Salem* is quoted, and a buncombe description in Elmer's *History of Cumberland County*, page 15, where it is stated that forty persons, disguised as Indians, destroyed the tea with the *approbation of the County Committee*.

NEW YORK.

WM. KELBY.

[ENCLOSURE.]

[From Dunlap's *Pennsylvania Packet*, Monday, January 9, 1775.]

At a general meeting of the Inhabitants of the County of Cumberland, in New Jersey, held at Bridgetown, on Thursday, the 22d day of December, 1774.

The articles of the Association entered into by the American Continental Congress being publicly read, were unanimously approved of; whereupon it was resolved, that a committee of thirty-five persons be appointed to carry the same into execution throughout the county; * * * * As soon as the committee were chosen, they were publicly informed, that a quantity of Tea had been secretly landed at Greenwich, and that the inhabitants of that town had taken the alarm, and had chosen a *pro tempore* committee of five persons, to take care of the same until the committee of the county was chosen; the general committee then with drew, in order to consider what should be done in the affair, and came into the following resolution, namely, That this Committee, being ignorant of the principles on which the said tea was imported, or whence it came, and not being able to get information thereof, by reason of the importer's absence, do think it best to have it privately stored, and agree to meet at ten o'clock to-morrow, in order to take care of the same. Accordingly they met the next day agreeable to appointment, and found to their surprize that the tea had been destroyed, by persons unknown,

the night before, at the time the committee were sitting at Bridgetown; whereupon the committee further entered into the resolves following:

I. That we entirely disapprove of the destroying the above mentioned tea, it being entirely contrary to our resolves.

II. That we will not conceal, nor protect from justice, any of the perpetrators of the above fact.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Committee.
THOMAS EWING, Clerk.

MILES STANDISH.—[*II. M., III., i., 56.*]

DEAR MR. DAWSON: Your note of the tenth instant has this moment reached me, together with the query respecting Miles Standish. By the way, he wrote his Christian name *Myles*, as his autograph in my possession shows. If your querist had looked into Allen, Belknap, or any good American Biographical Dictionary he would have seen that Captain Standish never belonged to Massachusetts; that he came to Plymouth with the first Pilgrims, in 1630, in the *Mayflower*; always lived in the Old Colony of Plymouth; and died in Duxbury, Oct. 3d, 1656. I do not remember ever having seen it stated that he belonged to any church. If his family in England, that is his ancestors, were Catholics, it was probably at a period so remote that it is not reached by records, or when the Catholic religion was the only religion in England.

Captain Standish came from Duxbury Hall, a noted place in the town of Standish, and County of Lancaster—that is, Lancashire. Duxbury, in the Colony of Plymouth, was so named on account of the Captains originating in Duxbury, County of Lancaster.

BOSTON.

SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

[NOTE ON THE ABOVE REPLY.—It is, certainly, a very hazardous operation even to seem to differ from the venerable and distinguished author of this Reply; but we venture to refer him and our readers to Captain Standish's signature to the proceedings of a town-meeting at Duxbury, November 7, 1639—*Plymouth Colony Records, xii., 73*—one appended, as a witness, to a Deed made by William Hillier of Duxbury, on the tenth of November, 1646—*Ibid., 140*—one certifying to a contract made by John Balden, in December, 1648—*Ibid., 164*—one to an acknowledgement of a Deed, on the ninth of June, 1651—*Ibid., 172*—one to an acknowledgement of a Deed, on the third of September, 1649—*Ibid., 183*—one to an acknowledgement of a Deed, on the third of June, 1651—*Ibid., 207*—all of which are written *Miles*.

Again: he was officially recorded, among the Assistants, in 1633, as *Miles*—*Colony Records,*

ex., 173—and again in the Roll of Freemen—*Ibid.*, 174—and in all, except two, of the numerous official Court Records of the Colony, while he was a Magistrate, 1639–1653—*Ibid.*, *Judicial Acts*.

It is very true that in June, 1631, he signed his name as *Myles*—*Plymouth Colony Records*, *xii.*, 16—again on the third of June, 1647—*Ibid.*, 144—and again, to the award of the arbitration on the division of the Brewster estate, on the twentieth of August, 1645—*Ibid.*, 117—and, in two cases, on the official records of the Court, while he was a Magistrate; but if there is any weight in numbers, of equal merit, the testimony is certainly overwhelming in favor of *Miles*.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.]

THE CAPTURE OF GENERAL RIALL.—[*H. M.*, *II.*, *viii.*, 54; *III.*, *i.*, 58.]

SALEM, MASS., Oct. 28, 1872.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq.

DEAR SIR: In writing to you, some time since, I gave an anecdote, relating to the British General Riall at one of the most memorable and hard-fought conflicts in the War of 1812, at Niagara, Bridgewater, or Lundy's Lane, as it is variously called. My object was to corroborate, for your satisfaction, a statement, made in a previous number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. I observe that you have printed it, under the head of "Replies," in your number for January, 1872.

Another reminiscence of the exploration, in 1822, of that battle-ground is, perhaps, worthy of preservation.

On passing over it, my attention was attracted to a rather fine looking mansion, on the summit of the land where the fight occurred, overlooking the entire area within which it took place, as well as the banks, rapids, and fall of the river Niagara. Enquiring of a person, whom I met at the time, I was told that it was the residence of Major Leonard, a retired officer of the British Army, High Sheriff of Upper Canada.

Richard Leonard commenced his military career in Egypt; served, under Wellington, in the Peninsula Campaigns; and throughout the War of 1812. He was distinguished for his high qualities as an officer, and bore honorable scars on his person. In one of the affairs, sortie, or assault, about Fort Erie, he was permanently crippled. His Regiment was at the extreme right of the British Army, in the Battle of Niagara, on the spot where his house stood. His life, as a soldier, began under the shadow of the Pyramids; and one of his last fights, where he spent the remnant of his days, was in sound and sight of Niagara Falls.

As we were natives of the same place, St.

John, New Brunswick, and our families had always been intimate, I called upon him, and was received in the most cordial manner.

As he limped along with me on his piazza and the grounds immediately around it, he pointed out the positions of the two Armies. Near at hand was the spot where a British battery was posted. He witnessed and described the famous assault upon it, commemorated in our military history.

The American Commanding-General, Brown, saw the importance and necessity of silencing this battery.

James Miller of New Hampshire was Colonel of a Regiment. General Brown, knowing his extraordinary courage and prowess, but also appreciating the almost desperateness of the undertaking, rode up to him and, not in the manner of an order, but of a suggestion, said, "Colonel Miller, that Battery must be taken: 'can you do it?'" Miller's answer has since been among the household words of America: "I will try, Sir." He instantly ordered his Regiment to fix bayonets; forbade them to return fire; gave the word, "Forward;" and led them on. As the British cannon mowed them down, the gaps silently closed up. On each discharge of the British artillery, Miller's voice was heard, above the dull roar of Niagara, below, in clear, firm tones, "Steady, Boys, 'Steady.'" The column moved on, without a falter; the enemy's gunners were bayonneted at the side of their pieces; and the Battery was won.

Miller was forthwith brevetted Brigadier-general; and received the thanks of Congress, by whose order a gold medal was presented to him. He was afterwards Governor of Arkansas and, for many years, Collector of the Port of Salem. Major Leonard spoke in the highest terms of the gallant bearing of Miller and his heroic Regiment. It gives me pleasure to record this testimony of a brave enemy in honor of one long a townsman and friend, the integrity of whose life was equal to the intrepidity of his soul.

But the chief inducement to recall this interview with Major Leonard is this. He stated that, in his whole military experience, the Battle of Niagara was the only one in which armies met, in a general bayonet-charge, without any shrinking or swaying, on either side. Generally, there is more or less wavering; but when the contending forces, on this occasion, approached and met, the clash of bayonets was actually simultaneous, from one end of the line to the other. This declaration, made by one whose personal experience entitled him to speak with such authority, proves that the armies encountering each other on that bloody

night were alike worthy of the race from which both chiefly sprung.

SALEM, MASS.

C. W. UPHAM.

MACKENZIE'S LIVES OF VAN BUREN, ETC.—*[H. M., II., ix., 44.]*—In further reply to this Query, we have to say that we have excellent reason for supposing that, to some extent, at least, Mr. Mackenzie was assisted, in his preparation of those works, by his fellow exile. Doctor E. B. O'Callaghan, more recently known, so widely and so honorably, as the historian of New Netherland and editor of various works concerning the history of New York.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

XIV.—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

A LETTER WHICH COST THE CITY FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS—THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PRIZE.

"The following was stolen from the city archives and sold by auction for twenty-five hundred dollars. Mayor Hall then sued the purchaser, and recovered it at a cost of four thousand dollars for legal expenses. The Common Council are about to give it to the Historical Society:

"*To The Honble the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, & Commonalty of the City of New York.*

"GENTLEMEN, I receive your Address, and the freedom of the City with which you have been pleased to present me in a golden Box, with the sensibility and gratitude which such distinguished honors have a claim to.—The flattering expression of both, stamps value on the Acts; & call for stronger language than I am master of to convey my sense of the obligation in adequate terms.—

"To have had the good fortune amidst the vicissitudes of a long and arduous contest never to have known a moment when I did not possess the confidence and esteem of my country.—And that my conduct should have met the approbation, and obtained the affectionate regard of the State of New York (where difficulties were numerous & complicated) may be ascribed more to the effect of divine wisdom, which had disposed the minds of the people, harrassed on all sides, to make allowances for the embarrassments of my situation, whilst with fortitude & pa-

tience they sustained the loss of their Capitol and a valuable part of their territory—and to the liberal sentiments, and great exertion of her virtuous Citizens, than to any merit of mine.—

"The reflection of these things now, after the many hours of anxious solicitude which all of us have had, is as pleasing, as our embarrassments at the moments we encountered them, were distressing—and must console us for past sufferings & perplexities.

"I pray that Heaven may bestow its choicest blessings on your City—That the devastations of War, in which you found it, may soon be without a trace.—That a well regulated & beneficial Commerce may enrich your Citizens.—And that your State (at present the Seat of the Empire) may set such examples of wisdom & liberality, as shall have a tendency to strengthen & give permanency to the Union at home—and credit & respectability to it abroad.—The accomplishment whereof is a remaining wish, & the primary object of all my desires

"G^o WASHINGTON"*

We cut the above from the *New York Sun* of Saturday, March 8, 1873, for the purpose of noticing some of the statements which are contained in it and of correcting some of the errors.

FIRST: It was stolen from the city; but no one who knew him will suppose, for a moment, that "the venerable antiquary," referred to, in the same paper, in the same connection, a few days previously—the late John Allen—ever "stole it," as was therein charged. He had owned it more than twenty years, when he died; and we know that he was never even suspected of the theft, by those who were best capable of judging.

SECOND: "The purchaser" of the letter, Mr. D. W. C. Lent, the bookseller in Grand-street—then a clerk in the employ of Sheldon & Co—was not "sued" for it, but Messrs. Bangs, Merwin, & Co., the auctioneers, in whose hands the letter was, the purchaser having declined to receive it.

The action was instituted by the Counsel of the Corporation, at our suggestion, after we had personally examined the letter and the endorsements on it and compared them with the record of the letter, on the manuscript Minutes of the Common Council; and we received the hearty approval of the venerable David T. Valentine, "the old Clerk", for having induced the Counsel to notice the matter. We have no doubt that

* The copy of the letter, as printed in the *Sun*, was so inaccurate that we have corrected the proof-sheet of this copy by comparing it with the original—EDITOR.

the Mayor, Mr. Hall, also urged the matter, as Mr. Valentine did; and to them and to the Council, the city is chiefly indebted for the recovery of the letter.

THIRD: As the City was the winning party, in the action for the recovery of the letter, the Costs of that action necessarily fell on the losing party—Messrs. Bangs, Merwin, & Co., who defended the claim of the Allen Estate to the letter, against the City. We do not see, therefore, how the recovery of that letter could have cost the City anything worth noticing; and we have the authority of the Assistant Clerk of the Common Council for saying that it did not.

FOURTH: If the archives of the city are to be despoiled again and its files scattered, the New York Historical Society should not be made the Receiver. The Common Council is as capable of keeping that paper as any other; and if it is incapable of preserving its own records—of which this letter is a part—it ought to dissolve and return to its original elements.

We protest against any such disposition of the letter in question.

XV.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THIS HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCHUBNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., Booksellers, 634 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

1.—*History of Ancient Woodbury, Connecticut, from the first Indian Deed in 1659 to 1871, including the Present Towns of Washington, Southbury, Bethlehem, Roxbury, and a part of Oxford and Middlebury.* By William Cothren. Waterbury, Conn.: William R. Seeley. 1871. Octavo, [Z.] xl., 9-885, vii; [Y.] x., 841-1610, vi, iii.

Not far from twenty years ago, there was published a *History of Ancient Woodbury*, which, because of its completeness and evident accuracy, has, ever since, been recognized as one of the very best of American locals. It has gradually become scarce and, now, it is not often seen in the market.

The same industrious hand which wrote the work, probably encouraged by the merited praise which it had secured, seems to have been employed, these twenty years, in collecting material for a new edition—material for both the correction of the former volume and for the construction of a new one—and in the two portly volumes before us, we find the complete work, in all its fullness.

To those who are familiar with the volume which Mr. Cothren originally published, a description of the contents of the first of these volumes will be unnecessary, as they are believed to be the same, with here and there a correction. To those who do not know it, however, a brief description of its contents may be useful. Op-

ening with a *Physical History* of the territory of "Ancient Woodbury," the author follows with Chapters devoted to the *History of the Indian Purchases*; to the *Civil History* of the locality; to its *Indian History*, *Ecclesiastical History*, and *Revolutionary History*; to the *History of Southbury and South Britain Societies and the town of Southbury*; to the *History of Bethlehem Society and the Town of Bethlehem*; to the *History of Judea and New Preston Ecclesiastical Societies and the town of Washington*; to the *History of Roxbury Ecclesiastical Society and the town of Roxbury*; to the *History of the other Churches beside the Congregational*; to the *History of the Strict Congregational Society in Woodbury*; to *Biographical Sketches of natives and residents of Ancient Woodbury, who have remained in the territory*—covering sixty-three pages—to similar Sketches of natives of the territory who have emigrated—covering sixty-nine pages—to a series of Genealogies of eighty-eight Woodbury families; and to fifty pages of *Statistics*—the whole bringing down the history of the ancient town and its inhabitants to 1854.

To that volume, as we have said, another has just been added, bringing the history of the town to May, 1872. Beginning, as before, with the *Physical History* of the territory, its Indian, Ecclesiastical, and Civil Histories successively follow—the latter including the Bi-centennial Celebration of the town, in 1859, the Masonic Centennial Celebration of 1865, and the First Church Bi-centennial Celebration of 1870, the latter including the services at the dedication of the "Fathers' Monument"—and they are succeeded by Chapters devoted, respectively, to *Woodbury in the great Rebellion*—extending over two hundred and sixty-five pages—*Crimes and Casualties*; a continuation of the *History of the Societies and Towns set off from Ancient Woodbury*; *Biographies and Autobiographies of natives, residents, and descendants of Ancient Woodbury*; *Genealogies of Ancient Woodbury families*; and *Statistics*. An Appendix, Table of Errata, and General Index of Names close the volume.

The preparation of the second volume, under any circumstances, would have imposed far less labor on its author than that of the first volume had done; but its contents are not less important to those who are interested in the history of Ancient Woodbury, because they relate to more recent events and have cost less labor in securing them. They were necessary to fill the measure of Ancient Woodbury's History; and the author has faithfully discharged the duty which he undertook to perform—the two volumes constituting, in their literary character, one of the most complete and satisfactory town-histories which has yet been published.

We wish we could approve its typographic and artistic claims to excellence, and endorse those which its excellent author has made in their behalf—the paper is, very often, too thin to prevent the letters from being seen on *both* sides of the leaves; and what seem, by others, to have been considered fine specimens of art, we consider to be mere caricatures, disfiguring the letter-press of the volume, and reflecting no credit on either the good taste or the professional skill of the gentleman who produced them.

If we understand the subject correctly, this new edition of this excellent work was published by subscription and with only a few extra copies, nearly all of which have been already sold: those of our readers who collect “locals,” therefore, will do well to secure copies without unnecessary delay.

1.—*Zell's Descriptive Hand Atlas of the World*. By J. Bartholomew, Geogr. T. Ellwood Zell. Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and New Orleans. Quarto. Parts I-X.

We have received from Mr. B. W. Bond, 5 Bekman-street, New York, the first ten parts of this work; and we have pleasure in calling our readers' attention to it.

The Maps in this Atlas are to number thirty-five; and are sixteen inches by eleven, from border to border; constructed on a large scale, “according to their relative importance from an American point of view”—England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Norway and Sweden, France and Switzerland, for instance, being relatively larger than Turkey and Russia—and beautifully printed in colors. Each is accompanied with a complete index of all the names—*both in their local and their English forms*—which are to be found thereon, with references by means of which they may be easily found on the map itself; and, in addition, there is a mass of statistical information accompanying each which will be found exceedingly useful, for reference. A general index of names, containing every name given in every map, is promised at the close of the volumes.

In an Atlas—which, at best, is only a work for reference rather than for ordinary reading—it is primarily important that the Maps shall contain as much as possible without being so crowded with names that the whole become confused. There must be no muddle of names; and yet every name which will become an object of frequent search must be there. In making these Maps, there has been such excellent judgment displayed that there is unusual distinctness while there is, also, more than ordinary fullness of information; and the facility for finding any name, which, by means of mar-

ginal letters, has been furnished in the system of cross-reference, render these maps more than usually convenient for every-day reference.

We shall refer, hereafter, to other features of this work; contenting ourself with the present general observation that it promises to become the most convenient, as it certainly is the handsomest, of all the Atlases with which we are acquainted.

CATALOGUES.—At this season of the year, when old-fashioned people, in the olden time, were accustomed to plant in order that they might, subsequently, reap, those of us who live “out of town” are beginning to think what shall grow in our gardens and orchards, and of what kinds, the old or the new. To facilitate the selection and to tempt the cultivator, the various nurserymen, seedsmen, and florists, send Catalogues of their respective wares; and, both because of their beauty and their usefulness, these Catalogues are, in themselves, worthy of a passing notice in this place. We notice those of them which we have received, therefore, under the names of their respective publishers, alphabetically arranged.

—*B. K. Bliss & Son's Illustrated Spring Catalogue and Amateur's Guide to the Flower and Kitchen Garden, 1878*, Octavo, pp. 8, 196, is one of the largest and finest of the number, presenting not only carefully prepared descriptions of the extensive stock of seeds, plants, etc., which is kept for sale by its publishers—nearly every page of it having been elaborately illustrated by our friend and neighbor, William Momberger—but, also, a series of hints on the cultivation of Flowers, and ample instructions for the preparation and management of hot-beds. In the nomenclature of seeds and plants, this Catalogue is especially noteworthy. It is illustrated, besides the myriad of wood-cuts, with a chromo-lithographic folding plate, representing a group of flowers, twenty-five in number; and is, generally, very attractive.—*B. K. Bliss & Son, 23 Park-place, New York.*

—*Briggs & Bro. Illustrated*, large octavo, pp. 136, is a very beautiful specimen of book-making, elaborately illustrated with wood-cuts of great excellence, and beautified with a good chromo and two colored wood-cuts. Besides the careful description of its publishers' stock of seeds, flowers, etc., it contains an illustrated paper on *Parlor and Window Gardening* and one on *Flowers and their Cultivation*; and, in every respect, it is one of the best and handsomest of the issues of the season. It is to be continued quarterly.—*Briggs & Bro., Rochester, N. Y.*

—*Dreer's Garden Calendar, 1873, Philadelphia*, duodecimo, pp. 161, is a plain, old-fashioned Catalogue of the stock of a plain, old-fashioned man, who makes no attempt to win patronage except by his plain, old-fashioned integrity and his honest representation of the articles he offers for sale. While others may have surpassed him in the extent and variety of their stocks in trade and the elegance of their Catalogues, we incline to the belief that the publisher of this comparatively homely little volume is their peer, in all the elements which constitute an honest, old-fashioned tradesman.—*Henry A. Dreer, 714 Chestnut-street, Philadelphia.*

—*Descriptive Catalogue of the Columbus Nursery. R. G. Hanford, Proprietor*, octavo, pp. 54, and the *Spring Catalogue of New and Beautiful Plants, 1873. * * grown and offered for sale by R. G. Hanford, Columbus Nursery, Columbus, Ohio*, octavo, pp. 60, are plain Catalogues of the stock in trade of this well-known Western nurseryman, embracing fruit and ornamental trees and shrubs, grape-vines, roses, evergreens, etc., in great variety. As a denizen of the "Great West," the stock of the publisher, described therein, may be supposed to be adapted to the Western market; and, as such, we invite our Western subscribers' attention to it.—*R. G. Hanford, Columbus, Ohio.*

—*Peter Henderson & Co's Seed Catalogue, 1873*, octavo, pp. 96, and *Peter Henderson's Spring Catalogue of New Plants for 1873*, octavo, pp. 72, are also very neatly illustrated Catalogues of the stock in trade of their excellent publisher. Without pretending to as much decoration as some others, nor to as much artistic beauty in their wood-cut illustrations, they are, nevertheless, very handsome specimens of book-making; and the well-established reputation of the senior member of the firm warrants the extension of our invitation to our readers to notice these works.—*Peter Henderson & Co., 35 Cortland-street, New York.*

—*Richardson & Nicholas' Descriptive Catalogue of Fruit and Ornamental Trees, Shrubs, Vines, &c.*, octavo, pp. 72, is another of those plain, but neat, descriptive-lists of a nurseryman's stock in trade, which are intended for the use of plain people, engaged in the plain but useful occupation of beautifying their country homes and adding to their comfort. It makes no pretence to elegance; but its usefulness, among those who have occasion to refer to it, will not be measured by its plain appearance.—*Richardson & Nicholas, Geneva, N. Y.*

—*Vick's Illustrated Floral Guide for 1873*, octavo, pp. 132, is, all things considered, the

handsomest of the Catalogues which we have seen, and one of the best. Its wood-cuts are better specimens of art and are better printed; its chromo-lithographic illustration is better finished; its introductory matter is more varied and better illustrated; and, generally, it wears the appearance of having enjoyed more care in the finish of its details and of being, as a whole, more elegant. The preliminary *Hints on Sowing Seeds and Transplanting*, on the arrangement and beautifying of *Rural Homes*, on *Plants for Special Purposes*, and on *Exhibiting Flowers* will be very acceptable, in many quarters; but those who pay particular attention to such matters will regret that more care has not been taken in the nomenclature of the seeds and plants, in which, as we have said, the Catalogue of Bliss & Son surpasses all others which we have seen. This Catalogue is published quarterly.—*James Vick, Rochester, N. Y.*

—*Washburn's Amateur Cultivator's Guide to the Flower and Kitchen Garden*, octavo, pp. 4. 128, is another of the more elaborate Catalogues of this collection, embracing, besides the descriptive list of the publishers' stock in trade, *Brief Directions for the Cultivation of Annual, Biennial, and Perennial Flower-seeds, Special Directions to Amateur Cultivators*, instructions for the *Construction and Management of Hot-beds*, and an article on the arrangement of *The Flower-garden*. It is liberally illustrated with wood-cuts and a chromo-lithographic plate of a group of flowers; but it lacks that careful, artistic finish, in some of its parts, which we find in some others. The descriptive list of seeds, etc., appears to be tolerably complete; and, as a whole, it will be very acceptable to those for whose especial use it has been printed.—*Washburn & Co., 100 Tremont-st., Boston.*

—*Wood & Hall's Seed Catalogue for 1873*, octavo, pp. 80, is a neat descriptive list of its publishers' stock of seeds, bulbs, etc., preceded with brief papers on *Culture, How to lay out the Flower-garden and to select Plants, on Every Woman her own Flower Gardener*, and the *Classification of Plants*. It makes no pretension to superior elegance; but it is, nevertheless, a very neat affair; and it will be very acceptable to those of our friends, in Central New York, into whose hands it may fall.—*Wood & Hall, Geneva, N. Y.*

—*The press of other duties has prevented us from resuming, in this number, our usual attention to recent additions to the literature of the country, of which a large pile is before us. We shall do so, however, in the number of May.*

THE

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TO OUR READERS.

I.—We are happy in being enabled to issue this number in line with our contemporaries; and we look forward, with well-grounded hopes, for that increased support which we feel that the Magazine is entitled to enjoy, among the solid men of the Republic. It has never been stronger than it is to-day: we intend to make it more worthy than it has ever been: *we challenge a comparison of its contents, to-day, with those of any other periodical, of any kind, in the country.*

III.—The number for May is in the printers' hands and well advanced. It will contain, among other articles, the commencement of one, entitled *Confederate Love-tape*, in which will be embraced the correspondence between General Bragg and his subordinate General-officers—General Hardee, Polk, Breckenridge, Withers, Chestnut, and Cleburne—immediately after the retreat from Murfreesboro', in January, 1863, together with the Detailed Reports of the operations of the Confederate States' Army, on Stone's-river, as collected by General Breckenridge, for the purpose of controverting that portion of General Bragg's Report which related to the operations of Breckenridge's Division at the Battle of Stone's-river.

As all these documents are printed from the original manuscripts, in our possession, and, generally, have not been hitherto printed, their im-

portance to all who are interested in the history of the War, in the West, will be evident to every one.

The Essay, by General Ethan Allen, the series of papers on *The Vermont Controversy*, from the archives of the State of New Hampshire, the Minutes of the Green-mountain Boys' Conventions, and the *Records of Trinity-church, in New York City*, will be continued, besides other papers, from various pens, of equal interest and importance.

III.—Our June number will open with an unpublished letter, by General JOHN E. WOOL, descriptive of the Battle of Buena Vista; and that will be followed, month by month, by unpublished papers, on the Mexican War, by General Worth, Colonels Childs and Hitchcock, Captain Backus, etc., all from the original manuscripts.

In the same number, President Tuttle of Washash college, Indiana, will again favor our readers with one of those exhaustive historical papers which have become so well-known and so highly-prized by all careful students of American history. It will not relate to New Jersey; but its value will be no less for that reason, nor will it be less welcomed among our readers.

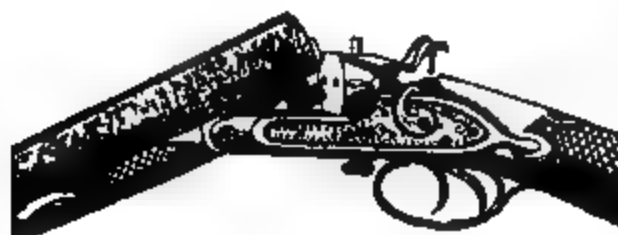
IV.—We shall commence the publication, in our July number, of the series of Lectures, on *The Military Operations on the Niagara frontier, in the War of 1812*, which were delivered, some years since, with great success, in the cities of Buffalo, New Haven, New York, etc., by the late Major D. B. DOUGLASS, formerly Professor in the Military Academy, at West Point; President of Kenyon-college, Gambier, Ohio; etc. They will be illustrated with maps, from original drawings; and, as Major Douglass was one of the officers of the Army, in that Department, and one of the defenders of Fort Erie—"the Douglass Battery" of that work having been named for him—and a widely-distinguished Engineer, it is believed that those who desire to read the history of the Battles of Chippewa and Lundy's-lane and that of the celebrated defence of Fort Erie will enjoy greater facilities to do so, in these papers, than in any others.

V.—We shall also commence, in our July

number, the publication of a series of original papers on the history of men and events in Chenango-county, New York, from the pen of the Hon. S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., for many years the Superintendent of Common Schools in the State of New York, and lately Superintendent of Public Education in the City of New York.

In the preparation of these papers—which will extend over several numbers of the Magazine—Mr. Randall will not only employ material which he collected, many years ago, but his personal recollections of men and events, for nearly half a century, will be freely drawn on. As a record of the history of Central New York, this series of papers will possess unusual interest and importance.

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THE
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AND

Notes and Queries concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America

THIS Magazine was commenced in January, 1857, for the purpose of furnishing a medium of intercommunication between Historical Societies, Authors, and Students of History, and supplying an interesting and valuable journal—a miscellany of American History. On the first of July, 1866, it passed into the hands of the undersigned, by whom it is still conducted, with the support and aid of a large body of intelligent readers and the assistance of the foremost historical writers of the country.

Among the contributors to the past volumes are Hon. Edward Everett, Hon. George Bancroft, Jared Sparks, LL.D., Hon. Peter Force, Hon. James Savage, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Wm. Gilmore Simms, Esq., Henry R. Stiles, M.D., Geo. Gibbs, Esq., Hon. John R. Brodhead, J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., Benson J. Lossing, Esq., Hon. Henry C. Murphy, Samuel G. Drake, Esq., Sebastian F. Streeter, Esq., Alfred B. Street, Esq., E. B. O'Callaghan, LL.D., Prof. W. W. Turner, Buckingham Smith, Esq., Evert A. Duyckinck, Esq., Brantz Mayer, Esq., Hon. John R. Bartlett, Samuel F. Haven, Esq., Dr. W. Gibbs, John W. Francis, M.D., D. G. Brinton, M.D., George H. Moore, Esq., John G. Shea, LL.D., Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., John Ward Dean, Esq., Hon. O'Reilly, Esq., Rev. Pliny H. White, Hon. E. E. Bourne, and Hon. Thomas E. Ewbank.

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{ VOL. XXI., No. V.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,

AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

May, 1873.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We have taken such excellent care of the manuscripts, concerning the Battle of Buena Vista, from which we proposed to withdraw General Wool's letter, descriptive of the battle, that we cannot find them, in season for the employment of that letter, in *this number*, as we proposed and promised. As soon as we can lay our hands on it, we shall present it, through the columns of the Magazine, to the historical world.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

MAY, 1873.

[No. 5.

I.—CONFEDERATE LOVE-TAPS.

GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG AND THE GENERALS OF HIS COMMAND.

It has been the general fate of armies, in every service, to be racked with dissensions and feuds, more or less violent; and those dissensions and feuds, like all others, have generally produced more or less ill consequences, both to those who have personally participated in them and to the causes in which the armies, themselves, have been respectively engaged. Without referring to others, the anti-Schuyler combination of New England officers, the anti-Arnold party which forced its victim into treason, the anti-Stark clique which drove the gallant New Hampshire-man out of the regular service and led him to fight the Battle of Bennington as a State officer and not with a Continental commission; and the anti Washington party, in the Army and in the Congress, which disgraced Charles Lee, and Horatio Gates, and Thomas Conway, and Samuel Adams, are known to all who have carefully studied the history of that period; while General Scott's feud with General Brown, the disgraceful sacrifice of General Hull, and the troubles endured by Generals Miller, Ward, and Brown, during the War of 1812; the serious dissensions, during the War with Mexico, between General Scott, on the one hand, and Secretary Marcy and Generals Taylor, Wool, and Worth, on the other; and the combinations and intrigues which were directed against General McClellan and those who were regarded as his friends, to say nothing of less notable instances, in the recent Civil War, are well known, both in themselves and their consequences, the country over. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Confederate States' Armies, also, should have had their local jealousies and their internal quarrels—more or less serious in their character and effects—and there is nothing, on that particular account, for which either of those Armies can reasonably be reproached as less fortunate than their neighbors, Confederate or Federal.

Among these Confederate love-taps—if we may be allowed to apply that term to those

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family jars, among our Southern antagonists, which, even in their worst forms, failed to render those who participated in them a particle less vigilant or a whit less effective in their opposition to the common enemy—one of the most notable was that in which, suddenly, General Bragg became involved with the leading Generals of his command, in January, 1863, and, subsequently, that in which General John C. Breckinridge was engaged, in opposition to General Braxton Bragg, because of alleged inaccuracies in the official Report of the Battles before Murfreesboro', in December, 1862, and January, 1863, tending, as the former seemed to suppose, to the injury of his good name as a soldier and an officer. It is our purpose, therefore, to raise the curtain which, hitherto, has concealed the greater portion of those memorable quarrels from the public eye, and, from original papers which are before us and, generally, hitherto unpublished, to let the world into some of the secrets of other and more exciting times than these.

I.

THE FEUD BETWEEN GENERAL BRAGG AND THE GENERAL OFFICERS OF HIS COMMAND, JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1863.

It was the ill fortune of General Bragg, either with or without reasonable cause, to secure the ill-will of many of those, in command, with whom, from time to time, he was associated. His great abilities, as a soldier, were unquestionable; his personal courage was not impeached; his integrity, as a man, was not denied; but his rigidity, as a strict disciplinarian, his untiring energy, and his remarkable self reliance very often created an undercurrent of bad feeling which sometimes found vent when a want of success, no matter from what cause, created a temporary feeling, in the popular mind, which was adverse to his reputation.

After the Battle of Shiloh and the subsequent evacuation of Corinth, General Beauregard surrendered the command of the Confederate States' Army of the Tennessee, because

of his ill-health; and General Bragg was appointed to succeed him. The movement of that Army into Kentucky, with even greater intentions, followed, with General Buell's counter-movement; and the action at Perryville, the retreat to Murfreesboro', the actions near the latter place, and the further retreat to Tullahoma—all of them now well known matters of history—filled the measure of the operations of General Bragg's command, during the latter portion of 1862 and the beginning of 1863.

It need not be supposed that, in the conduct of such a series of operations as these—at one time, buoyant with promises of eminent success and radiant with apparently well-founded hopes: at another and not distant day, embarrassed by unprovided-for disasters and chilled with disappointments, from unexpected, if not imaginary, sources—the judgment of such a General in chief as General Bragg was, could escape criticism, sometimes adverse criticism; and if those who were subordinate, thus informally adverse to him, sometimes compared notes and mingled their individual grievances and dissents, it need not, at any time, have been wondered at.

Under these circumstances, however, the disaffection could not be concealed from General Bragg, even if it had been desired to conceal it; and, on the eleventh of January, 1863, he boldly confronted the disaffected of his command, by addressing the following Circular-letter to his Corps and Division Commanders—we copy that which was addressed to General Breckinridge, *verbatim*, from the original, which is before us:

"HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENNESSEE

"TULLAHOMA TENN January 11th 1863

"GENERAL:

"Finding myself assailed in private and public, by the Press in private circles, by officers and Citizens for the movement from 'Murfreesboro', which was resisted by me for some time after advised by my Corps and Division Commanders, and only adopted after hearing of the enemy's reinforcements by large numbers from Kentucky, it becomes necessary for me to save my fair name, if I cannot stop the deluge of abuse, which will destroy my usefulness and demoralize this army. It has come to my knowledge that many of those accusations and insinuations are from Staff Officers of my Generals, who persistently assert that the movement was made against the Opinion and advice of their Chiefs, and while the enemy was in full retreat. False or true the soldiers have no means of judging me rightly or getting the facts, and the effect on them will be the same—a loss of confidence—and a consequent demoralization of the whole Army.

"It is only through my Generals that I can establish the facts as they exist. Unanimous, as you were in council, in verbally advising a retrograde movement, I cannot doubt that you will cheerfully attest the same in writing. I desire that you will consult your subordinate commanders, and be candid with me, as I have always endeavored to prove myself with you. If I have misunderstood your advice, and acted against your opinions, let me know it, in justice to yourselves. If on the contrary, I am the victim of unjust accusations, say so, and unite with me in staying the malignant slanders, being propagated by men who have felt the sting of discipline.

"Genl Smith has been called to Richmond, it is supposed with a view to supercede me. I shall retire without a regret, if I find I have lost the good opinion of my Generals, upon whom I have ever relied as upon a foundation of rock.

"Your early attention is most desirable and is urgently solicited.

"Most Respectfully

"Your Ob't Serv't

"BRAXTON BRAGG,

"Genl. C. S. A.

"Maj Genl BRECKINRIDGE

"I enclose copies of a joint note received about 2 o'clock A. M. from Maj Genl Cheat-ham and Withers on the night before were tired from Murfreesboro', with Lt. Genl Polk's endorsement, and my own verbal reply to Lt. Richmond, Gen Polk's Aide-de-camp.

"BRAXTON BRAGG,

"Genl C. S. A."

[ENCLOSURE.]

"A" 12-15 A M

"HEAD QURS IN THE FIELD

"MURFREESBORO TENN

"Jany 8th 1863

"GENL

"We deem it our duty to say to you frankly that in our judgement this army should be promptly put in retreat—You have but three Brigades that are at all reliable and even some of these are more or less demoralized from having some Brigade Commanders who do not possess the confidence of their Commands. Such is our opinion and we deem it a solemn duty to express it to you. We do fear great disaster from the condition of things now existing and think it should be averted if possible.

"Very respectfully Yours &c

"B F CHEATHAM

"Maj Genl C. S. A.

"J M WITHERS

"Maj Genl &c

"To
"Gen^l B BRAGG
"Comdg &"

"A true copy.
"KINLOCH FALCONER,
"A. A. Gen^l"

[THE "ENDORSEMENT," BY GENERAL POLK,
AND GENERAL BRAGG'S "VERBAL REPLY,"
REFERRED TO, IN THE POSTSCRIPT OF GEN-
ERAL BRAGG'S CIRCULAR-LETTER.]

"B"

"Copy"

"1:30 A. M., January 14.

"MY DEAR GENERAL:"

"I send you the enclosed
paper, as requested. And I am compelled to
add; that, after seeing the effect of the oper-
ations of to-day, added to that produced upon
the troops by the battle of the 31st, I very
greatly fear the consequences of another en-
gagement at this place on the ensuing day.
We could now, perhaps, get off with some
safety and with some credit, if the affair was
well managed. Should we fail in the medi-
tated attack, the consequence might be very
disastrous.

"Hoping you may be guided aright, what-
ever determination you may reach,

"I am, Very Truly, Yours,
"(Signed) L. POLK.
"Lieut Genl.

"I certify the above is a true copy.

"KINLOCH FALCONER,
"A. A. G.

"To this Gen^l Bragg replied through Lt.
"Richmond 'Say to Gen. Polk we shall hold
"our own at every hazard."

It will be seen that, in fact, General Bragg had
done nothing else, in his Circular-letter, than to
ask those to whom it was sent for the means "to
establish the facts" concerning the retreat from
Murfreesboro', by committing to writing what
they had said, verbally, on that subject, when,
prior to its execution, their advice was asked
concerning it. He also asked them, in that Cir-
cular-letter, to consult their subordinates, on the
subject submitted, and to be candid, in their
replies; and, as far as we can understand his
words, not a single subject beside that was sub-
mitted to them. Some of his Generals, however,
conceived that he had also submitted to them
and to those who were subordinate to them the
determination of the grave questions of *his own*
capability to command and the propriety of *his*
withdrawal from the command of the Army; and
one of them, under that erroneous impression,
hesitated to occupy, uninvited, the delicate role
of witnesses against their Commanding General,

before himself, on the subject of his own char-
acter, as a soldier and an officer, and his fitness
for the post of duty in which, by the orders of
the Confederate States Government and his own
acceptance, he had been placed. That error
seems to have originated with General Hardee
and his Division Commanders; and, it may be,
much of the ill-feeling which subsequently arose
between General Bragg and that portion of his
command may be traced to that cause.

One of the Corps Commanders, General Smith,
had been ordered to Richmond, and so was not
involved in this peculiar investigation; * but,
on the day after the transmission of the Circular
referred to, Lieutenant-general William J.
Hardee, also a Corps Commander, replied to it,
as follows—we copy from an official copy, signed
by General "T. B. Roy, Chief of Staff:"

"TULLAHOMA TENN
"12th Jany 1863

"GENERAL

"I have the honor to acknowledge
the receipt of your note of yesterday in which
after informing me of the assaults to which
you are subjected, you invoke a response in
regard to the propriety of the recent retreat
from Murfreesboro and request me to consult
my subordinate Commanders in reference to
the topics to which you refer—

"You will readily appreciate the delicate
character of the inquiries you institute, but I
feel under the circumstances that it is my duty
to reply with the candor you solicit— not only
from personal respect to yourself but from the
magnitude of the public interests involved—

"In reference to the retreat you state that the
movement from Murfreesboro was resisted by
you for some time after advised by your Corps
and Division Commanders—

"No mention of retreat was made to me until
early on the morning of the 3rd of Jany when
Lieut Richmond of Genl Polk's staff read me
the General's note to you and informed me of
your verbal reply— I told him under the cir-
cumstances nothing could be done then— About
10 o'clock the same day I met you personally
at your quarters in compliance with your re-
quest. Lt Genl Polk being present— You in-
formed us that the papers of Genl McCook had
been captured and from the strength of his
Corps 18,000, it appeared that the enemy was
stronger than you had supposed— that Genl
Wheeler reported he was receiving reinforce-
ments heavily and after informing us of these
facts, suggested the necessity of retreat and
asked my opinion as to its propriety— Having
heard your statements and views— I fully con-

* General Bragg's Circular-letter of January 11, 1863.

"curred, and it was decided to retreat- No proposition was made by me or my Division Commanders to retreat, which was resisted by you for sometime- and I recall your attention to the fact- Afterwards in the evening about 7 O'clock we met to arrange details, and the retreat being still deemed advisable and having been partially executed, I concurred in an immediate movement in view of the heavy losses we had sustained and the condition of the troops-

"You also request me to consult my subordinate Commanders stating that Genl Smith has been called to Richmond with the view it was supposed to supersede you- and that you will retire without regret if you have lost the good opinion of your Generals upon whom you have ever relied as upon a foundation of rock-

"I have conferred with Major Genl Breckinridge and Major Genl Cleburne in regard to this matter and I feel that frankness compels me to say that the General Officers whose judgement you have invoked are unanimous in their opinion that a charge* in the command of this Army is necessary- In this opinion I concur- I feel assured that this opinion is considerably formed and with the highest respect for the purity of your motives, your energy and your personal character- but they are convinced, as you must feel, that the peril of the country is superior to all personal considerations-

"You state that the staff officers of your Generals joining in the public and private clamor have within your knowledge persistently asserted that the retreat was made against the opinion and advice of their chiefs- I have made inquiries of the gentlemen associated with me and they inform me that such statements have not been made or circulated by them

"I have the honor, General, to assure you of my continued respect and consideration

"Your obt Sert

"W. J. HARDEE

"Lt Genl

"Official

"sg. T. B. ROY

"Chief of Staff"

The third Corps Commander, Lieutenant-general Leonidas Polk, was in North Carolina, when the Circular-letter of General Bragg was issued; and not until six days after its date did it reach him, in Asheville, in that State. With commendable caution, however, he immediately dispatched a messenger advising General Bragg of

his absence; but, at the same time, he informed the General that he would leave there "in two days;" and, on his arrival at the Headquarters of the Army, he would furnish the reply to the Circular-letter which the latter desired.*

Having, meanwhile, reached the camp, on the thirtieth of January, General Polk addressed the following note of enquiry to General Bragg:

"TULLAHOMA TENN

"Jan'y 30 1863

"GENERAL

"Your circular of the 11th was received by me at Asheville N C on the 17th I dispatched you immediately saying I would leave for your Headquarters in two days thereafter and would furnish you the reply you desired on my arrival

"There seemed to be two points of enquiry embraced in your note- First, whether the Corps and Division Commanders to whom it is addressed were willing to give you a statement in writing of the opinions and counsel which they gave you verbally as to the retreat from Murfreesboro- Second- whether you had lost the confidence of your General Officers as a military commander- From the structure of your note, the first of these enquiries seems to be its leading object; the second, though not so clearly and separately stated, nevertheless is to my mind plainly indicated-

"Upon inquiry I find this indication seems not to have been so clear to the mind of General Cheatham and such other of my subordinate officers as responded when they penned their replies. And since in your note you appeal to our official relations, and to our candor for a frank expression of our opinion, I feel to avoid being placed in a false position, that it is due to my subordinate Officers and to myself as well as to you, to ask whether the construction I put upon your note is that you design

"Very respectfully

"Your obt Sert

"L POLK

"Lt Genl

"Comdg

"General BRAXTON BRAGG

"Comdg Army of Tenn."

To this note of inquiry General Bragg returned the following reply:

"TULLAHOMA Jan'y 30 1863

"GENERAL.

"I hasten to reply to your note of this morning so as to place you beyond all

* Thus written in the official copy; but undoubtedly intended for "change."

* General Polk to General Bragg, "TULLAHOMA, TENN., "Jan'y 30, 1863."

"doubt in regard to the construction of mine of the 11th inst.

"To my mind that Circular contained but one point of inquiry, and it certainly was intended to contain but one. And that was to ask of my Corps and Division Commanders to commit to writing what had transpired between us in regard to the retreat from Murfreesboro. I believed it to have been grossly and intentionally misrepresented—not by any one of them—for my injury.

"It was never intended by me that this should go further than the parties to whom it was addressed; and its only object was to relieve my mind of all doubt, whilst I secured in a form to be preserved the means of defense in the future when discussion might be proper—

"The paragraph relating to my supercedure was only an expression of the feelings with which I should receive your replies, should they prove I had been misled in my construction of your opinions and advice—

"I am General Very Resptly &c.

"BRAXTON BRAGG

"Genl Comdgr

"Lt Gen POLK

"&c &c &c."

Having thus informed himself, exactly and officially, concerning General Bragg's desires in the premises, General Polk addressed the following general reply to the Circular-letter of the former, to which we have referred :

"TULLAHOMA Jany 31, 1863

"GENERAL

"I am in receipt of yours of the 30th in reply to mine of the same date— In it you say you designed your circular should contain but one point of inquiry— and that was whether your Corps and Division Commanders would give you for future reference a statement of what transpired between us in regard to the retreat from Murfreesboro—

"I have therefore now to say that the opinions and counsel which I gave you on that subject prior to the retreat are those that are embodied in my endorsement of the note of my Division Commanders Gens Cheatham and Withers of the 8th of Jany which are in your possession; and I have to add that they were deliberately considered and are such as I would give again under the same circumstances—

"I have the honor to be

"Very Respectfully

"Your obt Sert

"L POLK

"Lt Gen Comdgr

"Gen B BRAGG

"&c &c &c"

While the Corps Commanders were thus dealing with General Bragg's Circular-letter, the Division Commanders in General Hardee's command—Generals Breckinridge and Cleburne—were not idle; and they, too, seem to have inclined to censure the commanding General. They had already done so, formally, through their immediate commander, General Hardee, as will be seen by reference to the letter of the latter, already quoted,* but they seem to have resolved to make more emphatic replies, over their respective signatures. We copy the reply of General John C. Breckinridge thereto, from the original draft, in pencil, in the General's handwriting :

"HEAD QUARTERS BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION

"TULLAHOMA TENN January 12th 1863

"GENERAL

"In answer to your letter of yesterday I have the honor to state that in a Council at your Head quarters on the evening of the 3^d of January, at which Lt Gens Polk and Hardee, and Major Gen Cleburne were the other officers present, I advised you to retire from before Murfreesboro the same night. About 12 o'clock of that day Lt Gen Hardee informed me that a retrograde movement had been resolved upon, and as my Division was to cover the movement of his corps he authorized me to make preliminary arrangements, but directed me not to give a final order, and also desired me to be present at your Head quarters at 7 o'clock in the evening. During that afternoon the baggage and Ordnance trains were moved down the Shelbyville and Manchester turnpikes, as I understood, by your order.

"The question at the Conference on the evening of the 3^d was—not whether the Army should fall back—that movement had been determined on and in part executed, before I was called into Council—but whether the movement of the troops should be postponed for twenty four hours, to communicate with Brig Gen Wheeler (then supposed to be near Lavergne) and more thoroughly to clear up our rear. I advised that the movement should take place that night; and it just to you to add that if I had been in consultation on the morning of that day when it was resolved to retire I would have approved the movement.

"I do not enter into the reasons which governed my advice, since your communication does not ask for them, but confines itself to the necessity of the retreat at the time it was commenced.

"In obedience to your wishes I have this day had a conference with the Brigade Com-

* Vide pages 259, 260, ante.

"manders of my Division—Gens Pillow and Preston, and Cols Trabue and Gibson. These gentlemen were not sure as to the points upon which you desired their views, since they were not called into Council on the question of retiring the Army; But after carefully reading your letter they supposed that you desired their opinion in regard to the retreat, and to the confidence, or want of it, in you as a Commander on the part of the officers and troops. Accordingly, acting with the candor which you invoke, they request me to say that in their opinion the Conduct of the military operations in front of Murfreesboro made it necessary and proper for our Army to retire. They also request me to say that while they entertain the highest respect for your patriotism it is their opinion that you do not possess the confidence of the Army to an extent which will enable you to be usefull as its Commander. In this opinion I feel bound to state that I concur.

"You State as within your own knowlege that Staff officers of your Generals have persistently asserted that our retreat was made in opposition to the wishes of their chiefs. I can speak only for my own Staff, and have the honor to state that after thorough enquiry, I have reason to believe that representations of the Character to which you refer have not been made by any member of my Staff.

"In closing, General, I have the honor to state that the Brigade Comdrs of my Division, spoke of you throughout, in terms of high personal respect, and to add that in this regard I fully share their feelings.

"Very Respectfully

"Your Obt Servt

"JOHN C BRECKINRIDGE
Major Gen

"Gen BRAXTON BRAGG
"C S A"

Major-general P. R. Cleburne made the following reply to General Bragg's Circular-letter:

"TULLAHOMA Jan'y 13th 1863

"GENERAL

"I have received your communication of the 11th inst, with enclosures, and will answer candidly as you desire.

"I understood the retrograde movement to have been decided upon, and partially executed, before we met in Council on Saturday night (the 3rd inst) and the only question presented to me and the only question before us there, to be, whether the movement should be suspended as far as practicable for twenty four hours— To this I replied, that in my opinion it could be suspended— I offered advice on no other point.

"Subsequently on learning fully the condition of Gen Polk's Corps, and General Breckinridge's Division, I felt it my duty to say to you, that in answering as I had just done, I had looked only to the condition of my own Division. that it had been successful in the fight, and notwithstanding its losses and weariness, was still capable of making a firm resistance: that I was also influenced by the fact that my men had had no sleep the previous night, having suffered and repelled a night attack of the enemy and immediately thereafter been moved from the extreme left to the right of the Army, which led me to fear that in case of a retreat, involving, as it must, the loss of another night's rest, large numbers of my men would fall out by the way, and I might in this manner lose as many as in an attack by the enemy in our then position— I further stated that in case the enemy attacked us, I believed the chances were in favor of our repulsing him, but that it might turn out otherwise, and that it was for you to decide whether our cause should be risked on a cast, the issue of which was doubtful that I believed the final success of our cause depended in a great measure upon the safety of this Army.

"I have consulted with all my Brigade Commanders at this place as you request— showing them your letter and enclosures, and they unite with me in personal regard to yourself, in a high appreciation of your patriotism and gallantry and in a conviction of your great capacity for organization, but at the same time they see, with regret, and it has also met my observation that you do not possess the confidence of the army in other respects, in that degree necessary to secure success.

"I have, General,

"the honor to be Respyt

"Your obt Servt

"P R CELBURN
"Maj Gen

"Gen BRAXTON BRAGG
"Comd'g Army of Tenn."

In the meantime, while his Generals were thus impeaching him before the tribunal of his own conscience, General Bragg seems to have sternly accepted the proffered issue and promptly made preparations for his defense. One of the letters which were sent to him, responsive to inquiries instituted by him, is before us; and we have pleasure in presenting a copy of it to our readers:

"TULLAHOMA Jan'y 13 1863

"Gen' BRAXTON BRAGG

"MY DEAR SIR

"During the Engagement at Murfreesboro I was in the City of Nashville a

"Close Observer of the Federal Movements in
 "Constant Association with leading & most
 "Reliable of our Southern Friends & I state
 "with perfect Confidence that the Universal Im-
 "pression was that on Thursday & Friday Genl
 "Rosecrans was reinforced by Twenty To Twen-
 "ty Five Thousand Troops
 "The larger portion of these were drawn from
 "the line of the Louisville & Nashville Rail
 "Road. Seven Thousand passed through the
 "City of Nashville on the Afternoon of Fri-
 "day & consisted of Three Regiments East
 "Tennessee Troops Two Regiments from Indiana
 "with a large number of Convalescents I also
 "heard from reliable & intelligent Federal Offi-
 "cers the above Statement repeatedly & Consist-
 "ently confirmed

"With great Respect

"General

"THOMAS YEATMAN"

We have no means for determining how long this unpleasant controversy continued; but from the fact that a letter was written by General Bragg, on the fifteenth of April, more than three months after the date of that portion of the correspondence already quoted—also for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the conferences of General Polk and other General Officers, at Bardstown and Perryville, months before—it is evident that the feud was not then healed. The reply to his enquiry—a copy of the original, verified by the autograph signature of General Buckner, himself—is before us and will serve to throw light on the temper of the officers, not only at the time of the conferences of the General Officers concerning which General Bragg desired information, but at that time, when General Buckner declined to communicate the desired information to his General-in-chief. That reply is in these words, printed, *verbatim*, from the verified copy referred to:

"HD. QRS. DEPT. GULF,

"MOBILE, April 26th 1863.

"GENERAL.

"Your letter of the 15th instant has
 "been recd. You ask me: 'if I deem it con-
 "sistent with my sense of duty' to inform you
 "how far I may have sustained Lt. Genl. Polk
 "in his acknowledged disobedience of orders in
 "his conduct at Bardstown and Perryville Ken-
 "tucky, as based upon the opinions of certain
 "councils assembled by his orders at those points.
 "At the first council alluded to in your note,
 "I was not present, but was with you at Lexing-
 "ton and Frankfort.

"My views of that portion of the Campaign,
 "you can probably recall; as in interviews at
 "each of those cities, I gave my opinion when

"sought by you with the candour I have ever
 "used towards my superior.

"I was present at the consultation of General
 "Officers at Perryville, and at the request of Lt.
 "Genl. Polk, who was my commander, gave my
 "views of what, in my opinion, was the proper
 "course to be adopted, under the circumstances
 "in which that portion of the Army found itself
 "at the time.

"Without obtruding my opinion upon him
 "more than I had done at other times upon
 "yourself I expressed it when called upon to do
 "so, with the same sincerity I have ever shown
 "towards you.

"With a desire to act in accordance with my
 "duty, and with proper deference to yourself,
 "I have considered for several days, the course
 "I should pursue in replying to your letter.

"While I have never sought responsibility, I
 "have certainly never shrunk from any which
 "appropriately belonged to me, and I desire to
 "avoid none which may now attach to any opin-
 "ion held, or expressed by me, on the occasion
 "to which you direct my attention.

"But I cannot, consistently with my sense of
 "propriety and self respect, and my regard for
 "the public interest, reply to your questions.

"My regard for you, personally, induces me
 "to assign a few reasons for my action.

"1st It is improper for me to reply categori-
 "cally to your questions, because my views were
 "given as a matter of duty, on the requirement
 "of Lt. Genl. Polk. They were used, or re-
 "jected by him at the time, on his own respon-
 "sibility, and therefore, any official demand for
 "information in regard to him, should be sought
 "through that channel.

"2nd It is inconsistent with my feelings of
 "self respect to reply, because the subject may
 "become one of legal investigation; and I con-
 "sider it unworthy the commission I hold, to
 "make myself, in advance, a party either to aid
 "the prosecution of an officer, on the one hand,
 "or to defend a subordinate against the legiti-
 "mate authority of his superior, on the other.
 "All the facts within my knowledge, can be
 "elicited before the proper tribunal.

"3^d It would be hurtful to the public inter-
 "est for me to reply, because, whatever state-
 "ment I may make to you, in reference to the
 "action of Lt. Genl. Polk, I must, as an officer,
 "and a gentleman, make equally to him, to-
 "gether with the occasion which calls upon me
 "to respond. Such a result would not tend to
 "promote that degree of harmony which should
 "always exist between the first and Second in
 "command, and in my opinion the public inter-
 "est has suffered sufficiently in consequence of
 "the unfortunate differences which have pre-
 "vailed in the army of Tennessee.

"Such are the chief reasons which have influenced the character of my reply. It has been made in no unkind spirit, but with a sense of what I think is due to you, to myself, and to the public interest.

"I cannot close this letter, General, without incurring the risk of appearing, perhaps obtrusive. Our acquaintance has been brief, and neither my military position, nor my personal relations, justify me in advising you. But the latter, though they have never been intimate, have not been unkind; and as your military subordinate, even when I may have differed with you officially, I have received every consideration at your hands, and have ever found you sensitive to the public good. It is therefore with a confidence that you will receive what I say, in the kind spirit in which it is urged, when I venture upon giving unsought advice.

"It was the remark of Turinne when acknowledging a military fault that: 'He must have made war but a short time indeed, who had not committed errors.' The remark is as applicable now as it was then; and every Officer in his distinct sphere of duty, must expect the legitimate criticisms of the public, and of military men. It is true that these criticisms may sometimes be urged with intemperance; but that should not the less prevent us from awaiting the matured verdict of public opinion, and of history.

"As to what may have occurred since the Kentucky campaign, I am not fully advised; but from my associations, with the General Officers of your Army in Kentucky, I feel warranted in stating that, while there were essential differences of opinion in regard to the general conduct of the Campaign, you were sustained in your authority by the whole weight of their character. There was a disposition amongst all with whom I was thrown, to lend their ability and their zeal to carry out successfully, the determination at which you arrived.

"I think they were alive to the difficulties which surrounded you, and did not view your actions in a critical or censorious spirit, even when their views may have differed from yours. From my knowledge of these gentlemen as soldiers of ability and distinction, I think I do not hazard too much in saying that you can, without difficulty still secure their earnest co-operation and support.

"In this view, I would consider it most unfortunate if I should take any step which might aggravate the feeling which public rumor imputes as existing between you and some of your subordinate commanders. I think the public interests which with every

"patriot should be superior to individual preference or fame, are deeply concerned in harmonious action between you and them.

"You have been sustained in your position, I understood, by the government. You, therefore, better than any one else, can afford to abide the judgment which history may pronounce on your actions. Whatever may be the asperities of feeling existing between you and your Generals, I feel assured from my personal knowledge of them, that they are as little disposed as you are, to set their own interests above the good of the Country. I believe that a frank, personal explanation with them, will be the means of removing any causes of dissatisfaction which may mutually exist; and at the expense of little personal pride on either part, result in public good.

"Though I have no claim to your intimacy, I profess to be sufficiently a patriot, and sufficiently your friend, to advise a course which would in my opinion, without any sacrifice of your personal dignity, redound so much to the advantage of the Republic.

"Believing that you will appreciate the motives which have induced me reluctantly to urge upon you these views; and that you will justify me in the candid manner in which I have conveyed them,

"I am General,

"Very respectfully & truly

"Your Obt. Svnt,

"S. B. BUCKNER.

"Maj. Genl. P. A. C. S.

"To

"Genl BRAXTON BRAGG

"Comdg Army of Tennessee

"TULLAHOMA,

"TENN."

Notwithstanding this unfortunate difference between the General-in-chief of the Army, and the General Officers of his command—a difference which, necessarily, was seriously detrimental to the usefulness of those officers, in that particular command, and as seriously antagonistic to the cause in which both they and their Commanding General were engaged—General Bragg was sustained by the President of the Confederate States and by those in authority, at Richmond; and not until the second of December following—and then only "upon renewed application to the President"—was he relieved from his command. In February, 1864, he was assigned to duty at Richmond and, under the direction of the President, charged with the conduct of all the military operations in the Armies of the Confederacy*—

* General Orders, February 24, 1864.

certainly the best evidence that, in his conduct of the military operations in Kentucky and Tennessee, he had met the entire approval of the Government, notwithstanding the distrust manifested by the General officers of his command, of which we have now recorded some of the evidence. Such of our readers who may, hereafter, have occasion to notice the details of the history of the military operations in Tennessee and Kentucky, during the recent War, will cheerfully bear witness to the great importance of that evidence.

II.

GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE'S DISAFFECTION BECAUSE OF GENERAL BRAGG'S REPORT OF THE BATTLE OF STONE RIVER, FEBRUARY 23D, 1863.

The transfer of the command of the Army of the Tennessee to General Bragg was followed by preparations for the movement of that Army into Kentucky, possibly as far as Louisville; and, at that time, his relations with General John C. Breckinridge were of the most agreeable character. To such an extent, indeed, was the friendship of General Bragg manifested, that he appears to have communicated to General Breckinridge his most private thoughts, concerning the approaching movement, and to have desired, especially, the personal association of that gentleman, as a General Officer, in his command. We have before us a note which was written by General Bragg, at that time; and, in order that the temper of that gentleman and his friendly regard for General Breckinridge may be understood by our readers, we copy it, *verbatim*, from the original manuscript:

"CHATTANOOGA, 8th Aug^t.

"MY DEAR GENERAL.

"Having but time for a note by Mr. Johnston, I must leave him to explain what he knows or suspects of the future. My Army has promised to make me 'Military Governor' of Ohio in 'Ninety days,' (Swards time for crushing the rebellion) and as they cannot do that without passing your home, I have thought you would like an escort to visit your family.

"Seriously—I should be much better satisfied were you with me on the impending campaign. Your influence in Ky. would be equal to an extra Division in My Army, but you can readily see my embarrassment. Your Division cannot be brought here now. To separate you from it might be injurious, and even unpleasant to you, and not satisfactory to Genl. Van Dorn. If you desire it and Genl. Van Dorn will consent, you shall come at

"once. A command is ready for you, and I shall hope to see your eyes beam again at the command 'Forward' as they did at Shiloh in the midst of our greatest success.

"Genl. Lovell is disengaged and might replace you, or I would cheerfully give Genl. Van Dorn any one I could spare.

"It would also please me to see Genl. Preston along, but I fear to make too great a draft on your command.

"If agreeable to yourself and Genl. Van Dorn you have no time to lose. We only await our train, and the capture of the forces at Cumberland Gap—both of which we hope to hear from very soon.

"Our prospects were never more encouraging.

"Most respectfully

"& truly yours,

"BRAXTON BRAGG.

"Maj. Genl. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE

"&c. &c. &c."

We have not seen General Breckinridge's reply to this cordial letter; but, on the twenty-third of August, General Hardee sent the following dispatch on the same errand as the letter of General Bragg. We copy from the original, now before us:

"SOUTH-WESTERN TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

"Aug 24th 1862

"By Telegraph from Chattanooga, 23^d 1862

"To General BRECKINRIDGE

"Come here if possible I have a splendid Division for you to lead into Kentucky to which will be attached all the men Genl. Van Dorn can spare to bring with you.

"W. J. HARDEE

"Maj. Genl."

The desire of General Bragg to secure the personal association of General Breckinridge, as a General Officer in his command, seems to have been distasteful to General Van Dorn, who was, then, the immediate Commander of General Breckinridge; and we copy a private note of the former, written a few days after General Bragg's note was written to General Breckinridge, evidently for the purpose of discouraging the transfer of the latter to General Bragg's command. It is in these words, copied, *verbatim*, from the original manuscript:

"JACKSON, MISS.

"August 25. 1862

"To

"Genl BRECKENRIDGE

"GENL—

"The enclosed

"dispatch from Bragg explains itself. you will not have time to reach him— Organize yours

"Division as soon as possible and let us push on with Price— A brilliant feild is before us yet—
 "Let us start as soon as possible— Set your officers to work We have transportation sufficient
 "And everything necessary— I go to Vicksburg
 "for a few days— Give any orders in my absence you may deem necessary— I have directed my Staff Officers to observe them—

"Yrs truly
 "EARL VAN DORN
 "Maj Genl."

It is very evident, however, that General Breckinridge preferred to join General Bragg, in his projected movement into Kentucky; and, notwithstanding the kindness of General Van Dorn and his evident desire to retain him, on the same day on which the note of the latter, already quoted, was written, he sent the following dispatch to General Hardee, accepting the Division which the latter had proffered to him, on the twenty-third, and promising to take the command of it, at an early day:

"JACKSON MISS.
 "Aug 25th 62

"Major Genl HARDEE
 "CHATTANOOGA.

"Reserve the Division for me—
 "I will leave here in a few days with a small force of Kentuckians and Tennesseans
 "JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE
 "Major Genl"

Two days afterwards, General Bragg addressed the following letter to General Breckinridge, which we copy, *verbatim*, from the original manuscript:

"CHATTANOOGA,
 "27th August. 1862.

"MY DEAR GENERAL, "We leave here tomorrow for your beloved home. Would that you were with us. Your Division is ready as soon as you join, but you must hurry up to overtake us. Buell is anxious apparently to get to Cincinnati before us. but we envy him the honor.
 "Genl. Jones has orders to organise, arm and equip, all stragglers, recovered sick, and there from leave & have them ready to join you.
 "The Quarter Masters Dept. has orders to be ready to send you on. Move with 100 rounds of ammunition and twenty five days rations.
 "We go by way of Sparta & Burkesville, into the heart of Kentucky.

"Yours Most Truly,
 "BRAXTON BRAGG.
 "Genl. Comg.

"Maj. Genl. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE,
 "&c. &c. &c."

It appears, however, notwithstanding the anxiety of Generals Bragg and Breckinridge, that the latter was not enabled to leave Mississippi, to take his place in the Army commanded by the former, for several weeks after the date of General Bragg's letter, last quoted; and the following dispatchs—the first, copied from the original: the second also copied from the original, in pencil, in General Breckinridge's handwriting, will tell their own story:

I.

"SOUTH-WESTERN TELEGRAPH COMPANY.
 "HOLLY SPRINGS Sept 17 1862
 "By Telegraph from Glasgow Ky - - - 1862
 "Via Chattanooga

"To Maj Genl. J C BRECKINRIDGE
 "Relying on your co operation our spare arms were left to be escorted by you. We are sadly disappointed without them and Kentucky would be safe. I trust you are not sick

"BRAXTON BRAGG."

II.

"HOLLY SPRINGS MISS
 "Sept 17 1862

"Gen BRAXTON BRAGG
 "To be sent from Chattanooga.
 "I have been detained by orders here. But I leave in a day or two, via Chattanooga, will bring your arms, and will move with great speed.

"JOHN C BRECKINRIDGE
 "Major Gen C S A
 "copy & send dispatch to Chatt."

But General Breckinridge, after some delay, was relieved from his command, in Mississippi, and hastened to join General Bragg, then moving, northward, toward Kentucky. There can be no doubt that he was welcomed, as few others would have been; and, as his presence was regarded, by General Bragg, as an equivalent to the addition of a Division to the military strength of the invading Army,* there can be little reason for supposing that, at that time, there was not the most perfect harmony between him and his new Commanding General. How speedily and how completely that friendship was broken—we do not pretend to know by whom the first blow was struck against it—it is now our duty to notice.

It will be remembered that the Battle of Stone's-river, which was fought on Friday, the second of January, 1863, was followed by the withdrawal of the Confederates from their positions before Murfreesboro' to another, behind

* General Bragg to General Breckinridge, August 8, 1862—page 365, *ante*.

Duck-river; and it will have been seen, in the first part of this paper, that that retrograde movement was succeeded by an outburst of fault-finding, among the officers as well as the men, concerning the manner in which the Army had been handled by General Bragg, both before and after the Battle. This dissatisfaction with the Commanding General, it will be remembered, assumed, on its face, only a disagreement concerning the movement from Murfreesboro'; but, in reality, it was seated on earlier events; embraced the general conduct of the Campaign; and threatened the most serious results.

It will be remembered, too, that among those officers who hastened, on that occasion, when asked to give information considered necessary for the justification of General Bragg's conduct, to impeach their Commanding General of incapacity in the conduct of the Army, was General Breckinridge, who, a few weeks before, as we have seen, had enjoyed that General's peculiar confidence and regard; and it is fair to suppose that, at the time of which we write, there was not much friendship remaining, between General Breckinridge and the General commanding the Army.

While these disturbing elements were in full play, General Bragg collected the Reports of his subordinate officers and prepared his own Report, as General in command of the Army, of the operations before Murfreesboro', including the Battle of Stone's river and the subsequent retreat; and, bearing date the twenty-third of February, 1863, that important document was duly forwarded to Richmond. It was in these words, carefully reprinted from a copy, in the *Knoxville Register* of April 29, 1863, which is said to have been the first published copy of it:

"HEAD QUARTERS, ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
"TULLAHOMA, 23d Feb'y, 1863.

"SIR: On the twenty-sixth of December last, "the enemy advanced in force from Nashville, "to attack us at Murfreesboro'. It had been "well ascertained that his strength was over "sixty thousand effective men. Before night, "on that day, the object of the movement was "developed by our dispositions, in front, and "orders were given for the necessary concentration of our forces, then distributed as follows: "Polk's Corps and three Brigades of Breckinridge's Division—Hardee's Corps—at Murfreesboro'. The balance of Hardee's Corps "near Eagleville, about twenty miles West of "Murfreesboro'. McCown's Division—which, "with Stevenson's Division removed, constituted Smith's Corps—at Readyville, twelve miles "East of Murfreesboro'. The three Cavalry "Brigades of Wheeler, Wharton, and Pegram,

"occupying the entire front of our Infantry and "covering all approaches to within ten miles of "Nashville. Buford's small Cavalry Brigade "of about six hundred at McMinnville. The "Brigades of Forrest and Morgan, about five "thousand effective Cavalry, were absent, on "special service, in West Tennessee and Northern "Kentucky, as will be more fully noticed hereafter. Jackson's small Infantry Brigade was "in rear, guarding the railroad from Bridgeport, Alabama, to the mountains. On Sunday, "the twenty-eighth, our main force of Infantry "and Artillery was concentrated in front of "Murfreesboro'; whilst the Cavalry, supported "by three Brigades of Infantry and three Batteries of Artillery, impeded the advance of the "enemy by constant skirmishing and sudden, "unexpected attacks. To the skillful manner "in which the Cavalry, thus ably supported, "was handled, and to the exceeding gallantry "of its officers and men must be attributed "the four days' time consumed by the enemy in "reaching the battle-field, a distance of only "twenty miles from his encampment, over fine "macadamized roads.

"Fully aware of the greatly superior numbers "of the enemy, as indicated in my early Reports "from this quarter, it was our policy to await "attack. The position was selected and line "developed with this intention. Owing to the "convergence upon our depot of so many fine "roads, by which the enemy could approach, "as will appear from the enclosed Map marked "I,' we were confined in our selection to a line "near enough the point of juncture to enable "us to successfully cover them all, until the real "point of attack should be developed.

"On Monday, the twenty-ninth, it was reported that heavy columns moved on both the "direct road from Laverne and on the one "leading into the Lebanon-road, by way of "Jefferson. But, on Tuesday, the thirtieth, it "was ascertained that the Jefferson-pike was "abandoned by a counter-march; and the whole "forces of the enemy were concentrated on and "near the direct road on the West of Stone's "river. The dispositions made for the unequal "contest will appear from the enclosed Map "marked '2,' and the copy of memoranda to "General and Staff-officers marked '3.'

"These arrangements were all completed before the enemy crossed Stewart's-creek, nine "miles out; and the Infantry Brigades were at "once called in, and the Cavalry was ordered "to fall back more rapidly, having most gallantly discharged its duty and fully accomplished "the objects desired. Late on Monday, it became apparent the enemy was extending to his "right, to flank us, on the left. McCown's Division, in reserve, was promptly thrown to that

"flank, and added to the command of Lieutenant general Polk. The enemy not meeting our expectations of making an attack on Tuesday, which was consumed in artillery firing and heavy skirmishing, with the exception of a dash, late in the evening, on the left of Withers's Division, which was repulsed and severely punished, it was determined to assail him, on Wednesday morning, the thirty-first.

"For this purpose, Cleburne's Division—Hardee's Corps—was moved from the second line on the right to the corresponding position on the left; and Lieutenant-general Hardee was ordered to that point, and assigned to the command of that and McCown's Division. This disposition, the result of necessity, left me no reserve; but Breckinridge's command, on the right, now not threatened, was regarded as a source of supply for any reinforcements absolutely necessary to other parts of the field. Stone's river, at its then low stage, was fordable, at almost any point, for Infantry, and, at short intervals, perfectly practicable for Artillery.

"These dispositions completed, Lieutenant-general Hardee was ordered to assail the enemy, at daylight, on Wednesday, the thirty-first, the attack to be taken up by General Polk's command, in succession, to the right flank; the move to be made by a constant wheel to the right on Polk's right flank, as a pivot—the object being to force the enemy back on Stone's river, and, if practicable, by the aid of Cavalry, cut him off from his base of operations and supplies, by the Nashville-pike.

"The lines were now bivouacked at a distance, in places, of not more than five hundred yards, the camp-fires of the two being within distinct view. Wharton's Cavalry Brigade had been held on our left, to watch and check the movements of the enemy, in that direction, and to prevent his Cavalry from gaining the railroad in our rear, the preservation of which was of vital importance. In this he was aided by Brigadier-general A. Buford, who had a small command of six hundred new Cavalry. The duty was most ably, gallantly, and successfully performed.

"On Monday night, Brigadier-general Wheeler proceeded with his Cavalry Brigade and one Regiment from Pegram's, as ordered, to gain the enemy's rear. By Tuesday morning, moving on the Jefferson-pike, around the enemy's left flank, he had gained the rear of their whole Army, and soon attacked the trains, their guards, and the numerous stragglers. He succeeded in capturing several hundred prisoners and destroying hundreds of wagons loaded with supplies and baggage. After clearing the road, he made his way entirely around, and joined the Cavalry on our left.

"The failure of General McCown to execute, during the night, an order for a slight change in the line of his Division, and which had to be done the next morning, caused some delay in the general and vigorous assault by Lieutenant-general Hardee. But about seven o'clock, the rattle of musketry and roar of artillery announced the beginning of the conflict. The enemy was taken completely by surprise; General and Staff-officers were not mounted; Artillery-horses not hitched; and Infantry not formed. A hot and inviting breakfast of coffee and other luxuries to which our gallant and hardy men had long been strangers, was found upon the fire, unserved, and was left, whilst we pushed on to the enjoyment of a more inviting feast, that of captured artillery, flying Battalions, and hosts of craven prisoners, begging for the lives they had forfeited by their acts of brutality and atrocity. Whilst thus routing and pushing the enemy, on his front, Lieutenant-general Hardee announced to me, by a messenger, that the movement was not being as promptly executed by Major Cheatham's command, on his right, the left of General Polk's Corps, as he expected; and that his line was consequently exposed to an enfilade fire from the enemy's artillery, in that front. The necessary instructions for prompt movement at that point were immediately dispatched; and, in a short time, our whole line, except Breckinridge's command, was warmly engaged. From this time, we continued to drive the enemy, more or less rapidly, until his line was thrown entirely back, at right angles to his first position, and occupied the cut of the railroad, along which he had massed his Reserves and posted very strong Batteries. A reference to the Map No. 2. will show this second and strong position.

"The enemy's loss was very heavy, in killed and wounded—far exceeding our own, as appeared from a critical examination of the field, now almost entirely in our possession. Of artillery alone we had secured more than twenty-five pieces.

"Whilst the Infantry and Artillery were engaged in this successful work, Brigadier-general Wharton, with his Cavalry command, was most actively and gallantly engaged on the enemy's right and rear, where he inflicted a heavy loss in killed and wounded; captured a full Battery of Artillery endeavoring to escape; and secured and sent in near two thousand prisoners.

"These important successes and results had not been achieved without heavy sacrifices on our part, as the resistance of the enemy, after the first surprise, was most gallant and obstinate.

"Finding Lieutenant-general Hardee so forwardly opposed by the movement of the enemy to his front, reinforcements for him were ordered from Major-general Breckinridge; but the orders were countermanded, as will hereafter appear, and Polk's Corps was pressed forward, with vigor, hoping to draw the enemy back, or route him on the right, as he had already been on the left. We succeeded in driving him from every position, except the strong one held by his extreme left flank, resting on Stone's-river, and covered by a concentration of artillery of superior range and calibre, which seemed to bid us defiance. The difficulties of our general advance had been greatly enhanced by the topography of the country. All parts of our line had to pass in their progress over ground of the roughest character, covered with huge stones, and studded with the densest growth of cedar, the branches reaching the ground, and forming an almost impassable 'brake.' Our artillery could rarely be used, while the enemy, holding defensive lines, had selected formidable positions for his Batteries and this dense cover for his Infantry, from both of which he had to be dislodged by our Infantry, alone. The determined and unvarying gallantry of our troops, and the uninterrupted success which attended their repeated charges against these strongholds, defended by double their numbers, fully justified the unbounded confidence I had ever reposed in them, and had so often expressed.

"To meet our successful advance and retrieve his losses in the front of his left, the enemy early transferred a portion of his Reserve, from his left to that flank, and, by two o'clock, had succeeded in concentrating such a force in Lieutenant-general Hardee's front, as to check his further progress. Our two lines had, by this time, become almost blended, so weakened were they by losses, exhaustion, and extension to cover the enemy's whole front. As early as ten o'clock, A. M., Major-general Breckinridge was called on for one Brigade, and soon after for a second, to reinforce or act as a reserve to Lieutenant-general Hardee. His reply to the first call represented the enemy crossing Stone's-river, in heavy force, in his immediate front; and on receiving the second order, he informed me that they had already crossed, in heavy force, and were advancing to attack his lines. He was immediately ordered not to await attack, but to advance and meet them. About this same time, a report reached me that a heavy force of the enemy's Infantry was advancing on the Lebanon-road, about five miles in Breckinridge's front. Brigadier-general Pegram, who had

been sent to that road, to cover the flank of the Infantry with his Cavalry Brigade—save two Regiments detached with Wheeler and Wharton—was ordered forward immediately to develop any such movement. The orders for the two Brigades from Breckinridge were countermanded; whilst dispositions were made, at his request, to reinforce him. Before they could be carried out, the movement ordered disclosed the fact that no force had crossed Stone's-river; that the only enemy in our immediate front, then, was a small body of sharpshooters; and that there was no advance on the Lebanon-road. These unfortunate misapprehensions on that part of the field, which, with proper precaution, could not have existed, withheld from active operations three fine Brigades until the enemy had succeeded in checking our progress, had re-established his lines, and had collected many of his broken Battalions.

"Having now settled the question that no movement was being made against our right, and none even to be apprehended, Breckinridge was ordered to leave two Brigades to support the battery at 'A,' on his side of Stone's river, and with the balance of the force to cross to the left and report to Lieutenant-general Polk. By the time this could be accomplished, it was too late to send this force to Lieutenant-general Hardee's support, who was unable to make further progress, and he was directed to maintain his position. Lieutenant-general Polk was directed, with these reinforcements, to throw all the force he could collect upon the enemy's extreme left, and thereby either carry that strong point, which had so far resisted us successfully, or, failing in that, at least to draw off from Hardee's front, the formidable opposition there concentrated.

"The three Brigades of Jackson, Preston, and Adams were successively reported for this work. How gallantly they moved to their task, and how much they suffered in the determined effort to accomplish it, will best appear from Reports of subordinate Commanders and the statement of losses, herewith. Upon this flank, their strongest defensive position resting on the river-bank, the enemy had concentrated not less than twenty pieces of artillery, masked almost entirely from view; but covering an open space in front, of several hundred yards, supported—right, left, and rear—by heavy masses of Infantry.

"This position proved impracticable; and, after two unsuccessful efforts, the attempt to carry it by Infantry was abandoned. Our heaviest batteries of artillery and rifled-guns of long range were now concentrated in front

"of their fires, opened upon this position. After a cannonade of some time, the enemy's fire slackened, and finally ceased, near night-fall. Lieutenant-general Hardee had slightly retired his line from the furthest point he had attained, for better position and cover, without molestation from the enemy.

"Lieutenant-general Polk's Infantry, including the three reinforcing Brigades, uniting their front with Hardee's right, and extending to our extreme right flank, formed a continuous line very nearly perpendicular to the original line of battle, thus leaving nearly the whole field, with all its trophies—the enemy's dead and many of his wounded, his hospitals and stores—in our full possession. The body of Brigadier-general Sill, one of their Division commanders, was found where he had fallen, and was sent to town and decently interred, though he had forfeited all claim to such consideration, by the acts of cruelty, barbarity, and atrocity, but a few days before, committed under his authority, on the women and children and old men living near the road, on which he had made a reconnaissance.

"During the afternoon, Brigadier-general Pegram, discovering a hospital and large numbers of stragglers, in rear of the enemy's lines, and across Stone's-river, charged them with his Cavalry, and captured about one hundred and seventy prisoners.

"Both Armies, exhausted by a conflict of full ten hours' duration, rarely surpassed for its continued intensity and heavy losses sustained, sunk to rest with the sun; and perfect quiet prevailed for the night.

"At dawn, on Thursday morning, the first of January, orders were sent to the several commanders, to press forward their skirmishers, feel the enemy, and report any change in his position. Major-general Breckinridge had been transferred to the right of Stone's-river, to resume the command of that position, now held by two of his Brigades. It was soon reported that no change had occurred, except the withdrawal of the enemy from the advanced position occupied by his left flank. Finding, upon further examination, that this was the case, the right flank of Lieutenant-general Polk's Corps was thrown forward to occupy the ground for which we had so obstinately contended, the evening before. This shortened our line, considerably, and gave us possession of the centre battle-field, from which we gleaned the spoils and trophies, throughout the day, and transferred them rapidly to the rear.

"A careful reconnaissance of the enemy's position was ordered, and the most of the

"Cavalry was put in motion for the roads in his rear, to cut off his trains and develop any movement. It was soon ascertained that he was still in very heavy force all along our front, occupying a position strong by nature and improved by such work as could be done at night by his Reserves.

"In a short time, reports from the Cavalry informed me that heavy trains were moving towards Nashville, some of the wagons loaded, and all the ambulances filled with wounded. These were attacked, at different places; many wagons were destroyed; and hundreds of prisoners paroled. No doubt this induced the enemy to send large escorts of Cavalry, Artillery, and Infantry, with later trains; and thus the impression was made on our ablest Commanders, that a retrograde movement was going on.

"Our forces, greatly wearied and much reduced by heavy losses, were held ready to avail themselves of any change in the enemy's position; but it was deemed unadvisable to assail him as there established. The whole day after these dispositions was passed without an important movement, on either side; and was consumed by us in gleaning the battle-field, burying the dead, and replenishing ammunition.

"At daylight, on Friday, the second, orders to feel the enemy and ascertain his position were repeated, with the same result. The Cavalry Brigades of Wheeler and Wharton had returned, during the night, greatly exhausted from long-continued service, with but little rest or food to either man or horse. Both Commanders reported the indications from the enemy's movements the same. Allowing them only a few hours to feed and rest, and sending the two detached Regiments back to Pegram's Brigade, Wharton was ordered to the right flank, across Stone's-river, to assume command in that quarter, and keep me advised of any change. Wheeler, with his Brigade, was ordered to gain the enemy's rear again, and remain until he could definitely report whether any retrograde movement was being made.

"Before Wharton had taken his position, observation excited my suspicions in regard to movement having been made by the enemy across Stone's river, immediately in Breckinridge's front. Reconnoissances by several Staff officers soon developed the fact that a Division had quietly crossed, unopposed, and established themselves on and under cover of an eminence marked 'B' on the Map number 2, from which Lieutenant-general Polk's line was commanded and enfiladed. The dislodgment of this force or the withdrawal of Polk's line was an evident necessity. The latter involved consequences not to be entertained. Orders were

"accordingly given for the concentration of the whole of Major-general Breckinridge's Division in front of the position to be taken. The addition to his command of ten Napoleon guns, twelve-pounders, under Captain F. H. Robertson, an able and accomplished Artillery-officer, and for the Cavalry forces of Wharton and Pegram, about two thousand men, to join in the attack on his right. Major-general Breckinridge was sent for, and advised of the movement and its objects—the securing and holding the position which protected Polk's flank, and gave us command of the enemy's, by which to enfilade him. He was informed of the forces placed at his disposal, and instructed with them to drive the enemy back, crown the hill, entrench his artillery, and hold the position.

"To distract their attention from our real object, a heavy artillery-fire was ordered to be opened from Polk's front, at the exact hour at which the movement was to begin. At other points, throughout both lines, all was quiet. General Breckinridge, at half past three, P.M., reported he would advance at four. Polk's Batteries promptly opened fire, and were soon answered by the enemy. A heavy cannonade of some fifteen minutes was succeeded by the fire of the musketry, which soon became general. The contest was short and severe—the enemy was driven back and the eminence gained; but the movement, as a whole, was a failure; and the position was again yielded. Our forces were moved, unfortunately, so far to the left, as to throw a portion of them into and over Stone's-river, where they encountered heavy masses of the enemy; whilst those against whom they were intended to operate, on our side of the river, had a destructive enfilade on our whole line. Our second line was so close to the front as to receive the enemy's fire, and returning it, took their friends in the rear. The Cavalry-force was left entirely out of the action. Learning, from my own Staff-officers, sent to the scene of the disorderly retreat being made by General Breckinridge's Division, Brigadier-general Patton Anderson's fine Brigade of Mississippians, the nearest body of troops, was promptly ordered to his relief. On reaching the field and moving forward, Anderson found himself in front of Breckinridge's Infantry, and soon encountered the enemy's light-troops close upon our Artillery, which had been left without support. This noble Brigade, under its cool and gallant chief, drove the enemy back, and saved all the guns not captured before its arrival. Captain F. H. Robertson, after the disabling wound received by Major Graves, General Breckinridge's gallant and efficient Chief of

"Artillery, took the entire charge of the Artillery of the Division, in addition to his own. To his gallantry, energy, and fearlessness, is due the smallness of our loss, sustained before the arrival of support, only three guns. His Report, herewith, marked '4,' will show the important part he played in this attack and repulse. Before the end of the whole movement, it was quite dark. Anderson's command held a position next the enemy, corresponding nearly with our original line; whilst Breckinridge's Brigade Commanders collected their scattered men, as far as practicable, in the darkness, and took irregular positions on Anderson's left and rear. At daylight, in the morning, they were moved to the front, and the whole line re-established, without opposition. During the night, Major-general Cleburne's Division was retransferred to its original position, on the right, and Lieutenant-general Hardee directed to resume his command there, and restore our line. On Saturday morning, the third, our forces had been in line of battle five days and nights, with but little rest, having no Reserves; their baggage and tents had been loaded, and the wagons were four miles off; their provisions, if cooked at all, were most imperfectly prepared, with scanty means; the weather had been severe from cold and almost constant rain; and we had no change of clothing, and, in many places, could not have fires. The necessary consequence was, the great exhaustion of both officers and men, many having to be sent to the hospitals, in the rear; and more still were beginning to straggle from their commands, an evil from which we had, so far, suffered but little. During the whole of this day, the rain continued to fall with little intermission; and the rapid rise in Stone's-river indicated that it would soon be unfordable. Late, on Friday night, I had received the captured papers of Major-general McCook, commanding one Corps d'Arme of the enemy, showing their effective strength to have been very nearly, if not quite, seventy thousand men. Before noon, reports from Brigadier-general Wheeler satisfied me that the enemy instead of retiring, was receiving re-inforcements.

"Common prudence and the safety of my Army, upon which even the safety of our cause depended, left no doubt, in my mind, as to the necessity for my withdrawal from so unequal a contest. My orders were accordingly given, about noon, for the movement of the trains and for the necessary preparation of troops.

"Under the efficient management of the different Staff departments, everything had been secured and transferred to the rear, including

"prisoners captured, artillery, small-arms, subsistence, means of transportation, and nearly all of our wounded able to bear moving. No movement of any kind was made by the troops, on either side, during the most inclement day, until just at night, when a sharp skirmish occurred between Polk's right and the enemy's left flank, resulting in nothing decisive. The only question with me was, whether the movement should be made at once or delayed twenty-four hours, to save a few of our wounded. As it was probable we should lose, by exhaustion, as many as we should remove of the wounded, my inclination to remain was yielded. The whole force, except the Cavalry, was put in motion at eleven o'clock, P.M., and the Army retired, in perfect order, to its present position, behind Duck-river, without receiving or giving a shot. Our Cavalry held the position before Murfreesboro' until Monday morning, the fifth, when it quietly retired, as ordered, to cover our front.

"We left about one thousand, two hundred badly wounded, one half of whom, we learn, have since died from the severity of their injuries; about three hundred sick, too feeble to bear transportation; and about two hundred well men and medical officers as their attendants. In addition to this, the enemy had captured about eight hundred prisoners from us. As the twelve hundred wounded are counted once, under that head, among our losses, they should be excluded in the general total. As an off-set to this loss, we had secured—as will appear from the Report of my Inspector-general, herewith, marked '5'—considerably over six thousand prisoners, had captured over thirty pieces of artillery, six thousand stand of small arms, a number of wagons, ambulances, mules, and harness, with a large amount of other valuable property, all of which was secured, and appropriated to proper uses. Besides all this, secured, we had destroyed not less than eight hundred wagons, mostly laden with various articles, such as arms, ammunition, provisions, baggage, clothing, medicines, and hospital-stores. We had lost three pieces of artillery only, all in Breckinridge's repulse. A number of stands of colors, nine of which are forwarded with this Report, were also captured on the field. Others known to have been taken, have not been sent in. The list marked '6' is herewith transmitted.

"A tabular statement of our forces, marked '7,' is herewith submitted, showing the number of fighting-men we had on the field, on the morning of the thirty-first of December, to have been less than thirty-five thousand, of which about thirty thousand were Infantry and Artillery. Our losses are also reported in

"this same comprehensive table, so as to show how much each Corps, Division, and Brigade suffered; and in the case of Breckinridge's Division, the losses are reported, separately, for Wednesday and Friday. These Reports are minute and suggestive, showing the severity of the conflict as well as where, when, and by whom it was sustained.

"Among the gallant dead the nation is called to mourn, none could have fallen more honored or regretted than Brigadier-generals James E. Rains and R. W. Hanson. They yielded their lives in the heroic discharge of duty; and leave their honored names as a rich legacy to their descendants. Brigadier-generals James R. Chalmers and D. W. Adams received disabling wounds, on Wednesday, I am happy to say not serious, but which deprived us of their valuable services. Having been under my immediate command since the beginning of the War, I can bear evidence to their devotion, and to the conspicuous gallantry which has marked their services, on every field.

"For the sacred names of other heroes and patriots, of lower grades, who gave their lives, illustrating the character of the Confederate soldier, on this bloody field, I must refer to the Reports of subordinate Commanders and to the list which will be submitted. Our losses, it will be seen, exceeded ten thousand—nine thousand of whom were killed and wounded.

"The enemy's loss, we have no means of knowing, with certainty. One Corps, commanded by Major-general Thomas L. Crittenden, which was least exposed in the engagement, reports over five thousand killed and wounded. As they had two other Corps and a separate Division, third of a Corps, and their Cavalry, it is safely estimated at three thousand killed and sixteen thousand wounded, adding the six thousand, two hundred, and seventy-three prisoners, and we have a total of twenty-five thousand, two hundred, and seventy-three.

"Lieutenant-generals L. Polk and W. J. Hardee, commanding Corps, Major generals J. M. Withers and P. R. Cleburne, commanding Divisions, are specially commended to the Government, for their valor, skill and ability, displayed by them throughout the engagement.

"Brigadier-general J. Patton Anderson, for the coolness, judgment, and courage with which he interposed his Brigade between our retreating forces and the enemy largely superior to him, on Friday evening, and saved our artillery, is justly entitled to special mention. Brigadier-generals Joseph Wheeler and John A. Wharton, commanding Cavalry Brigades,

"were pre-eminently distinguished, throughout the action, as they had been, for a month previous, in many successive conflicts with the enemy. Under their skillful and gallant lead, the reputation of our Cavalry has been justly enhanced. For the just commendation of other officers, many of whom were pre-eminently distinguished, I must refer to the Reports of their more immediate commanders.

"To the private soldier, a fair meed of praise is due; and, though it is so seldom given and so rarely expected that it may be considered out of place, I cannot, in justice to myself, withhold the opinion, ever entertained and so often expressed, during our struggle for independence—in the absence of the instruction and discipline of old armies and of the confidence which long association produces between veterans, we have had, in a great measure, to trust to the individuality and self-reliance of the private soldier. Without the incentive or the motive which controls the officer, who hopes to live in history; without the hope of reward; and actuated only by a sense of duty and patriotism, he has, in this great contest, justly judged that the cause was his own, and gone into it with a determination to conquer or die, to be free or not to be at all. No encomium is to high, no honor too great, for such a soldiery. However much of credit and glory may be given, and probably justly given, to the leaders in our struggle, history will yet award the main honor where it is due—to the private soldier, who, without hope of reward, and with no other incentive than a consciousness of rectitude, has encountered all the hardships, and suffered all the privations. Well has it been said: 'The first monument our Confederacy rears, when our independence shall have been won, should be a lofty shaft, pure and spotless, bearing this inscription, 'To the unknown and unrecorded dead.'"

"The members of my Staff, arduously engaged in their several duties, before, during, and since the prolonged engagement, are deserving a mention in this Report. Lieutenant-colonels George G. Garner and G. W. Brent, and Captain P. H. Thompson, Adjutant and Inspector-general's Department.

"First Lieutenants Towson Ellis and F. S. Parker, regular Aids-de-Camp.

"Lieutenant-colonel Beard, Inspector-general; Lieutenant-colonels A. J. Hays and P. A. May, Majors James Strainbridge, Louisiana Infantry, and William Clarelate, Seventh Alabama Volunteers, Acting Assistant Inspector-generals; Lieutenant-colonel L. W. O'Bannon, Chief Quarter-master; Major M. W. McMicken, Assistant Quarter-master; Major J. J. Walker,

"Chief Commissary; Majors F. Molloy and G. M. Hillyer, Assistants; Lieutenant-colonel H. Aladowaki, Chief of Ordnance; Captains W. H. Warren and O. T. Gibbs, and Lieutenant W. F. Johnson, Assistants; Captain S. W. Steele, Acting Chief of Engineers, and Lieutenants H. C. Forie, H. H. Buchanan, and J. R. P. McFall; Lieutenant-colonel J. H. Hullonquist, Acting Chief of Artillery; First Lieutenant R. H. S. Thompson, Assistant; Surgeon A. J. Foard, Medical Director; Surgeon E. A. Flewellen, Assistant Medical Director; Acting Surgeon T. G. Richardson, attendant on myself, Staff, and escort; Colonels David Urquhart, of Louisiana, J. Stoddard Johnston, of Kentucky, and St. Leger Grenfel, of England—the two former volunteer Aids, long on my Staff—served me most effectually. Major E. W. Baylor, Assistant Quarter-master; Major B. C. Kennedy, Assistant Commissary of Subsistence; and Lieutenant William M. Bridges, Aid-de-camp to the late Brigadier-general Duncan, reported just before the engagement, and joined my Staff, on which they served through the battle.

"Colonel M. L. Clark, of the Artillery, P. A., being in Murfreesboro', on temporary service, did me the favor to join and serve on my Staff, during the engagement. His Excellency, Isham G. Harris, Governor of Tennessee, and the Hon. Andrew Ewing, member of the Military Court, volunteered their services and rendered me efficient aid, especially with the Tennessee troops, largely in the ascendant in the Army. It is but due to a zealous and efficient laborer, in our cause, that I here bear testimony to the cordial support, given me, at all times, since meeting him, a year ago, in West Tennessee, by His Excellency, Governor Harris. From the field of Shiloh, where he received, in his arms, the dying form of the lamented Johnston, to the last struggle at Murfreesboro', he has been one of us, and has shared all our privations and dangers, whilst giving us his personal and political influence, with all the power he possessed, at the head of the State Government.

"To the Medical Department of the Army, under the able administration of Surgeon Foard, great credit is due for the success which attended their labors. Sharing none of the excitement and glory of the field, these officers, in their labors of love, devote themselves, silently and assiduously, to alleviate the sufferings of their brother soldiers, at hours when others are seeking repose.

"The Reports of subordinate commanders have been specially called for, and are soon expected, when they will be promptly forwarded.

"During the time the operations at Murfrees-

"boro' were being conducted, important expeditions, under Brigadier-generals Forrest and Morgan, were absent in West Tennessee and Northern Kentucky. The Reports already forwarded show the complete success which attended these gallant Brigadiers and commend them to the confidence of the Government and gratitude of the country.

"I am, Sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"BRAXTON BRAGG,

"General Commanding.

"Gen. S. COOPER, Adj't Gen.,

"RICHMOND, VA."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.—

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 196.

BY ETHAN ALLEN, ESQR.

CHAPTER I

SECTION I

Of the essence of the soul, and of cogitative and incogitative entity in general.

It may be matter of doubt whether the wisdom of man, in this weak condition of being and action, is able to elucidate so intricate a subject as that of the essence of the soul; but as human science and knowledge is progressive, we can not determine to what attainments it may or may not arrive. A candid examination therefore into any part of nature, cannot be disservisable to us. If we make any new discoveries, we are wiser than we were before; and if we do not succeed in the investigation of the nature of the soul, or of universal entity, we shall have done the most that we could do to discover the truth, and shall have the satisfaction of reflecting, that had we not been thus inquisitive we should not have improved so far in knowledge as to have known but that we might have gone farther: we will therefore proceed with our enquiry into the essence of the soul.

The question, as we shall manage it, will not be whether the soul be material or immaterial, but whether the soul is a real substance or not. common sense assures us that those parts of entity that come within our observation, which we call matter, does not think, but is by nature incapable of reflection and consciousness; and since the soul is by nature capable of these intelligent exertions, we may with certainty infer

that the soul is not material; and if not material why not immaterial. In a strict sense it may be immaterial, or void of matter, but not in such a sense as to exempt it from substance; since, without substance, it would be incapable of possessing or Occupying place; which, if true, it could not possess or Occupy the Body, which we know to be in fact true.

That there is a union between soul and body, is a fact that none that have souls and bodies will dispute; but that an animal body should be united with a soul or spirit of no substance, is contradictory and impossible. It is the same as to join or unite nothing with something, which is manifestly absurd. But it may be premised, that the soul, though void of substance, is nevertheless intelligent, but such a querie as this would be begging the question, for that intelligence implies being as much as anything else. None will dispute but that the soul is intelligent, but the dispute is whether it is a real substance or not. The point to be proved on the part of my opponents, if I shall have any, is, that the soul may exert it self intelligently, or consciously, without substance, or that an intelligent being may be, and that its essence may be void of substance, which appears to me to be the same as to suppose that nonentity may exert or act of intelligence and consciousness; for there can be no attribute, property, or quality, to a premised being or soul, void of substance; any more than to nonentity. for instance we will examine into the manner of the existence of such a premised being. Is it local or boundless; has it a wholeness or ubiquity: admitting it to be local, must of necessary consequence have a circumference, and a circumference necessarily implies a real extension, and extension a substance however inconceivable to us, (by reason of its subtile purity,) to occupy the contents of the extension, as nonentity could not do it. And on the contrary to ascribe ubiquity or omnipresence to it, would be a contradiction to its finitude or locality, as none but the infinite can be omnipresent, (of which more will be observed in its order.) From hence we infer that an intelligent finite being, perfectly emptied from all manner or kind of substance can be neither bounded or unbounded and therefore could have no real existence, since there can be no being that has a positive existence but must come within one or the other of the descriptions of bounded or unbounded existence, (the latter of which is only applicable to God,) for there can be no third description of existence in the universe, that does not long to the character of Either bounded or bounded, limited or unlimited; and since the soul has a conscious knowledge of a finite existence, we infer, that its essence must exist

some real substance though it be ever so ethereal, electrical, subtile, vivid and pure, or of what ever quality, property, or attribute we ascribe to it, and however imperceptible to our external senses, and incomprehensible to our understandings.

Though we are conscious of the existence and exercise of reflection, memory, contrivance, judgment and volition, with other exertions of the soul, which manifest its entity and agency, yet this our consciousness, does not make known to us the question now before us, whether the soul is a substance or not, nor is it in nature possible for our bodily senses, to have any perception of a soul, or mere spirit, whether that of our own or of others, therefore the question under consideration, concerning the substance of the soul, must be investigated by reason, if at all, since it is not from our mediate or natural sensations of things, nor from our immediate consciousness of the entity of our own souls, or of others, or from our agency and complicated modes of intelligent action, that we shall be able to investigate the intrinsic nature of the soul, for if we had senses nice enough to perceive the soul, or spiritual beings, they would with external objects in general, come within the knowledge of our perceptions, and thereby we should have been able to have conceived of their existence, as of external things, which would have rendered our present logical speculations unnecessary, or if our consciousness of a spiritual existence extended to the manner of its being we might thereby have understood whether the soul is a substantial, or an unsubstantial being or not, but since our senses perceive nothing of the soul, or of such kind of beings, and as our consciousness of such existences, does not extend to the manner of their existence, so far as to inform us relative to the substance of the soul, we must investigate the subject (if possible,) by reason.

Our senses discover to us that we have an organized Body, with its figure, size, and proportion, and we are conscious of intelligent being and agency, within the circumference of the body, and by experience know that (according to the Law of nature,) we can move and actuate ourselves at pleasure; yet we do not understand the intrinsic cause, or spring of motion in our bodies; so as to explain the manner of it, or to solve all questions concerning it: so that it remains a mystery to us how, from a mere volition of mind, our hands and feet obey us; for we cannot conceive of the manner of the operation of our spirits, or our Organized sensitive Bodies, yet since we know it to be a fact, we cannot but conclude, that the soul or active being in our compound nature has a real substance, since it produces

real motion in us, and since nonentity could not do it, any more than it could be capable of Existence. From hence we infer, that there is a pure cogitative substance in the nature of man, that performs those astonishing actions, of mind and body, which in its nature is not material and which we call by the name of Soul, mind Spirit &c. Thus, as all finite cogitative beings must have a place, if they have a real existence, and must be local, and have certain dimensions, and consist of some mysterious substance, to render them capable of occupying place (which to us seems to be absolutely essential, in order to have an existence) as a real existence must be somewhere if at all, since an existence no where is a manifest contradiction.

Furthermore, the essence of the soul, having been considered as a pure vivid substance, rid of the before argued absurdity, of a union of A soul of no substance, to an animal and material body, which in its consequences is the same, as to unite nothing to some thing, and though this is impossible, it is not impossible to unite, a vivid, pure, cogitative substance, to a body of incogitative matter: such a union of different sorts of substances, one cogitative, and the other material, implies no contradiction, and at the same time constitutes the property of place to the soul, without which its entity could not be conceived of. That the soul resides in the body in this life we have an intuitive certainty, we therefore infer, that as it occupies space in this manner of being it must do the same in all and every circumstance and progression of its existence, whether we can perceive or understand the manner of its occupying space or not. If a human soul is premised to be in China it could not be in America at the same time, and if it has not a Capacity of possessing place, but is void of whereness, it could not be in China or in America or any where else, which according to our notion of things would preclude it from a real existence.

Furthermore, a premised soul that is by Nature incapable of possessing a place, would also be incapable of motion. It could not move from one Country or place to another, for motion implies real entity of something that is capable of possessing a certain local part of space, which constitutes the being or thing that moves, for nonentity is as incapable of motion as of existence.

When I think of China my soul is not in that Country but in my body, an historical knowledge of China has been communicated to my mind, which retains a remembrance of it, by the recollection whereof I am enabled to reflect thereon at pleasure, but neither my soul or body was ever in the Country of China,

nor is it yet four hundred years since the learned European part of the World, has known that there was such an antient and populous Nation in the World. The Portugues who first sailed round the cape of good hope, made the first discovery of that great and powerful nation. From this and such like experimental discoveries we infer, that human souls do not rove about at random from their bodies, from place to place, or from Country to Country, for if they did the western part of the World, would have made a discovery of China, previous to the Portugues sailing (with their bodies and souls) round the Cape of good-hope, and exploring the Country. Furthermore, all circum-navigators and travellers have explored the several parts of the World by the united exertions of their souls and bodies; and since the soul is possessed of existence in this life, and does not sepearate, rove, or move from the body till Death, we infer, that it resides there till that period, is by nature a real substance and is propagated by natural generation with the body: as the apparent simularity of the genius of Children to their parents and near relations may witness, and though an animal body is necessary in Order to its propagation and continuance in this life, or mode of being, yet it is not essential to be continued with the soul during its existence, for if so, the soul could not survive the body, which will be farther considered in its proper place. Was it not that the soul was of some mysterious substance or other (to us,) it could not have been propagated with, and united to the body, or sepearated from it at Death. To be sepearated from the body or leave it, seems to us the same as to move from the wreck of the body, which without a real substance it could not do. And though the substance of the soul and its motion from the body at Death, to the region or place of its destined retribution, is to the survivors in life imperceptible, yet as the same soul occupied the body in life in an imperceptible manner as before argued, it must occupy space in its premised passage to its place of retribution, and at that place, and in all places of its existence it must Occupy space.

From hence we infer, that had not the soul been resident in the body in this life, it could not have been sepearated from it at death; and had it not been by nature a real substance, it would have been incapable of either a union with, or sepearation from the body; or a survival of it, however imperceptible and mysterious intellectual beings are to us in this frail condition of being.

When we endeavour to give a definition of a spiritual being, by placing certain ad-

jectives, to wit, subtle, ethereal, electrical, vivid, pure and the like, before the word substance which is a substantive; we do not suppose that they give a true and perfect description of the essence of the soul, or of cogitative being in general; such a knowledge is undoubtedly beyond our perception, yet such like definitions may serve to shew negatively, that we do not mean to express in our Idea of the substance of the soul, that elementary fluxility of matter, which we denominate to be stupid or senseless. For though we cannot form a Just Idea of the nature of moral beings, yet we may and ought to preclude in our Idea of them, that kind of senseless matter which we ascribe to incogitative beings.

Having thus excluded matter from the Essence of the soul, which we are intuitively certain is a thinking being, we still proceed to query what is thought. It is the act of the soul. And what is the soul. Here our knowledge in great measure fails us for though our consciousness extends to the thoughts, (which are the exercises) of the soul, it does not extend to its essence; yet those actions of the soul of which we are conscious demonstrate the existence of the soul, since without an existence it could not act or display a rational nature. It may be premised that thought or reflection is the soul itself, or that its essence consists in thinking. Admitting this definition of the essence of the soul, and it affords no manner of solution to the question of the substance of the soul, for the same question will recur, whether there is any substance in thought or not. To say that the essence of the soul consist merely in thought, without determining whether thought is a substance or not, is saying nothing to the point at issue concerning the Essence of the soul.

Admitting the position that mere thought constitutes the essence of the soul, it alters not the force of the preceeding arguments; for if we call the soul by the name of thought we must admit its entity and union with the body, and disunion from it at Death and passage or motion from the corps to its place of retribution, in these and all other circumstances of being and action, thought or the soul, must occupy space as before argued. So that calling the soul by the name of thought or by any other name, alters not the Arguments concerning the essence of the soul: it affords any solution to the subject matter of our inquiry. Finally though we can have no Just perception or comprehension of the essence of the soul; or of spiritual beings, yet we may understand from logical reasonings that there must be of some specific substance myste-

ous to us, so as to constitute their entity, and render them capable of possessing place. To suppose that any species of entity has no place, is a contradiction to the doctrine of entity it self, for that if it be in no place it would be no where, and if no where, it could not be entity but nonentity. From the foregoing conclusion we infer, that we are able to reason farther on this subject than our external senses can extend, as we have demonstrated that intelligent beings must exist or consist, of some specific substance, though our senses are utter strangers to it, and though our reflections and consciousness can not comprize its intrinsic essence.

Undoubtedly it was for wise and good purposes, and to ultimately promote our happiness (all things considered), that our Creator has in this life, restricted our perception of external Objects by the laws of our organized senses, and the knowledge of our own intelligent nature, by our immediate consciousness of it, and thereby concealed from us the understanding of the essence of a pure spiritual substance or being. Our senses are incompetent to give us any perception of such a being, and therefore our reflections predicated thereon cannot comprize it, nor does our immediate consciousness of our own rational nature, contain in it; a complete Idea of its essence, so that we are thereby able to fully comprehend it. The notions that we have of intelligent entity, we derive not only from the consciousness that we have of it in our selves, but from the inferences of it in others which we perceive by the external signs of it in them.

Furthermore, our neighbours and others of our species with whom we are sociable, by language inform us, that they are also rational beings, the reality of which is fully evinced to us by their intelligent conversation as well as by writing, and other external behaviour, but we are not conscious of each others consciousness, yet we can not be mistaken in the conclusion that we and they are rational beings. The knowledge therefore that we have of our own intelligent nature, is from our respective immediate consciousness of it; but the knowledge that we have of this specific kind of entity in Others, we mediately derive from the intelligent communication which we have with them. And as to our evidence of the Divine Intelligence, we deduce it from that of our own, for we can not but know that God is an intelligent being, because he has made us so, and his power wisdom and goodness is displayed to us in the Creation, regulation and support of the Universe, or of such parts of it, as comes within our notice and Observation. Thus it is from our own rational nature, and

from external things in general that we deduce the knowledge of the being of a God and of his perfections.

This is a concise summary of the most direct and certain evidence, that we have of intelligent entity. Furthermore, we have a rational evidence of the existence of inconceivably numerous Orders of finite intelligent beings interspersed through the universe; but the evidence of the existence of those Orders of beings is deduced from a more extensive circle of argumentation, and though morally certain, and sufficiently apparent to such minds as are improved in science, and have extended the amplitude of their speculations beyond this World, yet it does not urge itself upon the common understanding of mankind, nor even on the most enlightened, with that ample degree of certainty, that we have observed of our own intelligent entity, or that of the Divine nature.

When we contemplate on the orbs of the solar system, and others in the expanse of heaven that are visible merely to the eye, and on others still more remote, which are discovered by the instrumentality of telescopes, and also contemplate on the Eternity and Infinity of God, we are naturally apt to conclude that the Author of that stupendous part of Creation that falls under our Observation, has extended his Creation co-extensive with the Infinity of his nature and absolute perfection; and consequently that there is no limitation to it, but that those Worlds of motion or rest throughout the universe; are every of them possessed by intelligent agents. Since there could have been no object for the display of Divine wisdom and goodness, in an immense Creation of mere senseless beings, void of intelligence and incapable of enjoyment.

Furthermore if we reason from the analogy of God's providence, in replenishing this globe with rational agents, it would follow, that he has uniformly displayed his providence and goodness throughout his unlimited Creation.

It is too romantic a notion to premise, that God has Created Worlds to our conception innumerable, placed or moving in harmonious order and perfect natural decorum, abstractedly considered from intelligent beings, to whom only they could be servisable. It could not have been a matter of mere curiosity in God, to have made an essay of skill in the Creation and harmonizing a senseless universe, such exertions were not necessary for the improvement of infinite perfection since it could receive no enlargement: for that very reason that it was infinite: And as such a creation and harmony of mere natural things,

destitute of sensibility and incapable of enjoyment, could not be profitable or instructive to God, it could not be advantageous to itself, or display any wisdom goodness or providence in God, for want of a capacity of reflection and consciousness, we may therefore with a well grounded judgment determine, that a mere stupid creation has never taken place: And since creation has a being, we may infer, that intelligent creatures have been interspersed co-eval and co-extensive with it.

Thus far we reason on the plenitude of finite intelligent agents, from principles of almost the highest moral certainty, but when we reflect on the temperatures of those Worlds, situate, or moving in the boundless expanse of heaven, and on the amazing diversity that is possible to subsist between the specific Orders of intelligent beings who inhabit them, their various modes of existence (inconceivable to us,) with their diverse organization and interchangeable methods of sociability, we are lost in conjecture and admiration, and readily perceive that our faculties of sensation and reflection, are very inadequate to conceive of the specific and intrinsic difference that there is, or may be, in the universal entity of either natural or moral beings.

We mortals who by nature have but five senses, know not but that there may be in the eternal and infinite creation and providence of God, a greater diversity of sorts of senses, and consequently of sensations of different objects, than we are able to innumerate, by which the specific, or distinct Orders of intelligent agents in the universe, may obtain the Idea of equally numerous and distinct kinds of entity, of which we with our five senses can make no discovery, any more than a man born blind could of colours. The short of the matter is this, all finite beings are limited, we have five senses, and the other numerous Orders of finite rational beings before alluded to, may have to us, an inconceivable diversity of distinct senses, some may have ten in stead of five senses, or any other number to which we are utter strangers. From hence we infer, that it would be great weakness in us to conclude; that in this weak condition of being, we can perceive or comprehend the specific kinds of entity in general, as well may the blind and deaf conclude that they can do it. We may nevertheless have a rational assurance, that there can be no species or manner of entity whatever, but what Possesses, or exists of some sort of real substance as before argued, for if we do not admit this position, we only substitute in its room castles in the air, and conceit that our soles and most other beings are mere nothing.

The arguments advanced by some philosophers, of the infinite divisibility of an atom of (what they call solid) matter, may serve to illustrate the invisibility of the soul, since mere matter may be divided so small, as to be imperceptible to our senses, and yet have a real existence. I am not of Opinion that such an atom is capable of an infinite division or subdivision of parts, for if so, the constituent parts of the atom merely by the divisions of its parts, would fill immensity with its premised infinity of parts, yet if we premise that the divisions and subdivisions of it, be continued as far as in nature it is possible, or as far as Omnipotent perfection could separate or divide it, and then premise that all its parts be brought together again and congealed as before, and it would constitute the same atom, in stead of filling immensity with its contents, for though mere division of matter cannot annihilate it, if the operation be carried on as far as possible, nor divest it of its entity, so on the other hand mere division could not add to its quantity or kind of entity, for the dividing of matter cannot add to, or diminish from its respective quantity, bulk or sort of entity. The gross matter of the universe which by nature is capable of division or separation of its particles, could not and does not more than fill the universe, (nor is it probable that it composes any very considerable part of it,) how then could the divided parts of an atom do it. From hence we infer, that an atom of matter is not infinitely divisible.

The solution of the dispute concerning the divisibility of matter, does not in its event respect the subject of the present enquiry, any more than other systems of philosophy. The imperceptible divisions that are possible to an atom of incogitative matter, may however serve to illustrate our position of the imperceptible substance of the essence of the soul: not that incogitative matter could (by omnipotence it self,) be made capable of thought, reflection or consciousness, merely by division, or by all and every method of composition, modification or constitution; since in all its parts, it is by nature destitute of intelligence or consciousness, which could not be imparted to it merely by the art of modifying or composition of its parts, for omnipotence cannot make that being to be rational, which by nature is not so. Composition or constitution might vary an incogitative and organized being all possible ways, but could not make an addition of any power faculty or nature, which the component parts of the machine was by nature destitute of, or supradadd intelligence to that thing, which complexly considered was intrinsically void of it, since modification or

composition is the work of formation, but not of creation, and cannot extend to any thing more than mere formation. Yet as the subtile ether and some other substances of mere matter, are not perceptible to our senses, (of which we shall observe in its order,) and yet have a real existence, we may therefore infer, that an intelligent being, who is by nature conscious of existence, must exist of such substance as we cannot perceive by the senses; and which is specifically distinct from matter.

Our Organized senses are not so acute in the discovery of external objects, as (without experiments) we are apt to imagine. Let us observe the rays of light shining into a House through a breach or window, and in the limit of their direction we may discover | a countless number of | atoms or particles of matter, which out of the limit of the sun-shine (in the room), could not be perceived by the eye. Furthermore, human invention in constructing microscopes, telescopes and other kinds of glasses discover to us, a numerous succession of mites and atoms in the airy region, which without the help of glasses escape the notice of the eye, and opens to our view an astonishing variety of Worlds in the expanse of heaven, which the unassisted eye could not have discovered. But when we reflect within the limit of our own atmosphere, what a wonderful succession of creatures, really possessed of animal life are brought into view, merely by the use of those artificial instruments. How surprisingly small to our gross conception of little, (which we compute merely by the eye,) are those animals; whose existence to our coarse senses are made perceptible by the feeble efforts of human art, and how much smaller still must be the component parts of those animals, whose circumference escapes the natural perception of human sight, and yet occupy such a considerable part of space, as to have a competency of room, to exert all the functions of an animal body. Furthermore, the globules of blood which impart to these (glass conceptioned) animals vital heat and strength, must every of them be compounded of an inconceivable number of still smaller particles of blood, which are still compounded of others, and so on we know not how far in the imperceptible degrees of small.

Abstracted from curious experiments and logical reasonings we are apt to think, that the natural perception of our external senses, represent to our minds a Just Idea of great and small, and therefore substitute them as the criterion, or standard of the degrees of the size of external objects, and of strength and weakness, solidity and subtilness, but when we examine into our own notions of great and small, strength and weakness, solidity and subtilness,

we find them to be merely comparative. A Whale we apprehend to be great, and a Cat we apprehend to be small, yet a Cat is large compared with a Mouse, and the Whale appears to be small compared with a Mountain, and the Mouse large compared to an atom, and the Mountain small compared with the World, and the World nearly lost compared with immensity.

The extremes of great and small are not perceptible to our senses, nor comprehensible to our understanding, hence we infer, that we have no standard whereby to ascertain the true Idea of great or small, and as our senses and Ideas are inadequate to form a Just conception of great and small, they are likewise inadequate to form a Just Idea of the substance, or Essence of the soul, or of mere spiritual beings. Nevertheless it is demonstrable that they must exist of some specific substance, or not be at all, since nonentity could not give being either to the soul, or to the extreme of small, as there can be no reality or size of either great or small, to the absence of all kind of being. Therefore whatever specific or intrinsic difference there may be between incognitive and cognitive beings, yet in both kind of natures and existences, there must be something, which is the same as substance, which must constitute all entity; or nonentity must have excluded entity, which if true would have prevented all disputes about it.

Our notions of Strength and weakness, solidity and subtilness are also comparative and imperfect.

The Wolf we apprehend to be strong, and the sheep to be weak, but the sheep is strong compared with a snail, and the Wolf weak compared with a Lyon. Furthermore strength seems to terminate in power and Wisdom, and implies an ability to perform something great and wonderful, and weakness the contrary. What Power and Wisdom is displayed to our finite understanding, in the periodical revolutions of the Orbs of our solar system! but when we reflect on the Creation and harmony of the universe in general, we are lost in wonder and amazement, and are unable to form a Just Idea of that strength or power which is infinite.

With respect to solidity and subtilness, our Ideas are also comparative: nor are we possessed of any criterion or standard whereby to ascertain what is absolutely solid or subtile. Every of the specific sorts of Wood we denominate to be solid, though some sorts are more solid than others. Malleable bodies of various densities are also denominated solid, though it is manifest that some of them are more solid than others, but these are comparative Ideas and do not give us an Idea of solidity in the abstract, nor do we know that there is any such thing in na-

ture. Hard and ponderous bodies which to us appear to be smooth and on which we bestow the term and attribute of solid, will appear to be rough, uneven and full of coarse pores when inspected through the medium of certain glasses, and the ladies who appear exquisitely beautiful to the eye, will have their defects when surveyed through such mediums.

The notions that have commonly been received of entity, is that which is generally apprehended of solidity. solidity is thought to exclud a vacuum, and consequently to constitute entity, but if the doctrine of solidity is closely attended to, we shall find as we have before observed, that we have no conception of it, nor of any premised entity which may have been predicated thereon. Such specific sort of things as we can have a conception of through the medium of our senses, we are certain has an existence, but for us to found our notions of entity on the vulgar apprehensions of solidity, of which our senses and Ideas are incompitant to understand, or form any Just conception, is to amuse ourselves with visionary apprehensions of things, that have no other existence (as we know of) but in our fertile imagination.

We must conceive of things as they are in nature, or else we deceive our selves. Nature will not conform to our notions, traditions, parties or prejudices, but we must in our conceptions and Judgment of things conform to nature, which is the standard of truth and reality. We know but little of things, yet with candour, application, and a sincere desire after truth, we may improve our understandings in the knowledge of nature; much farther than at our commensuring studients we could have Imagined. Undoubtedly in a bar of Iron there are vacuums not replete with Iron, but a vacuum of nonentity is impossible to be. The particles of ponderous malleable matter or substances, which to our senses appear to be closely conjealed, which we call solid, are through the medium of glasses found to be full of pores and the vacuums in Iron or in other such like substances, between the particles, form little valleys, while the gross particles swell comparatively into little hills. These concavities or vacuums in conjealed bodies, do not constitute nonentity, for if there was nothing between the respective particles, they would touch each other and become solid, and could not be crowded any closer together by the application of a hammer to it, for if a bar of Iron was perfectly solid, (though we cannot conceive of it to be really so,) it could not admit of a vacuum for, perfect solidity would excludes it. We may premise a real solidity, and abstractedly reason on such a thesis, though at the same time it is to us uncertain or improbable, that there should be any such thing in the Uni-

verse. And since by Human art, (which is very far from discovering the internal essence of things), we perceive by our senses the rough uneven surface of the hardest and most conjealed substances that we are acquainted with; and as the vacuums therein discovered or premised to be, can contain nothing, consequently they contain something, whatever it is, or however out of the discovery of our senses. We are apt to confound our notion of entity, when speculating of a premised Surface of Iron, or other ponderous substances, by concluding that the vacuums in Iron, are by consequence vacuums in entity, which is not so. It is true there are vacuums in Iron entity, but not of all kinds of entity, for nonentity is the absence of entity, which negative of being could not keep any bodies or parts of bodies apart, but as we have before observed, all dense bodies would necessarily touch, so as to constitute a perfect solidity of all its parts, since mere nothing could not separte them or keep them apart. But it may be said that there is more entity in a piece of Iron, than in a piece of wood of the same dimentions, as the Iron will out-Weigh the wood. but when we nicely consider these specific kinds of substances, we shall find as we have before observed, that the whole contents of the piece of Iron does not consist of Iron only, as there are vacuums in it of other entity besides that of Iron; the same may be observed in wooden entity, that the piece before aluded to, does not consist merely of wood, since there are larger vacuums in it than in the piece of Iron of equal dimentions, and consequently pertakes more of other invisible specific entity than the piece of Iron, as the vacuums in wood are larger than those of the Iron, hence we infer, that the known and unknown specific sorts of entity, or being, are so intermixed or intersperced together; that they cannot be by us comprehended seperately or distinctly. It is true that according to our common notion of weight, the piece of Iron will outweigh the piece of wood and admitting that some specific sorts of entity that are perceptible to our senses, are heavier than others of the same bulk or dimentions, yet it would not follow from hence, that there would be more entity in the piece of Iron than in the piece of wood for mere weight can have no reference to entity in general. Some sort of beings wholly escape the perception of our senses, which through the medium of glasses become visible, and yet are incapable of weigh or measure by our kind of scales or measures, nor is it at all improbable that there should be, millions of specific or distinct sorts of real entity, (of the incoogitative nature) that not only are imperceptible to our senses, but to our senses assisted by instruments of human art, which we may readily perceive to

be inadequate sorts of beings to Operate on the beam of a steelyard or scales, as well as intelligent entity in general. We may as well measure a triangle by sound, as to weigh every of the specific sorts of being in the universe, though some sorts of beings are by nature capable of weight and measure. There are a great variety of articles of barter and sale, which by nature are capable of being calculated and estimated by the pound, as in the instance of Lead or Silver, but as has been observed before, the space that is possessed by these and such like bodies; to the limit of their respective circumferences, is not replete with Lead or Silver, & the like is true of all other dense bodies. If the Lead or Silver is premised to be absolutely solid, it would exclude all other specific or different natured entity from the limit of their respective circumferences, which might rightly be denominated Lead, or Silver entity, as there could be no alloy of other sort of being, within their contents but as Silver or Lead is, (in its present state), there are vacuums not replet with either Silver or Lead, within the circumferences of those bodies, these vacuums compose no part of the one or the other of those bodies, and consequently do not exist of Silver or Lead, yet they exist of something if they exist at all, for that to exist of nothing is a contradiction, and to exist of some thing, is the same as to be, or possess entity, which excludes the notion of (an empty) vacuum, and establishes the Doctrine of a plenum in the premised circumferences of the bodies of Silver and Lead before mentioned, and from the same parity of reasoning, would do the same throughout the universe.

Should we premise a certain void in the creation of a greater or less circumference, yet we should be obliged in our Idea of it, to bound it on the edge of entity or of being or not limit it at all, for a premised line of circumference in nonentity could be no where, for space or place are relative Ideas, and have no other existence than what is derived from the possession or occupancy of real being, (of some sort or other) to which they are relative. To imagine a place or space in nothing is an Idle fantom of the brain without reality, for mere nothing is incapable of place or extension, so that there could not be either a great or less circumference in it. We may and have premised such a circumference as before observed upon, but when we come to reason on the abstracted position of it, we find that there can be no positive existence of place or space abstractedly considered from being or entity to which they refer, nor can there be any possible degrees in nothing, so that a greater or less circumference in nothing is but a mere chimera of the mind. It

is the same as a great nothing, which can not be bigger than a little nothing, since neither of them have any real existence, therefore there must be a plenum of real entity throughout the universe.

The definition of the word space, is "the distance between any two bodies or points," but this distance is not in nonentity, but in the atmosphere or ethereal regions, which has its different degrees of subtileness, that part which is contiguous to the surface of the globe is thicker and heavier than that which is more remote from it. Those who have endeavoured to cross some part of the Andes in South America, the Highest Mountains in the known World, have part of them perished in consequence of the subtilty of the air, which in stead of heaving the vital bellowses, passed through the little perspiring pores of the body, and deprived them of life, while others of the party, advancing not quite so high on the Mountain, but perceiving in themselves distress in the act of breathing, went down the Mountain again, till they came to a proper medium of air, where they could breath as usual, and found by experience, that such lubbers as we are, was by nature incapable of inhabiting the ethereal regions.

The ether which is much finer, or rarer than Air, in which animal life cannot subsist as before observed commences from the limit of our atmosphere, and extends we know not how far in the heavenly space, (not nonentity.) nor are we able to conceive of the different degrees of rarefycation, which by nature it is capable, or really possessed of any more than we are able to conceive of perfect solidity. We may however be certain that neither ether or any other substance, can be so thin or subtile, as not to be, which excludes the notion of nonentity and consequently of a vacuum from the universe, and establishes the doctrine of a universal plenum.

Furthermore, there must be a universal plenum of intelligent being, abstractly considered from that of the material, otherwise God could not be omnipresent, for if there is a vacuum of all being, in any part of the universe, it would not only exclude the entity of matter, but of spirit, and consequently circumscribe the infinity of God. That God should be included in any place, or excluded from any place, is a contradiction to his being every where present. The infinity and omnipresence of God does not imply his being every thing, but every where, consequently his essence must needs pervade all nature, and possess all space, as well as possess all knowledge power goodness and absolute perfection. To suppose that God is all things, would exclude his creation, and make us with other things rational and irrational, to be parts or members of God, or to

be included in his essence, which is absurd since on such a position, God would be weak miserable and sinful; we must therefore abstract the Idea of the essence of God from the essence of his creation, and conceive of him to be the author of nature, but not nature itself, and however inconceivable the Divine nature is to us, we must ascribe absolute perfection to it, for if we limit the perfection of God, in our conception of him, we un-God him, and since in Order that God should be perfect he must be unlimited in his perfections, and as a premised exclusion of him from a vacuum, or from any part of space however small (according to our comparative Idea of it,) would infringe on his attribute of infinity or actual possession of every part of the universe, therefore we infer an absolute plenum of intelligent entity.

Our senses and understandings are so imperfect in the just conception of material or moral entity, that we are more or less perplexed in our apprehension of the existence of matter, of various densities and qualities; and at the same time to conceive of the universal existence of God, since we are accustomed to some kinds of congealed substances being impassible to others; so that they cannot (from ocular demonstration) be both in one and the same place at the same time, such sort of material existences can not pervade each other, but does it follow from hence that the pure and perfect essence of God can not pervade such bodies, or any others in the universe, undoubtedly God was wise enough, to have so constituted his Creation, as not to have precluded his own omnipresence whether we understand it or not.

And if those bodies we denominate to be dense or congealed, are no obstruction to the omnipresence of the Divine nature, then human souls or other finite intelligences could be no hindrance of its extension, nor would it interfere with their local existence. The Divine essence as we have already observed, being different from all others with the rest of its perfections, must be capable of, and actually pervade the creation. We do not know whether it is necessary or possible for two distinct human souls to occupy or possess the same place, or identical part of space at the same time or not, yet we readily perceive it to be requisite to an infinite spiritual being, not to be included in any place, nor excluded from any place, and therefore must possess all space, and consequently pervade not only the essences of finite intelligences, but the universal creation, or it could not be omnipresent and consequently not a God, for as we have argued that a mere finite intelligent being, must exist some where if any where at all, so likewise the Divine essence must exist every where if at all, or it could not be omnipresent;

for as a limited intelligent being, in Order to have a place, must have some mysterious sort of substance (to us) to enable it to possess or occupy the same, and give entity to it, so from the same parity of reasoning, we must admit that an infinite intelligent being, implies some pure substance of which the Divine essence exists, and by which it is Omnipresent.

And though we cannot comprehend this infinite manner of existence, yet it implies no contradiction, as it does on the part of my opponents to suppose an infinite being of no substance, who existed no where, should pervade all nature and be absolutely omnipresent; and give being to human souls of no substance; who exist no where.

Christian tradition has undoubtedly been the means of misguiding the minds of those who have been therein educated; on the subject of the Divine omnipresence. When we can once be persuaded that a God could become incarnate, and live a number of months in the circumference of a womb, occupy an human organ, be born, & continue in a State of humanity about thirty years, we loose sight of his omnipresence, and at once conceive of him to be local. And when we consult the Theology of Moses, we find that he ascribes motion to God saying, "and the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai," and again, "and the Lord came down to see the City, and the Tower which the children of men builded," and in another place he describes an interview which he had with the Lord, when he graciously gave him a peep at his back parts from a crevice of the rock as he passed by "that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my hand while I pass by, and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts, but my face shall not be seen." The perfection of omnipresence in God, is inconsistent with motion in him. Local beings only are by nature capable of motion, which as necessarily excludes them from one place, as it introduces them into another, but for a being who is every where present, to come "down upon mount Sinai," or to pass by Moses, or to move from place to place, is impossible and unnecessary, since he possesses all places. Such traditions which are believed to be from God, have a natural tendency to prejudice the mind against the progressive discovery of truth or science, and fix it down to whatever tradition it may have received as sacred, however ridiculous and chimerical.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—Lenore Uncas, aged seventy, Indian, lately dead at Willimantic, Connecticut, is spoken of as the veritable "last of the Mohicans."

III.—A SKETCH OF THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART, AT CONEWAGO, PENNSYLVANIA.

By M. REILY, ESQR.

[The following paper, descriptive of the history of the ancient Church, at Conewago, Pennsylvania, originally appeared, in an imperfect form, in the *Spectator*, published at Hanover, Pennsylvania; and, in that form, it was copied, because of its interest to Catholics, by other papers, in different parts of the Union.]

Mr. Reily having exercised great care in the preparation of his paper, he, naturally enough, desired to have it correctly reported. If it was reported at all; and, after having carefully corrected and revised it, he sent it for publication, in the form in which he desired it to appear, to *The Catholic Mirror*, from which paper we take it.

It will be found interesting to those who care anything for either the local history of Pennsylvania or the history of the Catholic Church in America.—EDITOR.]

In compliance with your request that I would furnish you some data in regard to the history of the Church of the Sacred Heart, at Conewago, permit me to premise the expression of my regret that no record of the establishment and subsequent history of the said Church has been preserved, here; and, therefore, what I may now attempt to give you must be taken and inferred principally from the baptismal and matrimonial Registers of the Church, as well as from what I have learned from some of the inhabitants of the vicinity, living and dead, and may be able to recall from my personal knowledge and recollections.

From what I can glean, from all these sources, it seems that the Catholics of Conewago settlement built a small log Church, with two rooms attached, on or near the site of the present edifice, between the years 1740 and 1745; that to conform to, and not violate the letter, if not the spirit, of the stringent Penal laws that then existed in the Colonies, enacted by our good old stepmother, England, against Dissenters, the said Church was constructed so as to be and appear like unto a private dwelling, as it would seem that no Catholic church, at least, was tolerated here, unless so constructed; and that, so shaped and erected, Catholics were *suffered* to worship therein, provided services were conducted in a private, unostentatious, humble manner. Otherwise, our Maternal Judge graciously feared her Catholic and dissenting subjects might be tempted to imitate, if not rival, her Majesty, in the splendor and pomp of divine worship, and, possibly, thereby and therein, degenerate to ways and customs that might give scandal and seem Pharisaical; which would be more than enough to break her tender, motherly heart.

For some time after the log "Church" was established, as above mentioned, there was no

resident Priest here; and, at stated times, probably once a month, Conewago was attended by the Priest who resided at what is now called the "Hickory," in Harford county, Maryland.

The first Priest stationed at Conewago, was known by the name of Mathias Manners, S. J., a German; but whose proper name was Sittensperger.

Why he officiated under an assumed name does not appear; but it may have been to avoid the interference of relations, in the old country, who might have opposed his conversion, or *perversion*, in their estimation, as was the case with sundry other Priests in this country. Moreover, as it was customary, in those days, both in Europe and here, to translate one's name into the language of the country of his adoption, Father Sittensperger may have thought it *mannerly* as well as customary to Anglicise his name, since "*Sitten*" in German, is equivalent to "*Manner*" in English.

Father Manners was succeeded by Father Frombach, S. J., and assisted by Father Detrich, S. J., a Frenchman, and probably by Father Pellentz, S. J., whose name appears among the official records, as early as 1758. During the ministrations of these Fathers, the log Church was enlarged; but to what extent and appearance I have been unable to learn.

Next, as Superior, came Father Pellentz, S. J., who built the stone Church, in the shape and appearance of a Church, in the year of Grace, 1787, some years after our "Revolutionary Fathers" had interfered with and relieved our over-burdened mother, England, of the solicitude and stringent care and regard with which she had been *lording* it over her benighted Colonies, beyond the great waters, from their infancy.

This Father's memory is still, and will ever be, affectionately and gratefully cherished by the Pastors and Congregation of Conewago, as one of the most liberal, charitable, and zealous of men and benefactors; and as a shepherd who laid down his life for his flock, here, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years (in the Winter of 1800), after many weary years of incessant and successful labor, in erecting and perpetuating a Church in which thousands and tens of thousands were expected and destined to worship their Maker and save their immortal souls.

Father Pellentz was assisted by Father D. A. Gallitzin, a Prince of the Gallitzin family of Russia, from the year 1795—when he was ordained, in Baltimore, by Bishop Carroll—until 1799, about which time he commenced his ever-memorable and arduous Mission at Loretta, on the Alleghany mountains of Pennsylvania, where he died after forty-one years of incessant labor.

At the decease of Father Pellentz, I understand his place was filled either by Father Sewell, S. J., or Boarman, S. J., who both had been his co-laborers, for several years immediately preceding his death.

The next Superior was Father Brosius, S. J.; who was assisted by Fathers Cerfoumont, Manly, Zockley, S. J., and others, and followed, as Superior, by Rev. Louis DeBarth, a German Prince, whose real name was Wallbaugh (brother of General Wallbaugh, who died some years ago, at Baltimore), and who may have changed his name in order that he might live more obscurely and securely from the annoyance of friends and foes, at home; as it was suspected that he expatriated himself from his native land, in consequence of having incurred the displeasure of his country or kin, or both, by embracing the Catholic faith and in offering sacrifice on Catholic altars. I remember having seen him, frequently, when I was quite a youth, as well as of having both feared and loved him, for he was stern in manner and mien, yet affable and kind, in a remarkable degree, to all who endeavored to perform their duties, and especially so to children, whom he always "suffered" and loved to "come unto" him. He remained at Conewago until about the year 1828, assisted by Father Matthew Lekeu, S. J., and others, when he was removed to Baltimore city, to St John's church, on Saratoga street, where the magnificent church of St. Alphonsus has since been erected; and where he remained for, perhaps, ten years, when, becoming superannuated, he was called to that good asylum, Georgetown-college, where he was "dismissed," like Simeon of old, about 1843, full of years and grace, and greatly loved and revered by all who knew him.

Father Lekeu succeeded Father DeBarth, as Superior, and was assisted by numerous clergymen, among whom were Fathers Michael Dougherty, an Irishman, Paul Kohlman, Helias, Steinbacher, Kendler—Germans—and V. H. Barber, an eloquent, pious, and highly accomplished American convert from the Episcopalian church, of which he had been an eminent and eloquent Minister, for several years.

In 1843, Father Lekeu embarked for his native Belgium, where he died some ten years afterwards; when Father Nicholas Steinbacher, S. J., became Superior, and ministered in that capacity, for several years; and was followed by Father Tuffer, S. J., for a short time, when the present much respected incumbent, Rev. Joseph Enders, S. J., succeeded him, and has acceptably and efficiently officiated, as Superior Pastor, ever since, with the exception of an interval of about twelve years, during which period he labored in the vineyard at Leonardtown, in St. Mary's-

county, Maryland, while his place here was supplied by Fathers Cattani, who died here, F. Moore, S. J., Dompieri, B. Villiger, Bellwalder, and others, in turn.

Father Enders has done more for the Church and Congregation of Conewago than any other Priest, except, perhaps, Father Pellentz, who built the stone Church at the expense of great exertions and costs, at a time when the Congregation was both poor and insignificant in numbers, compared with its present status.

In the years 1850 and '51, Father Enders greatly enlarged and beautified the Church, which ever since has been ample for the accommodation of the large and increasing congregation. It is in cross form, forty-five feet wide to transept (which is eighty-five feet), one hundred and twenty-five in depth, and thirty-eight feet high from floor to ceiling. The interior is adorned with numerous and beautiful paintings, representing the *Last Supper*, *Sacred Heart of Jesus*, *His Blessed Mother*, the *Passion* and *Crucifixion of our Savior*, and other solemn and edifying scenes connected with His life and death. These were executed by Francis Stecher, a German artist; who died soon after their completion, in his native land, whither he had gone to visit his parents, expecting soon to return to America to prosecute his laudable profession. His memory and contributions should never be forgotten by those worshipping at Conewago.

Father Enders had just capped the climax of his numerous and laudable enterprises and improvements in the erection, on the Church, of a steeple, which is now completed, eighty feet in height from the comb of the roof to the base of the cross that surmounts it. It is one of the most beautiful steeples I have ever seen on a country edifice, and reflects great credit on the architect and builder, Mr. Elias Roth, of New Oxford, who undoubtedly stands at the head of his particular branch of mechanism, besides being one of the most unassuming and agreeable of gentlemen.

Father Enders is assisted by Fathers P. Manns, S. J., and F. X. Denecker, S. J., who cannot be surpassed in untiring industry and zeal in the cause of disseminating heavenly knowledge and of saving souls. While Father B. Villiger, S. J., was Superior, here, he established three or four parochial schools, which are now under the special care of Father Manns, and number three hundred pupils of both sexes. Father Denecker has charge of a select and higher school, wherein those who are suitable for and may desire a classical or commercial education can obtain either or both, at a trifling expense.

The front of the Church and that of the parsonage adjoining are built of an excellent quality of cut brown-stone, which was quarried

near East Berlin, in this County, and hauled here, a distance of ten miles, by the then scanty members of the Congregation, who were assisted, however, as I am happy to learn, generally and *generously*, by their Protestant neighbors. The Church is eligibly located on the Eastern banks of the Plum and little Conewago-creeks, near their confluence; and its elevated site, especially its tower, affords a most extensive and varied view of the surrounding country—of the never-to-be-forgotten *Gettysburg* with its "Round Tops" and ramparts; and the South-mountains, in the back-ground, twelve and twenty miles to the West and South of West; of the beautiful village of New Oxford and the Pigeon-hills, four miles to the North and North-east; of Hanover, with its numerous steeples and turrets, three miles to the East; and of old "Peter Littlestown," and that magnificent and fertile valley of the Conewago intervening, six miles to the "sunny South."

There are about six hundred acres of excellent lime-stone land attached to the Conewago-church, which is laid off in two farms of nearly equal size, and are, respectively, advantageously tilled, and improved, with houses and ample "Pennsylvania barns" as well as "other out-buildings," as the saying goes. The net income of these farms is not expended here, but goes to the general or common treasury of the members of the "Society of Jesus," to be laid out in erecting Churches, founding and supporting Colleges and free-schools, and for kindred praiseworthy and charitable purposes, wherever it can thus be employed and invested, so as "to do the greatest good to the greatest number."

Various Missions have been established, from time to time, and attended by numerous Clergymen stationed here, mostly within the last forty years; several of which have grown to be large congregations, thereby obviating the over-crowding of the mother-church, and accomodating those residing at convenient surrounding distances from Conewago. Notwithstanding all these, the congregation of Conewago proper must number not less than three thousand souls.

ABOUT BATTLE FLAGS.—Major-general William T. Sherman tells of a striking incident during his European travels: Dining with the officers of a noted English Regiment, he noticed upon their colors the words "Lexington" and "Breed's-hill," battles in America in which their predecessors were engaged nearly a century ago. In England, the battle on the seventeenth of June, 1775, was called by the name above given, instead of "Bunker's-hill," as it is called on this side of the Atlantic.—*Boston Transcript*.

IV.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 222.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

[*, The words, in *Italics*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which were *erased*: the words, in *Roman*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which have been *obliterated* by time or accident.]

City of } Att A Meeting of y^r: Rector
New Yorke } as Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Munday
the 9th day of May 1698

Present The Reverend Mr William Vezey Rector:
Thomas Clarke Church Warden
Will Merrett Esq^r
Ebenezer Willson
William Morris
William Anderson
John Crooke
James Evetts
Jeremiah Tothil
Giles Gaudineau
Michael Howden
Will Sharpas

Ordered that Mr Samuel Burte have A Right to halfe y^r: pew N^o 40 he paying for itt Equall to what Nathaniel Marston hath Given.

Ordered that John Geddes & James White have the Pew Numbered 2 they paying 20 for y^r: Same.

Ordered that Mr James Evetts with Either of the Church Wardens doe take Care that the Communion Table in Trinity Church be forthwith made with the Rales & other things that will be Convenient for y^r: Same.

Ordered that Cap^t William Morris Capt Thomas Clarke Major William Merrett Mr William Anderson & Capt Jeremiah Tothil or Any four of them be A Committee to Collect y^r: Arrearage of Subscriptions Given for the Carrying on the building of Trinity Church & also to Gett what New Gifts or Subscriptions they Can for the better Carrying of y^r: Said Building & that they make Reports of their Acting therein to this board this day Month.

Order'd that Either of y^r: Church Wardens & Mr Evett doe take Care that the Door Att y^r: West End of the Church be forthwith made & [that] Also that the Windows att y^r: East & West Ends of the Church be forthwith put up.

Order'd the Church Wardens purchase

Bookes for the use of the Church for y^r:
Keeping y^r: Church Accts & also for y^r:
keeping A Register for Christnings and
Burialls.

At a meeting of the Rector Church wardens &
Vestry men of Trinity Church the 8th of June
1698

Present the reverand William Vesey Rector	
Thomas Wenham	} Church Wardens
[Robert Lurting]	
William Merrett	} Vestry men
William Morris	
Jeremy Tothill	
Will Anderson	
Ebenezer Wilson	
Rich ^d Willet	
Giles Gaudineau	
James Evetts	
David Jamison	
Robert Lurting	

M^r Vesey having informed the board that he has
received from His Excell Rich^d Earl of Bello-
mont a parcell of books of Divinity sent over by
the Right reverend Henry Lord Bishop of Lon-
don for the use of Trinity Church for which he
has given a receipt to his Excell a list whereof is
produced

It is ordered the books remain in the custody of
M^r Vesey—untill further order & that the Cl
do register the catalogue of the books in the
Vestry book

Ordered tht M^r Wenham do use his endeavours
wth the Assembly to have the privileges &
powers of the Charter of Trinity Church con-
firmed & established by an act of Assembly
Resolved the Church Wardens & Vestry do meet
every Sunday after the afternoon Service

Ordered M^r Rich^d Willet & M^r Rob^t Lurting do
collect the voluntary offering in the Church for
the next four Sundays

Ordered the Same persons that were appointed
last month for getting in the arrearage of Sub-
scriptions & getting fresh Subscriptions doe con-
tinue in the 8^d Service the next ensueing month

Ordered Cap^t Ebenezer Wilson do employ a joyn-
er to Build a Sett of pews in the Church

Att A Meeting of y^r: Rector
Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Sunday y^r:
12th June 1698

Present The Rector
Thomas Wenham Church Warden
Will Merrett Esq^r Will Anderson
Eben Willson Giles Gaudineau
James Emott Thomas Burroughs

David Jameson
Will Morris
John Crooke
James Evetts
Jeremiah Tothill
Rob^t Lurting

Will Huddleston
Richard Willett
Mich Hawden
Will Sharpas

M^r Lurting & M^r Willett Informe y^r: board
they Collected in the Church of Voluntary
Contributions y^r: Sum of four pounds
thirteen Shillings & Nine pence & Deliver-
ed the same to M^r Wenham who is Acc^t.

The Rector delivered Likewise to M^r Wen-
ham the sum of two pounds twelve Shillings
& three Collected att the Communion.

Order'd M^r Wenham pay to M^r Evetts the
Sum of two pounds & Six pence for y^r:
Communion Table.

At a meeting of the Rector
Church Wardens & Vestry of
trinity Church the 8^d of July
1698

Present The Rector

Tho Wenham } Church wardens
Tho Clarke }

William Merritt	Will Huddleston
Robert Lurting	Mich Howdon
John Crooke	Nath Marston
Rich Willett	David Jamison
Jeremiah Tothill	

Ordered M^r Lurting M^r Willet & M^r Morris
do pay in their money collected to M^r Wen-
ham who is to receive the same & pay the
give in an account of it agst next Sunday.
Paid by William Morris [the C] & partner
to Cap^t Wenham [25£] £26: 16: 4½ [when
of the] being money collected by them on
Sundays

Ordered M^r Hudleston & M^r Jamison collect
next four Sundays

Ordered Cap^t Clerk Cap^t Tothill & M^r Wil-
let do get in the arrearages of Subscrip-
tions & to get new ones the next 4 [Su]
weeks

Citty of } Att A Meeting of y^r: Rector
New Yorke } ss Church Wardens & Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Sunday y^r:
24th July 1698

Present the Reverend M^r William Vesey Rector
Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Thomas Clarke }

Eben Willson
Will Morris
David Jamison
Will Anderson

Rich^d Willett } Vestry men
W^m Huddleston
Giles Gondineau
Thomas Burroughs
Jerem Tothill }

Order'd that John Bowen be bell ringer of the Church y^e he be Allowed A Sallary of fourty Shilings p^r Annum to Commence from y^e: first of May Last past

Order'd that M^r Wenham pay to y^e: S^d John Bowen the Sum of ten Shilings in full of one Q^r Sallary due to him the first of Aug^t Next.

Paid by W^m Huddleston to M^r Thomas Wenham the Sum of three pounds & three pence w^{ch} was this day Collected in the Church.

Order'd M^r Wenham pay to Will Welch y^e: Sexton the Sum of one pound ten Shilings parte of itt being Money by him Disbursed for Cleaning y^e: Church & Caring the Rubish out of the Steeple & parte for his own labour in y^e: S^d service.

Ordered that Bills be putt up to Give Notice that the King^s farms is to be lett to farms & that the Church Wardens be A Committee to farme the Same & what they Shall doe herein Reporte to this board with y^e: first Conveniency.

Order'd that the pews of the North Side of y^e: Church be built with white pine if Wainscott Cannot be had & that the front of y^e: pews Next y^e: Isle & the Rales be Wainscott & that M^r Clarke & M^r Morris be A Committee to See the Same forthwith perfected.

Order'd that M^r Wenham pay to Nathaniel Marston Cl of Trinity Church y^e: Sum of five pounds Current Money of New Yorke in full of one Q^r Sallary due & Ending y^e 1 []th Instant.

Citty of) Att A Meeting of y^e: Rector
N Yorke (^{ss} Church Wardens And Vestry men
of Trinity Church on Munday
the 28th day of Nov^r Anno
Dom 1698

Present The Reverend M^r William Vezey Rector

Capt Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Capt Thomas Clarke }

Matthew Clarkson Esq^r
Capt Eben Willson
Capt Will Morris
M^r David Jameson
M^r John Crooke
M^r Robt Lurting
M^r William Anderson
Capt Jeremiah Tothill
Will Sharpas
James Evetts
Thomas Burroughs
Michael Hawden

Vestry men

In Consideration that Coll Caleb Heathcote hath Relinquished the parte of the Pew Assigned him with Major William Merrett in Trinity Church & Matthew Clarkson Esq^r Secretary of this Province Not being yett Seated in the Said Church itt is therefore Ordered by this Board (Nemine Contra Dicente that the Same be Assigned to the Said Matthew Clarkson According to Such method & manner as other pews are Assigned & Alotted to the rest of the Congregation he paying the halfe Charge of the Building of the Same.

[John Crooke & William Sharpas]

This day the board [Ballanced Accts.] Accounted with M^r Direck Vanderburgh And there Appears to be due unto him by Ballance the Sum of two hundred Ninety four pounds Nine Shilings & Seaven pence Current Money of New Yorke for Workeme Labourers & Money &c: by him Expended for the Building of Trinity Church & the Steeple, and in Consideration that he hath been long out of his Money & No Interest for the Same itt is Resolved & Ordered by this Board Nemine Contra dicente that A Silver Tankard of the Value of twelve pounds be presented unto him and to be paid for out of the publick Stock of Trinity Church and that till the Said Sum of two hundred & Ninety four pounds Nine Shilings & Seaven pence be paid he be Allowed from this day Interest for Such Sum as Shall be behind & not paid att y^e: Rate of Seaven pounds p^r Cent p^r annum

Capt Eben Willson & M^r Thomas Burroughs are Appointed to Collect the Contributions in the Church for four Sabbath days following

Citty of) Att A Vestry held in Trinity
New Yorke } ^{ss} Church on Tuesday in Easter
week being the 11th day of April
Anno Dom 1699

Present the Reverend M^r Will Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham Church Warden

Will Merrett
James Emott
W^m Huddleston
John Crooke
Jeremiah Tothill
Thomas Burroughs
Ebenezer Willson
Richard Willett
David Jameson
Michael Howdon

Vestry men

Pursuant to the Directions of y^e: Charter for y^e Incorporating the Inhabitants of the Citty of New Yorke in Communion of the Church of England as by Law Established the Inhabitants of the Said Citty in Communion as Aforesaid did this day Convene together in Trinity Church According to

especially by most unjust & hard censures past upō all my Administratiōs and Actiōs, so that I see no place for doing them any furth^r good.

8. My way is obstructed & quite blockt up, so y^t I can no longer perform office-Duties (neith^r do I see any probability that those Greivāces will be removed) therefore it is in vain to stand any longer in office Relatiō which fores^d grievāces I chuse to suppress rath^r then to express for their peace & quietness.
9. In o^r Late Renewed Covenant we solemnly engaged our selves to set upō y^r work of Reformation, & in p^ticular to oppose to o^r uttermost sundry provoking evils: But finding no sp^t for Reformatiō, but rath^r such oppositiō as leaves me without hope of doing any good; I desire to be set at Liberty frō those hands y^t my office Relatiō do binde me withall, that I may keep a good conscience, & neith^r be troublesome to others nor they to me.
10. Tho: I have not wrought for hire nor served men, but christ; yet I cannot chuse but take notice that of late yeers their encouragements have been real discouragem^t, as holding forth contempt or at least a very low esteem of my ministry, and (in some) a will to be rid of it, rather than longer to enjoy it.
11. I have long desired to be at liberty, hoping that I might by that means recover some further degree of health and strength.
12. I finde my strength so exceedingly empaired by the trouble & disquietments w^{ch} I have met with lately, that I see no possibility of long cōflicting wth y^e same, or y^e like; and therefore desire to be Released, & so freed frō an unwelcome burden.
13. If they will Detain me, they must maintain me (w^{ch} I am far frō desiring) But they cannot maintain me; Therefore must not Detain me.
- [Page 2.]
14. I discern such an envious and spiteful dispositiō in some towds my wife (& those not of y^e meanest neith^r) as argueth little love or respect for me, The old Proverb is, love me & love my Dogg; w^{ch} if it be true, certainly they do not love me y^t hate my wife; & are glad w^h any dirt is cast upō her or affrōt offered to her. And indeed I see not how there can be any living amōgst such, where th^s are thus, & such th^s & Persons countenāced & encouraged to more & more boldness. Theref. I desire a Place for me & my wife, where we may sit wth less envy & wthout molestation

Hist. MAG. VOL. I. 19.

15. I am verily Perswaded y^t sōe of y^e church desire my room rath^r than my company: whose desires becaus they concurr wth mine (tho: upon differēt grounds) I am willing for this once to gratify.

VI.—"THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS" OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 107.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

N Hampshire Grants { January 15th 1777
West Minister Court House { Conventiⁿ opened .
According to Adjournment

PRESENT the following MEMBERS

Capt. Joseph Bowker in the Chair

1st Voted Doct^r Reuben Jones Clerk P. Tempor.

Bennington....	Nathan Clark Esq ^r , Capt. John Burnham Mr Nathan Clark Jun ^r
Manchester....	Lieut Martin Powell
Castleton.....	Capt John Hall
Williston.....	Col ^o Tho ^s Chittenden
Colchester.....	Capt Ira Allen
Rutland.....	Capt Joseph Bowker
.....	Capt Henan Allen
Dummerston.....	Lieut Leonard Spalding
Putney.....	Lieut Dennis Lockland
Westminster.....	Nath ^l Robinson Esq ^r Mr Joshua Webb
Townshend....	Capt Samuel Fletcher
Chester.....	Col ^o Thomas Chandler
Rockinham.....	Doct ^r Reuben Jones Lieut Moses Right
Windsor.....	Mr Ebenezar Hosington
Hartford.....	Mr Stephen Tilden
Woodstock....	Mr Benjamin Emmonds
Norwich.....	Major Thomas Moredock —Jacob Barton
Pomphret.....	By a Letter from s ^d Town Voting for a New State
Bernhard.....	By Ditto & Ditto
Royalton.....	By Ditto & Ditto

2^d Voted to adjourn this Convention to eight oclock to Morrow Morning at this place.

Thursday 8 o'clock Convention opened according to Adjournment

Major Joseph Williams & Lieut Nathl Seeley from Pownal took their Seats

- 3^d Voted Doct^r Reuben Jones be an Assistant Clerk to Capt Ira Allen he at this time being present.
- 4th Voted that Lieut Leonard Spalding M^r Ebenezer Hosington & Major Thomas Moredock be a Committee to examine into the Numbers that have Voted for the District of the N Hampshire Grants to be a Seperate State from N. York and how many is known to be against it; and make Report to this Convention as soon as may be.

Report of a^d Committee

We find by Examination that more than three fourths of the People in Cumberland and Gloucester Counties that have Acted are for a New State the Rest we view as Neuters.

by Order of Committee

Ebenezer Hosington } Chairman

- 5th Voted to adjourn this Convention one hour at this place

Convention opened at time and place.

- 6th Voted N. C. D. that the District of Land commonly called and known by the name of the New Hampshire Grants be a New and Seperate State and for the future to Conduct themselves as such.
- 7th Voted that Nathan Clark Esq^r, M^r Ebenezer Hosington, Capt. John Burnham, M^r Jacob Burton & Col^o Thomas Chittenden be a Committee to prepare a Draught for a Declaration for a New & Seperate State; and Report to this Convention as soon as may be.
- 8th Voted that Capt. Ira Allen, Col^o Thomas Chandler, Doct^r Reuben Jones, M^r Stephen Tilden & M^r Nathan Clark Jun^r be a Committee to draw a Plan for further Proceedings; & Report to this Convention as soon as may be.
- 9th Voted to adjourn this Convention to eight oclock to Morrow Morning at this place.

Friday Morning Convention open'd according to Adjournment.

The Committee Appointed to bring in a Draught of a Declaration setting fourth the Right the inhabitants of that District of Land commonly called and known by the Name of the New Hampshire Grants have to form themselves into a State or Independent Government do make the following Report to the Honorable Convention Conven'd at Westminster January 15th A D. 1777. (viz)

Right. 1.

That whenever Protection is with-

held, no Allegiance is due, nor can it of right be demanded.

- 2^d That whenever the Lives and Properties of a part of the Commuty have been Manifestly Aimed at by either the Legislative or Executive Authority of such Community, Necessity requires a Seperation. Your Committee are of Opinion that the foregoing has for many Years past been the conduct of the Menapolizing Land Traders of the Colony of New York, and that they have not only been Countenanced but encouraged by both the Legeslative and Executive Authorities of said State or Colony:

Many Overt Acts in evidence of this Truth are so Fresh in the minds of the Members that it would be Needless to recite them.

And whereas the Congress of the Several States did in Congress on the 15th May 1776 in a Simular case pass the following Resolution viz.

“Resolved therefore that it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no Government is Sufficient to the Exigencies of their Affairs has been heretefore established such Government as shall in the Opinion of the Representatives best conduce to the Happiness & Safety of their constituents in particular and America in General,,

Extract from the Minutes

Charles Thompson Sec^r

Your Committee having duly deliberated on the Continued conduct of the Authority of N York before recited, and the Equitableness on which the Aforesaid Resolution of Congress, and considering that a just Right exists in the People to Adopt Measurs for thier own Security, not only to enable them to Secure thier Rights against the Usurpations of Great Bitain but Also against that of N York, and the Several Other Governments claiming Jurisdiction of this Territory do Offer the Following declaration. viz^r

This Convention (whose Members are duly Chosen by the Free Voice of their Constituents in the Several Towns on the N Hampshire Grants) in public Meeting Assembled, in our own Names and in behalf of our Constituents. Do hereby Proclaim and Publickly declare that the District of Territory comprehending and Usually known by the Name and description of the N Hampshire Grants of Right ought to be and are hereby declared forever hereafter to be considered as a Seperate Free and Independant Jurisdiction or State by the Name & to be forever hereafter called and known and dis-

distinguished by the Name of New Connecticut Alias Vermont and that the Inhabitants that at present, or that May hereafter May become residents either by procreation or Emigration within said Territory shall be Intitled to the same privileges, Immunities and Infranchisements as is Allow'd, and on such Conditions and in the same Manner as the present Inhabitants in futur shall or may enjoy : which are and forever shall be considered to be such privileges and Immunities as the free Citizens, and Denisons which May at any time hereafter be Allowed to any such Inhabitants of any of the Free and Independant States of America. And that Such Privileges and Immunities shall be regulated in a Bill of Rights and by a form of Government to be Established at the Next Session Adjourn'd of this Convention.

0th Voted N. C. D. to Accept of the above Declaration.

To the Honorable the Chairman & Gentlemen of the Convention.

Your Committee appointed to take into Consideration what is further Necessary to be Transacted at this Present Convention.

Beg leave to Report, (viz)

That proper information be given to the Honorable Continental Congress of the United States of America the Reason why the New Hampshire Grants have been Declared a free State and Pray the s^d Congress to Grant said State a Representation in Congress; and that Agents be appointed to Transfer the same to the said Congress; or the Committee be Filled up that are already Appointed; and that a Committee be appointed to Draw the Draught. That a Committee of War be appointed on the East side of the Mountains to be in Conjunction with the Committee of War on the West side of the Mountains to Act on all Proper occasions That some suitable Measures be taken to Govern our Internal Police for the time Being Untill more suitable Measures can be taken. That some suitable way be taken to Raise a Sum of money to defray the expenses of the Agents that is to go to Congress; and for Printing the Proceedings of this Convention which we are of opinion ought to be Printed.

All which is humbly submitted to the Convention by Your Committee

By Order of Committee

Thomas Chandler } Chairman

1st Voted N. C. D. to accept of the above Report.

12th Voted that the Declaration of NEW CONNECTICUT be inserted in the News Papers.

13th Voted that Capt Heman Allen, Col^o Thomas Chandler and Nathan Clark Esq^r be a Committee to Prepare the Declaration for the Press as soon as may be.

14th Voted that Doct^r Jonas Fay Col^o Thomas Chittenden Doct^r Reuben Jones, Col^o Jacob Bailey & Capt Heman Allen be the Delegates to Carry the Remonstrance & Petition to the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress and further to Negotiate Business in behalf of New Connecticut.

16th Voted that Major Thomas Chandler, Mr Stephen Tilden Mr Ebenezer Hosington, Mr Joshua Webb, Lieut Dennis Lockland, Mr Jotham Biglow, Col^o Thomas Johnson, Mr Elijah Gates & Nicholas White be a Committee of War to Act in Conjunction with the Committee of War already Chosen.

17th Voted that it is Recommended to each Town in [] and Gloucester Counties to Choose new Committee's of Safety where the Towns are disaffected with the Committee's; and in other Towns to let the Committee's stand for the time Being.

18th Voted that Capt Heman Allen, Doct^r Jonas Fay, Mr Joshua Webb & Major Thomas Moredock be a Committee to Procure each one hundred Dollars for to defray the expenses of the Delegates that are appointed to go to the Continental Congress according to the Report of the Committee of Proceedings.

19th Voted that Mr Ebenezer Hosington, Mr Benj^m Emmonds, Lieut Leonard Spalding & Mr Stephen Tilden be a Committee to draw a Letter Forbidding the Delegates from Cumberland County sitting in the Hon^{ble} Provincial Congress of the State of New York.

20th Voted that the Committee that are to make the above Draught are empowered to annex the Chairmans name by order of the Convention.

21st Voted that it is the Ardent wish of this Convention that each Town in this State would send Delegate or Delegates to the Convention at their next Sitting. Those Towns that have not chose any, to choose and send.

Westminster 17th Jan^y. 1777

Gentlemen

The General Convention consisting of Delegates from the several Counties & Towns through the Tract of Land known by the name of the New Hampshire

Grants have Met according to adjournment at Westminster the 16th Ins^d and have Resolved and Declared the above District of Land shall hereafter be a distinct State or Government and the Inhabitants thereof have full Authority to make such Laws as they shall from time to time think fit.

The s.^d Convention therefore desire and Request that You will on sight hereof with draw Yourselfs from the Convention of the State of New York and appear there no more in the Character of Representatives for the County of Cumberland; as you were not Chosen by a Majority of the People at large.

Gentlemen I am your most Obedient

Humb^l Servant

Ebenezer Hosington } Chairman

} Sub Committee

Mess^{rs} John Sessions & Simeon Stephens

By order of Convention

Joseph Bowker } Chairman

22^d Voted to adjourn this Convention to the first Wednesday of June next to be held at the Meeting House in Windsor at nine o'clock in the forenoon.

By Order of Convention

Joseph Bowker } Chairman

Attest Ira Allen } Clerk

A true Copy from the Original

Compared by

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VII.—WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1779.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM C. A. FOWLER TO THOMAS GATES.*

COMMUNICATED BY W. H. EGLE, M.D. OF HARRISBURG.

PITTSBURGH,
ON THE BEAUTIFUL OHIO,
25th July, 1779.

DEAR SIR :

I write you this letter at random, not knowing where to direct to you. Wherever I may find you I hope I will find you in good health. Nothing could afford me more pleasure than that of seeing you here, and from what you proposed on my leaving you at Marble Head, I thought it must have happened long before this time. But perhaps you have again launched into the

busy world and preferred trade to a retired grotto—riches and anxiety, to competency and control, care and bustle, to peace and tranquillity. I will not however anticipate such reflection, and shall still flatter myself with the pleasant hopes of your being my neighbour in Pennsylvania, or if possible on the more pleasant banks of the Ohio. What can be so agreeable to a rational mind—to a man who has seen the servility, folly, depravity and wickedness of the world,—as retirement? But I mean not, my dear friend, in retirement to be inactive. Agriculture, the first of sciences, as well as first and pleasantest of professions, will not only afford me employment, but profit and pleasure; and the conversation of a few, a very few, neighbours like yourself in a winter's evening by a good fire, to enjoy and partake of a jug of browne ale, the produce of my own hands and my own industry, would compensate all that I wish for on earth. Thus, then, you see my friend, the completion of my happiness, and I now hope to obtain it; for beside my purchase near Philadelphia I have a tract of land about eight miles from this place which I soon expect to have a comfortable home upon and a plentiful stock of all kinds. I shall want your advice much in laying out the farm, as well as in many other things.

Farming in this country differs essentially from that in your country and mine. The farmer must not only pitch upon his best land to produce tall grain (I mean wheat) but must fallow and manure this land at vast labor and expense without which he cannot expect a crop. Here the farmer looks out for the poorest of land for that produce, and without fallow, without manuring of any kind he still finds his soil for two or three crops too rich and luxuriant. The very tops of the hills here afford the most delightful pasture and plentiful crops of hay with no other trouble than by sprinkling on the ground a little clover and timothy seed and the same land produces black and white walnut, white and red oak, ash, hickory etc. the greatest abundance, as well as plums, cherries, grapes, and hops of a quality fit for as the cultivated. A gentleman who carries a brewery there to a considerable extent consumes most of the hops he uses in the woods. * *

I dare say, my good friend, you will well allow that in the Situation I left England my venture to this country was a bold one. But is a coward, indeed, that would not venture all to get rid of insult and oppression, servitude and shackles. Who would not risque much to get from a land of slavery to a land of freedom? I know you will tell me, every man inherits that freedom of spirit which ought to be inherent in the breast of every Briton, but the sycophant and servile can now

* This letter was written by C. A. Fowler, "an Auditor of the United States Army," to Thomas Gates, Esq., of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. It was communicated by our friend, Doctor Egle, by whom it was copied from the original in manuscript.—Edmon.

strive or even breathe in our degenerate and alas! fallen country. Accused be they who have been the cause of it.

Play, my friend, write me, and as I am now in retirement in the solitary but beautiful and pleasant woods, give me all your news, foreign and domestick.

Our finances and the credit of our currency is all we have now to combat with, but while our foreign as well as our internal enemy are open as well as secret foes, the servile avaricious, ambitious and depraved are using every wicked manner to depreciate, the combat will be difficult, and until some plan is adopted, or perhaps examples made, the virtuous, I am afraid, will find appreciation impracticable. Taxing, which congress seems to confide much upon, may be a partial remedy. But we should not only have a radical cure but a speedy one; and a foreign loan well applied is the only one, in my poor and humble opinion, we have left us.

In the course of this Summer the frontier settlers in this country have suffered much, particularly those in Westmoreland, in the province of Pennsylvania, but from the mode now adopted of sending out small ranging parties to waylay and surprise, I am in hope their savage career will soon be at an end. However if the Indians are humbled and a peace concluded with them it will be necessary to keep a regiment or two compleat always in this department for the protection of the frontiers; for the faith of an Indian is only to be depended upon while he is afraid to break it, and this might be done at a very moderate expense, though it is not the case at present. Strange to say, public virtue seems in a few years to have abandoned this country. Money getting and fortune making is now the cry. Put money in my purse no matter by what means should it be even the destruction of my country, I'll serve you. While but a few years ago how reverse and different the scene. Every peddler, every retailer of rum and molasses seemed endued with the spirit of Cato and the liberality and bravery of an Alexander. May the same spirit, liberality and bravery, soon return to the deluded citizens of America from north to south. Happy world it would be for all! We should not only enjoy liberty but peace, not only peace but independence.

I am sorry to say that in many instances from seeing things through a false mirror, some of the best friends of America have acted an impolitic part, and have been blind to her interest and in none more than placing a dependence on shadows, the honor of interested men, by not timorously forming a system, or regulation, to oblige those entrusted to account for publick money, in which in many departments there has been a shameful and lavish waste.

It's probable that in the latter end of September or beginning of October the army in this department may visit the Mississippi. This would be a fine opportunity and a safe one for you to see the interior parts of the country, and I shall have it in my power to accommodate you to your liking, and would also accompany you on the excursion; and as I am allowed a boat, you would be at no expense, nor would your residence at this place; for while I have a cott, then hospitality shall reside and gratitude shall bid my home and freinds a welcome. As such, Sir, I must ever esteem, and as such I flatter myself you'll now allow me the pleasure at least of hearing from you. Indeed, I think, setting aside pleasure, that it would be your interest, and highly so, to visit this country. Here you may please yourself; you would have your choice of land as well as situation to such a degree that your fancy would be bewildered, and you would be almost as much at a loss where to fix, as where a London woolen draper's pattern card is displayed to you to fix on the color of your coat.

Mrs. Fowler is anxious to see you here and desires to be affectionately remembered to you, and I am with regard and esteem, dear sir,

Your faithful friend
and humble servant

C. A. FOWLER.

VIII.—“VERMONT CONTROVERSY.”—

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 227.

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTENSE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

- 18—*Letter from the Council and Assembly of New Hampshire to the Delegates from that State in the Continental Congress, concerning “the pretended State of Vermont.”*]

EXETER Aug^t 15th 1778

SIR

By order of the Council & Assembly of this State I am to Inform you that the pretended State of Vermont not contented with the limits of the New Hampshire Grants (so called) on the West side of Connecticut River, have Extended their pretended Jurisdiction over the River and taken into Union (as they Phrase it) Sixteen Towns on the East side of Connecticut River part of this State and who can have no more pretence for their defection than any other Towns in the State, the circumstances of which you are well Acquainted with & great pains is used to persuade other Towns to follow their Example. Enclosed I send you the Copy of a

Letter from M^r Estabrook who styles himself Chairman of the Convention of Committees from Several Towns &c also the Copy of a Resolve of the S^t nominal State of Vermont, on which you will make your own Comments.

By the best Information I have from that County about *one third nearly one half* of the People in the defective Towns are averse to the proceedings of the majority, who threaten to confiscate their Estates if they don't join with them, and I am very much Afraid the affair will end in the Shedding of Blood Justices of the peace have been appointed, & Sworn into Office in those Towns under the pretended authority of S^t Vermont and persons sent to represent them there— I must not omit to let you know that Col^l Bedel who has rec^d great Sums from Congress or their Generals under pretence of pay^g men for service they never did, (as I am informed) by the Influence of s^d money has Occasioned a Great Share of the disorders in those Towns— I am directed to desire you on receipt of this to advise with some of the members of Congress on this affair & proceed as you May Judge expedient after Advising as afores^d, to Endeavour to Obtain the Aid of Congress, if you think they can with propriety take up the Matter. Indeed Unless Congress Interferes (whose Admonition only I beleive will be Obeyed) I know not what consequences will follow, very probable the Sword will decide it, as the Minority in those Towns are Claiming protection

with said resolve We hope that Notwithstanding an entire seperation has now taken place between your State and these Towns an amicable settlement may be come into at a proper time between the State of New Hampshire and those Towns on the Grants that Unite with the State of Vermont relative to all Civil and military affairs transacted in connection with the State of New Hampshire since the commencement of the present War to the time of the Union so that amity and Friendship may Subsist and continue between the Two States.

Am Sir in behalf of the said Convention
With Respect your most obedient

Humble Servant

NEHEMIAH ESTABROOK Chairman

To the Hon^{ble} M. WARE Esq^r }
President of the Council of }
N Hampshire—

[ENCLOSURE IN THE ABOVE LETTER.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of Vermont relative to the proposed union of Towns East of the Connecticut-river, with "the pretended State of Vermont," June 1 1778.]

IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY June 11th AD 1778
STATE OF VERMONT }
BENNINGTON ss }

On the Representation of
Committee from the New Hampshire Grants (called) east of Connecticut River, that the said Grants are not connected with any State with

within this State agreeable to the Rules prescribed in the Constitution—

Attest: BENJⁿ BALDWIN JUN^r Clerk

A true Copy of Record compared

Wth THO^s: CHANDLER JUN^r Sec^y

[18.—*Proceedings of the General Assembly of Vermont, on the proposed union of Towns East of the Connecticut-river with the proposed State of Vermont, October 21, 1778.*]

WINDSOR October 21st 1778.

Assembly met According to Adjournment. the following Questions were Proposed, and answered as herein Stated (Viz)

Question 1st Whether the Counties in this State, Shall Remain as they were Established by this Assembly as their session in March last.

Yea 25.

Nays 26.

Question 2nd Whether the Towns East of the River included in the Union with this State, Shall be included in the County of Cumberland.

Yea 26.

Nays 23.

Question 3rd Whether the Towns on the East side of Connecticut River, who are included by Union within this State, Shall be erected into a distinct County by themselves.

Yea 23.

Nays 23.

[19.—*Protest of Members of the Council and General Assembly of Vermont against the action of the latter, October 21, 1778.*]

STATE OF VERMONT as WINDSOR

October 22nd 1778.

We whose names are under written, members of the Council and General Assembly of Said State, beg Leave to lay before the Assembly the following as our protest and Declaration against their proceeding on wednesday the Twenty first instant in passing the three following Votes, or Resolutions (Viz)

1st "That the Counties in this State Shall Remain as they were Established by the Assembly of this State in March last. 2nd "The Towns on the East side of the River included in the Union with this State, Shall not be included in the County of Cumberland. 3rd "That the Towns on the east Side of the River Shall not be erected into a Distinct County by themselves.

(as by Said Votes on the Journals of the House may appear) which Votes are illegal, and a Direct Violation of the Constitution of this State and the following Engagements and oaths.

River were never annexed to any County in Said State, they are Consequently by said votes intirely excluded the Liberties, privileges, Protection, Laws and Jurisdiction of Said State, all which were Granted them by the State, by an Act or Resolve of Assembly Passed at Bennington in June Last. Containing the Union and Confederation of the State, and Said Towns by which act or Resolve of Assembly every Town included in the Union Received by a Grant from the then State of Vermont, all the right, powers and privileges of any Other Town in Said State, which they Cannot be Deprived of without their Consent, as it is a maxim that the Grantor, or Grantors cannot Resume their Grant without the Surrender of the Grantee or Grantees.

2nd That Said Votes are in Direct opposition to a Solemn Resolution of the Assembly Passed the 20th Instant, Establishing the Report of the Committee of both houses, in which Report the Assembly have solemnly covenanted to Defend the whole of the State entire as it then was, including Said Towns.

3rd That by the Constitution of the State, especially the Sixth Article in the Bill of Rights Government is Instituted, or Declared to be a right of every part of the Community, and not a part only—said Votes are therefore a violation of the Constitution.

4th That so far as the Assembly have power, they Have by said Votes totally Destroyed the Constitution of the State, by Depriving those Towns included in the Union of the Exercise of Jurisdiction, power or Privilege Granted them, and the Confederation by which the Towns in the State are Combined and held together as one body—and as no political Body can exercise a partial Jurisdiction by Virtue of a Confederation or agreement for the people to Exercise Government over the whole—it is therefore either Void or Destroys both the Confederation—

We do therefore hereby publicly declare and make Known that we cannot Consistent with our oaths, and Engagements to this State (so long as said Votes Stand and Continue in force) exercise any office, or Place Either Legislative; Executive or Judicial in this State, but look upon our selves as being thereby Discharged from any and every former Consideration and association with this State—

ICHA^s ORMES
REUBEN FOSTER
JAMES WHEATLEY

JOSEPH MARSH D. G.
PETER OLOTT as^t
THO^s MOREDECK as^t

BROOKS F.
PAYNE
FOREY
AILEY
DING
LATCH

JOSEPH PARKHURST
BENJAMIN SPAULDING

ABEL CURTIS
ALEX^d HARVEY
Bella TERNER
JONA FREEMAN
DAVID WOODWARD
BEZA WOODWARD
STEPHEN TILDEN
THO^s BALDWIN

[31.—*Letter from Governor Chittenden of Vermont to the President of New Hampshire, concerning the proposed union of the Towns East of the Connecticut river to the proposed State of Vermont.*

STATE OF }
VERMONT }
SIR

WINDSOR 23^d Oct^r 1778

I am directed by the Council and Assembly now Sitting, Acquaint Your honor that they have had under consideration, the Subject of your Letter to me, dated the 22^d day of august Last. Whereupon they have resolved that no additional exercise of Jurisdictional authority be had (by this State) east of Connecticut River for the time being: on which Resolution the Members who appeared to represent those Sixteen Towns east of the said River, said to be united to this State, have entered their dissent to Such Resolution on the minutes of the house; and withdrawn, under which Circumstance they can have no pretensions to any claim of Protection from this State, who are so far from a disposition to interfere on the Rights of New Hampshire as to Gratefully acknowledge their Generous, and timely assistance at the important Battle of Bennington, by which means this Infant State was Preserved.

This Assembly of this State have appointed his honor Ira Allen Esq^r to wait on your honour & Council with this express who will doubtless be able to give any further satisfaction in the premises

I am Sir with due Respect your
most Obed^t Hum. Servant

THO^s CHITTENDEN

Hon^{ble} MESHECH WARR Esq^r

[32.—*Letter from Ethan Allen to the President of New Hampshire, on the same subject.*]

STATE OF }
VERMONT }

WINDSOR 23^d October 1778

SIR,

In Conformity to my Engagement to Col. Bartlet, one of the Members of Congress from New-Hampshire, I am Induced to write to your Honor, Respecting a Number of Towns to the Eastward of Connecticut River, which Inadvertantly by Influence of Designing men have lately been brought into Union with the State of Vermont, which in my Opinion is Now entirely Dissolved, I Engaged Col. Bartlet,

to use my Influence at this Assembly for that Purpose, The Governors Letter to your Honour, Together with what Squire Allen, the Bearer will Communicate, will Set this Matter in its True Light. —

The Union I ever view'd to be Incompatible with the Right of New Hampshire, and have Punctually Discharged my Obligation to Col. Bartlet, for its Dissolution, and that Worthy Gentleman on his part assured me, that he had no Directions from the Government of New-Hampshire, to extend their Claim to the westward of Connecticut River, to Interfere with the State of Vermont, and I hope that the Government of New Hampshire will Excuse the Imbecility of Vermont, in the matter of the Union, I apprehend Col. Payne had a Principal Influence in it, and it was with Difficulty that this Assembly got rid of him. —

I am Appointed by the Assembly to act as Agent for the State of Vermont at Congress, where it shall shortly repare, and Depend that New-Hampshire will Acceede to the Independency of the State of Vermont, as the late Obstacles are Honourably removed. —

I am with Due Respect

Sir your Very Humble Ser^t

ETHAN ALLEN

Hon^{ble} MESHECH WARR Esq^r—

[23.—*Draft of the reply of the President of New Hampshire to the letter from Governor Chittenden.*]

STATE OF NEW }
HAMPSHIRE }

EXETER Novem^r 5th 1778

SIR,

Your Letter of the 23^d Ult^o was delivered me by Mr Allen, and hath been laid before the Gen^l Assembly of this State, who have directed me to Observe that, the Resolution of the Representatives of your People, which you Mention Viz.—“That no additional Exercise of Jurisdictional Authority be had (by this State) east of “Connecticut River for the time being,” is not an Explicit determination to break off all connection as a Distinct political Body, with the Towns East of Connecticut River, but is so Ambiguously Expressed, as to Shew nothing of your future intentions on the Subject.

However as you refer us to Mr Allen the Bearer for “further Satisfaction in the Premises” That Gentleman has with openness & Candour Informed us that some perticular Circumstances in your affairs has hindered a more perticular and Explicit Declaration on the Subject, Yet assured us that, he had no doubt but a Considerable Majority of Your People, would totally reject any further Connection with the people East of Connecticut River as a Political Body.

On which State of the matter we shall depend as that only can hinder Difficulties arising between the State of New Hamp^r and the People settled on the New Hampshire Grants—(so called) west of Conn^t River—
Hon^{ble} THOMAS CHITTENDEN

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IX.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

THE ANNEKA JANS ESTATE—COPY OF THE ORIGINAL RECORD.

The following is a copy, from the original Letters Patent, on file in the office of the Secretary of State, at Albany, of the original confirmation of the Trinity Church property, to Anneke Jans:

"A confirmation of a parcel of land on Manhattan's Island granted to ye children of Anneke Bogardus.

"RICHARD NICOLLS, Esq., etc. Whereas there is a certain parcell of land lying on this Island, Manha^{tans}, towards the North River, which in the year 1636 was the land and Bowery of Anna Bogardus, to whom and her husband, Roeloffe Jansen, it was then granted by the then Dutch Govr. Wouter Van Twiller, at which time the said Roeloffe Jansen first began to manure the said lands, and to build thereupon, the Limits whereof did then begin from the fence of the house by the strand side so running north-east to the fence of Old JAN's land, its in length two hundred and ten rod, then going along the fence of the sd old JAN's land south east, it reacheth to a certain swamp, and is in breadth one hundred rod, and striking along ye swamp south-west, its in length one hundred and sixty rod, and from the swamp to the strand going west its in breadth fifty rod, the land lying on the south side of the house to ye fence of the land belonging to the Company, and so the east side begins at the fence and goes south to the posts and rayles of the Company's land without any hinderance of the path, its in breadth sixty rod, in length on the south side along the posts and rayles one hundred and sixty rod, on the East side of the entrance of the Chalkie Hooke in breadth thirty rod, and along the said Chalkie Hooke on the north side to the

fence of the land before mentioned, going west is in length one hundred rod.

"Amounting in all to about sixty-two acres, for which said parcel of land ANNEKE JANS, the widow and relict of DOMINI EVERARDUS BOGARDUS had heretofore a patent or ground briefe fr m the late Dutch Governor, PETRUS STUYVESANT, bearing date to the 4th day of July, 1654, Now for a Confirmation unto the children and heires of the said ANNEKE BOGARDUS in their possession and enjoyment of the premises.

"Know yee that by vertue of the Commission and Authority unto mee given by his Royall Highnesse, I have Ratified, Confirmed and Granted and by these pnts do Ratify, Confirm and Grant unto ye Children and heires of ANNEKE BOGARDUS dec'd, the afore recited parcell of land & premises with all and singular their appurtenances *To have and to hold* the said parcell of land and premises unto ye children and heires of the said ANNEKE BOGARDUS, their Heires and Assignes unto the proper use, and behoofe of the said children and heires their Heires and assignes forever Rending & Paying, &c.

"Dated the 2th March, 1667.

"R. NIC. LLS."

HOW OUR SECRETS LEAKED OUT DURING THE WAR.

No doubt it will surprise many to learn that the plans of some of our most important political and military movements were revealed, during our late Civil War, to the leaders of the Southern rebellion, through the agency of Henry Wilson, now Vice-President of the United States.

When the rebellion was in its earliest stage, no less a person than General Thomas Jordan, now of Cuban notoriety, but then a rebel officer, made an arrangement with the notorious Mrs. Greenhow (who was afterward arrested) whereby she was to forward to the Head-quarters of the Southern Army, such facts as would be of import for them to know.

Mrs. Greenhow immediately proceeded to become intimate with the Hon. Henry Wilson, then Chairman of the Military Committee. This she successfully accomplished; and the honorable gentleman was so thoroughly manipulated that every plan and every projected movement which was known to him was also known by her. The design of the advance of the troops to the Battle of Bull Run was got by her from him before the fact, and forwarded to the rebel Head-quarters through the agency of Tom Huette, the brother of Mrs. A. H. Mason, the lady who was a witness in the French arms investigation. As fast as the vigilance of the Government could

detect the leak and arrest its secondary agents, others would take their place. After Mrs. Greenhow's early arrest stopped that line of communication, another took her place.

The Prince de Joinville, in his defence and vindication of McClellan's Campaign of the Peninsula and his movements around Centreville, speaks as follows: "All of McClellan's plans were foiled by a clever woman, who did the work of espionage for the Confederate chief, who, upon receiving notice of McClellan's plan of advance, as given by him, before the *Military Committee*, forwarded it to the Headquarters of the Southern Army. Upon this information, Lee fell back out of the net and established himself upon the Rapidan."

The question is, did this information also come through Henry Wilson, now Vice-President of the United States?—*Sun*.

ANECDOTE OF TOM CORWIN.—When the late Tom Corwin was quite a young man, he was elected a member of the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, and early in the Session he brought in a Bill for the destruction of the public whipping-post. He made an earnest speech in favor of the measure, to which an elderly member replied as follows: "Mr. Speaker: The gentleman is not as old as I am, and has not seen as much of the practical operation of the system of punishment which he desires to abolish. When I lived in Connecticut, if a fellow stole a horse or cut up other antics, we used to tie him up and give him a real good thrashing; and he always cleared right out, and we never seen anything more of him. It's the best way of getting rid of the rogues that was ever tried, and without expense to the State." Mr. Corwin, who never failed to carry his point by a joke, if argument was against him, only made a brief reply: "Mr. Speaker: I have often been puzzled to account for the vast emigration from Connecticut to the West; but the gentleman last up has explained it to my satisfaction."

It is almost needless to say that Mr. Corwin's Bill passed by an overwhelming majority.

WASHINGTON AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.—How Washington watched the Civil Service, seventy-five years ago, may be seen by the following letter, recently brought to light, and published in the *Brunswick (N. J.) Telegraph*:

"PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12, 1796.

"DEAR SIR: By a recurrence to the Acts of the last Session of Congress, you will find one for disposing of the ungranted land North-

"west of the Ohio, and for appointing a Surveyor-general for the purposes therein mentioned; and you may have heard that Mr. De Witt, who was Geographer to the Army, at the close of the War, after the decease of Mr. Enkine, and at present the Surveyor-general of the State of New York, (a man of profound knowledge in mathematics, and sufficiently skilled in astronomy,) was nominated to that office, and has declined the acceptance of it.

"It is yet vacant; and you have been mentioned to me as a gentleman to whom it might be acceptable. Without taking, then, a circuitous route to ascertain this fact, I shall apply immediately to yourself, for information; and will frankly ask, because I am sure you will candidly answer (if the appointment should meet your wishes), whether your knowledge in mathematics, practical surveying, and so much of astronomy as is useful to a skillful exercise of the latter, for discovering the latitude, meridian, etc., now are or easily could be made familiar to you. These questions are propounded because affirmative qualifications are essential.

"As the season and circumstances begin now to press for an appointment, and as my continuance here and the road I shall travel back to Virginia (for the purpose of returning with my family for the Winter) are somewhat uncertain, I request the favor of you to put your answer to this letter under cover to the Secretary of State, who will be directed to open it and fill up the blank commission which I shall deposit in his office with your name, if you are disposed to accept it; or with that of another gentleman who is held in contemplation if you do not. You may, if it is not too troublesome, address a duplicate to me at Mount Vernon, to remain in the Post-office at Alexandria, until called for.

"With great esteem and regard,

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your very H'ble Servant,

"G. WASHINGTON.

"The Honble JAMES BARNARD."

THE BOSTON MASSACRE.—MR. EDITOR: As Hon. C. F. Adams, Jr., in his Oration on the fourth instant unqualifiedly remarks, "With the memorable event of March 5, 1770, through which the names of five rioters, in an obscure provincial town," etc., permit me to refer the Hon. Mr. Adams to the testimony of a leading North-ender, Mr. Jonathan Carey, in course of the *Trial of the British Soldiers*, which states that Maverick "was at my house that night at supper with some young lads"—among which "young lads" was my late father, who, it

frequently referring to the "massacre," remarked "that while in the midst of an entertainment given by the 'Carey boys' the town bells rang, which we presumed was what is called 'a fire alarm;' and, in the fulness of our youthful zeal, rushed from Mr. Carey's house, in then neighborhood of Cross-street, and, proceeding on our course, rapidly emerged from Royal Exchange-lane into King-street, without the least suspicion of the events then occurring; and immediately, without facing the soldiers, Maverick was mortally wounded, exclaiming, as he staggered and fell, 'Jo, I am shot.'"

Young Maverick, of highly exemplary character, and bearing the name of one of the oldest and most respectable families in New England, was an innocent victim of this "Boston Massacre," and not a rioter; and it is hoped that future orators, historians, etc., will manfully redeem his memory from that odium with which, for many years past, it has been so unjustly branded.

Boston, July 6, 1872.

G. M.

A CURIOUS STORY ABOUT LINCOLN, DAVIS, TAYLOR, AND ANDERSON.

A highly interesting scrap of history has recently come to light, in relation to Mr. Lincoln. Upon the authority (so we are informed) of one of the early settlers of Illinois, Mr. Dixon, the founder of the City of Dixon, Lee-county, it is stated that, about the year 1832, while General Z. Taylor, afterward President of the United States, was in command of the fort at Dixon's-ferry, near where Dixon now stands, Jefferson Davis, who was a Lieutenant in the United States service, at that time, and serving under General Taylor, administered the oath to Abraham Lincoln, then a Captain in the Volunteer Militia of the State. It is also stated, upon the same authority, that General Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, was a Lieutenant and present at the time. How different the lives of these three men.

SCRAPS.—LYNN was one of the earliest towns in the establishment of the woolen manufacture in Massachusetts. The *Essex* (Salem) *Gazette*, of the first of May, 1770, says: "Last Thursday, the premium of four guineas on 'the best piece of Broad Cloth bro't to Edes & Gill's Printing Office, in Boston, for sale, of twelve yards long and seven quarters wide, was adjudged to Mr. Toby Cambridge & Co., of Lynn, who, from the first of June, 1770, to the first of May, 1770, have made upwards of five hundred yards of Broad

"Cloth, and upwards of three thousand yards of Narrow Cloths, from the first of April, 1769, to the first of April, 1770."

—Colonel Robert Tyler—son of the late President Tyler—denies, *in toto*, the statements in the *Historical Record* about his father, who, he asserts, was not a bankrupt when he became President; he did not husband his means, while in office; and saved nothing from his salary when President. He never received, directly or indirectly, a dollar from his second wife's estate. He happened to own some Kentucky coal lands, which became profitable after his retirement from the Presidency, and enabled him, by judicious investments, to live comfortably during his latter years.

—Kittery is delighted with the latest anti-quarian showing, that tea was first drunk in the State on Cutts-island, about one hundred and fifty years ago. A daughter of Major Cutts was returning from school at the "Hub," with a daughter of Governor Vaughan, and drank tea at the Governor's table at Portsmouth. She afterward purchased a pound of tea for a guinea; sent to Boston for cups and saucers; and thus introduced the first tea and tea-set into Maine.

—There is a Deed in the possession of the Jennings family, conveying a piece of land, consisting of one hundred and fifty acres, in Grantham, New Hampshire, to Evarista Jennings. It was a present from the Crown; the said Evarista Jennings having been the first male child born in that town. The Deed is dated in 1778.

—Norwich University, at Northfield, claims to have furnished more officers, during the War, than any other College in the country—sending out five Major-generals, seven Brigadiers, and twenty-seven Colonels, besides numerous officers of lower grades.

—Pittsford voted, at her recent town-meeting, to erect a monument to the memory of Caleb Houghton, who was killed by the Indians, near Fort Vengeance, July 15, 1770.

—The editor of the *Gospel Banner* thinks that the ancient church in the Walpole District, Bristol, is the only one in Maine, built a century ago, which retains precisely its original form.

—The old Governor Trumbull House, on the corner of Grove and Prospect-streets, Hartford, Connecticut, has been sold to parties who intend to fit it up as a lager-beer saloon.

—Houlton, the shire-town of Aroostook-county, Maine, was incorporated in 1831, taking its name from one of its settlers.

—The *Whig* says that Major William Z. Clayton, of Hampden, Maine, has, in his possession, a rebel battle flag which once floated over the ramparts of Fort McAllister. This flag was made by the ladies of Savannah and presented to Major Anderson, commander of Fort McAllister.

X—NOTES.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE.—Our city authorities may not be aware, though our Railroad authorities certainly must be, that railroads, the world over, owe their prosperity more to one of our live Boston mechanics than to any one or twenty men, living or dead. No engineer will dispute us when we inform him that we refer to the inventor of the soft metallic compound with which the journal-boxes of locomotive and car-wheels are lined—the cartilages of the iron horse. Without it, a speed of twenty miles an hour would be very expensive and even unsafe, on account of the heat and wear and tear of friction. This deadly foe of all heavy machinery, in rapid motion, *friction*, has been, to all practical intents and purposes, met and conquered by a Boston mechanic. All Presidents and Treasurers of Railroads know whom we mean. And they know, too, that his invention was not a fortunate hap hazard hit, but the result of profound knowledge and exquisite skill in metallurgy, theoretical and practical.

Perhaps it is, and indeed we trust it is, a work of supererogation for us to hint to these gentlemen that the individual to whom we refer should not be forgotten, but have a prominent place in the coming celebration. Our guests from abroad have a right to see him, as one of the living lions of this railroad age and city. Besides, we should be proud to show him, because he is one of the Jonathans whom it will do John Bull's heart good to see. If our suggestion borders on the obtrusive or impertinent, the gentlemen who have the direction of matters will please excuse us in consideration of the inveterate habit which present generations always manifest of neglecting their living prophets while they build the tombs of their dead ones; and the individual in question, about whom we write, without his knowledge or consent, will also please excuse us, because his public benefits have, in some sense, made him public property.

The invention we speak of, which may be said to give wings to the rail-car, peculiarly deserves to be rewarded with honor, because it is peculiarly liable to be defrauded of its reward in money. It is true that the inventor has not been without a comfortable pecuniary reward, having received twenty thousand dollars from the United States Government, for its use in the

national works, and also considerable sums from certain railroads; but in far more numerous instances. It has undoubtedly been pirated without paying a penny. If the invention were as capable of protection by patent-law as some others, the owner of the patent would not have to live long to die a millionaire.

The above article is from the *Boston Commonwealth* for September 16, 1851.

The celebration alluded to was the three days Railroad Jubilee, at Boston, September 17-19, 1851; which was attended by the President of the United States.

The "Boston mechanic," who is spoken of here, was the late Isaac Babbitt, inventor of the well-known Babbitt-metal, then residing in that city.

Boston.

J. W. D.

BAKED BEANS, ON SUNDAY, IN NEW ENGLAND.

Charles D. Warner writes in regard to the moral uses of baked beans: "Not to have baked beans, on Sunday, is still, in some parts of New England, a fracture of the twelfth Commandment."

"The bean figures largely, in the economy of the old Bay State. It has its moral as well as its official uses. It is given to the inmates of the State Prison, at Charlestown; and is made a moral test of character. In the kitchen, there, I have seen rows of convicts seated at a long table, sorting over the beans, for next day's dinner—throwing away the black and imperfect ones. This is the first step toward awakening, in these degraded beings, the distinction between good and bad. When they have learned to sort out the bad beans, they have taken one step in the formation of a moral character. So solicitous is this State of the morals of all her children."

An anecdote used to be related about a place, in the eastern part of Connecticut, called Beaulieu, forty or fifty years ago, that a man riding into town, early one Sabbath morning, found a negro man chopping wood, at a man's door. The gentleman reproved the servant for thus violating the Sabbath; when the latter replied, triumphantly, "It cannot be Sunday, for we did not have baked beans for supper, last night."

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

THE CHAPLAIN OF COLONEL PREBLE'S REGIMENT.

Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland, Chaplain of Colonel Preble's Regiment, was born at Canterbury, Connecticut, 1725. He entered Yale-college in 1744; and was expelled the same year, for

attending services held by some of Whitefield's followers. He was, however, subsequently, enrolled in the Class of 1748.

He preached in Chebacco, a parish of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1746; and, in 1751, removed to Sandy Bay, now Rockport, where he was settled, in 1758. He then accompanied his brother, Rev. John Cleaveland, of Ipswich, who was Chaplain of the Third Regiment of Provincials; and, as Colonel Preble's Chaplain, a Mr. Little, failed to come on, he was appointed Chaplain of the Falmouth troops. He, also, served three years, as Chaplain, in the Revolutionary War; and died at Rockport, Massachusetts, on the fourth of July, 1805. His tombstone says, "A faithful pastor and a godly man."

GORHAM, MAINE. I. B. CHUTE.

GIFT-MAKING, TO PUBLIC OFFICERS, FORTY YEARS AGO.

The following letter, while it serves to illustrate the character of Chief Justice Taney, who was a *poor* man, will serve, also, to illustrate the ideas then entertained by prominent office-bearers, concerning the acceptance of gifts from others.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1834.

"DEAR SIR: Some weeks ago, I received two boxes of cigars, and, as I had no letter of advice on the subject, I was at a loss to know from what quarter they came. A short time afterwards, Mr. Smith, the Register of the Treasury, asked me if I had received them; and in answer to my inquiry to whom I was indebted for them, he told me they were sent by you, and that they were intended as a token of your good will to one who had been the neighbor of your family in Maryland, and with whom you had yourself formed a friendly acquaintance in your late visit to Washington. I sincerely thank you for this proof of your kindness; and you must not feel mortified at what I am about to say. *I cannot accept the cigars from you, as a present.* But I will be glad to keep them and pay you the market value of them. And I must ask the favor of you to say how much they are worth, that I may send you the money. I meant to say this to you before, as I heard that you had sent them. But a thousand official engagements, continually pressing on me, left but little time to attend to anything else. Now I am a private citizen and have more command of my time.

"I repeat that you must not feel any mortification at my refusal to accept the cigars as a present. *But it has been a fixed rule with me to accept of no present, however trifling, from*

any one the amount of whose compensation for a public service depended on the Department over which I presided. You will, perhaps, smile at what you may think my fastidiousness about such a trifle as your cigars; but I have thought it the true rule for a public man, and that it ought to be inflexibly adhered to, in every case, and without any exception in the smallest matters. And having constantly acted upon it, I cannot consent to depart from it in this case, and trust that you will not suspect me of doubting, for a moment, the kindness and integrity of the motive which influenced you to send them.

"With many thanks, my dear Sir, for this token of your friendly recollection, and expecting soon to hear from you, I am, very truly, your friend and obedient servant,
"R. B. TANEY.

"SAMUEL THOMSON, Esq."

PARDONS OF CRIMINALS, IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1791 UNTIL 1872.

The Annual Message of Governor Geary, January 3, 1872, contains the following Tabular Statement of the number of pardons, etc., and death warrants issued from 1791 until 1872, with the names of the Governors by whom they were issued, the population of the State at the time, and the approximate number of inhabitants to each pardon.

Governor's names.	Terms.	Number of Pardons	Yearly average.	Proportion of inhabitants to each Pard.	Death Warrants.
Gov. Mifflin	1791-99	1,388	132	8,800	10
" McKean	1800-08	1,509	213	5,000	10
" Snyder	1809-17	1,556	172	4,700	6
" Finley	1818-20	1,504	434	2,700	6
" Helster	1821-23	787	361	4,000	4
" Shultz	1824-29	821	136	9,000	7
" Wolf	1830-35	802	85	16,000	8
" Ritner	1836-38	481	160	10,000	6
" Porter	1839-44	725	120	14,400	14
" Shunk	1845-48	827	81	24,700	11
" Johnston	1849-51	378	126	19,700	11
" Bigler	1852-54	826	108	28,000	6
" Pollock	1855-57	161	58	50,900	8
" Packer	1858-60	216	72	48,000	19
" Curtin	1861-66	768	127	21,400	18
" Geary	1867-71	856	71	60,000	21

THE BAYARD FAMILY VAULT.—Lot No. 244, of the Bayard property, at the North-west corner of Grand and Elizabeth-streets, New York city, was the site of the family vault of the Bayard family; and the late John Targee informed the late Edward De Witt, that he (Targee) when a boy, saw the remains of bodies which been buried therein removed from the old structure.

Mr. De Witt related the above to me, several years since.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

THE BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS. NORTH CASTLE, IN 1776. SMALL-POX.

Postscript of a letter from Dr. Solomon Drowns to his brother, William Drowns, dated—

"GENERAL HOSPITAL, NORTH CASTLE, NOV. '18, 1776."

"I cannot let this pass to you without acquainting you with the present situation of affairs here. In the last engagement which was at a place near White Plains, the number killed on our side was, I believe, 80 or 40, though have had no certain intelligence: of wounded between 80 and 90. The enemy have since left their ground there, and marched to a Ferry-Way on Hudson River. A very considerable part of our army has marched through this place in order to cross the river above, and meet those Phillistines on the Jersey shore, should they attempt making inroads in that State. For my own part, I think it too late in the year for their going on another expedition, and rather suppose they will repair soon to New York for winter quarters.

"This North Castle is a disagreeable cold place about 45 miles from New York, and 11 or 12 from Hudson River. We were obliged to retreat hither from our pleasant situation near Kings Bridge, about 3 weeks since. Part of the time since we left New York I have had the care of the Small Pox Hospital, inoculated 3 after an excellent method recommended by Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, who had it as favorably as I could wish."

XI.—QUERIES.

"THE NATIONAL REGISTER."—I have fragments of Volumes VII.—X. of *The National Register*, "by Lawrence, Wilson, & Co.," published in Washington, in 1819-'20, in a style similar to *Niles's Weekly Register*. Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me when it was commenced and how long it was published?

The fragments will be disposed of to any one who is trying to complete a set of the work.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

LOYD'S "CONGRESSIONAL REGISTER."—I have portions of four volumes of *The Congressional Register*, published in New York, by T. Lloyd, in 1789-'90, but do not know how far the work was carried. Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me?

I want, of Volume I., Numbers IV, IX, and

X; of Volume III., Number X; of Volume IV., all after Number III. Can any one help me to complete my set, either by exchange or sale?

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

"NILES'S WEEKLY REGISTER."—Can any one inform me how many numbers of Volume LXXVI. of this well-known work were published?

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

ROSE BUTLER.—When and where was Rose Butler hung, and for what crime? I have understood that her execution was productive of great excitement in New York, in the days of my father; and I desire to know something about it.

NEW YORK CITY.

KNICKERBOCKER.

MARSHAL GROUCHY.—It is said that, after the Battle of Waterloo, Marshal Grouchy, who served Napoleon, on that occasion, as General Patterson served McDowell, at Bull Run, found refuge in the United States. Can any of the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE give any information of the place and period of his residence, here?

BALTIMORE, MD.

L. E. F.

SAVAGE'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—It is said that the portrait of General Washington, by Mr. Savage, was painted for the University at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Can any reader of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE give any authentic information on the subject, including the order for the painting of this portrait, the execution of the order, and the subsequent disposition of the picture?

NEW YORK CITY.

J. C. H.

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES.—When and where was the first free Public Library, in the United States, established?

I do not mean merely Libraries which were open to the public, free of cost, such as the Astor; but those which are public institutions, organized and sustained by the public, by taxation, such as the Public Library of Boston.

DETROIT.

I. B. C.

DRAKE'S "HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND."—Some years since, it was announced that Mr. Samuel G. Drake was engaged in the preparation of a general History of New-England. How nearly is that work ready for publication: and when may we expect to see it?

CLEVELAND, O.

PILGRIM.

JOHN COTTON'S ANCESTRY.—Will the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE be so kind as to inform me, through its columns, who was Rev. John Cotton's father and who his grandfather?

Believing, to some extent, that "blood will tell," I have a curiosity to know whose blood flowed in the veins of Boston's great Minister.

BROOKVILLE.

DICK.

XII.—REPLIES.

EARLY PRINTING IN THE WEST.—[H. M., III., i., 120.]

In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for February, 1872, Mr. Shea enquires for the titles of books printed West of the Alleghanies, before those of which he gives the titles, printed in Detroit, in 1811. If he includes Kentucky and Ohio as "West of the Alleghanies," a very large list could be made of books and pamphlets printed in those States, previous to that time. Presses were established in the West, much earlier than is generally supposed. Newspapers, of course, were the first product; but, at nearly all the offices, some books and pamphlets were printed.

The dates of the establishment of some of the early presses, in the central West, may not be uninteresting to your readers.

The first was, undoubtedly, that of John Scull and Joseph Hall, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from which was issued, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1786, the first number of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*—(Craig's *History of Pittsburgh*, 189). I do not know of any books issued from this press. Mr. W. M. Darlington, of Pittsburgh, can probably enlighten you on that point.

The next was in Kentucky. John Bradford issued the first number of the *Kentucky Gazette*, at Lexington, on the eighteenth of August, 1787. He printed quite a number of books and pamphlets. Here are the short titles of a few I have in my library:

A Letter from George Nicholas of Kentucky, to his friend in Virginia. 1798. Pp. 42.

An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Colonel James Smith. 1799. Pp. 88.

A Report of the Causes determined by the late Supreme Court for the District of Kentucky. By James Hughes. 1803. Quarto, pp. xvi., 236.

Of other early newspapers, the following are the names and dates of some I have made note of, from time to time: *The Mirror*, Washington, Ky., 1799; *The Palladium*, Frankfort, Ky., 1799; *The Guardian of Freedom*, Frankfort,

Ky., 1803; *The Mirror*, Danville, Ky., 1804; *The Western World*, Frankfort, Ky., 1806; *The Farmer's Library*, Louisville, Ky., 1807; *The Louisville Gazette*, Louisville, Ky., 1808; and *The Mirror*, Russellville, Ky., 1808. A press was also established at Paris, Ky., about 1800, which was quite prolific of theological pamphlets. At the sales of the Library of Rev. J. D. Shaw, in 1864 and 1867, there were upwards of thirty Kentucky imprints earlier than 1812; and at that of the Library of Rev. Joel K. Lyle, last year, quite a number more, among them, I noticed a *Sermon on Sacred Music*, pp. 88, printed at Washington, Ky., 1797; *A Discourse on Baptism*, pp. 43, printed at Lexington, Ky., the same year. In this sale, also, were a number of books and pamphlets printed by his father, Joel R. Lyle, at Paris, Ky., previous to 1811. So much for Kentucky.

In Ohio, the first press was that of William Maxwell, who issued the first number of the *Centinel of the North Western Territory*, at Cincinnati, on the ninth of November, 1793. Edmund Freeman bought him out, in 1796, and changed the name of the paper to *Freeman's Journal*. He continued it till 1799, when he removed to Chillicothe, Ohio, the new seat of Government, and established the *Scioto Gazette*. On the twenty-eighth of May, 1799, Joseph Carpenter opened an office at Cincinnati, and started another newspaper, entitled *The Western Spy and Hamilton Gazette*. The first book printed in the Territory was the *Maxwell's Code of Territorial Laws*, a duodecimo of two hundred and twenty-five pages, printed in 1796. Mr. Freeman also printed a volume of laws, in 1798. Three other volumes of laws were printed as follows: Volume I., pp. 280, by Carpenter and Finley, Cincinnati, 1800; Volume II., pp. 112, by Winship & Willis, Chillicothe, 1801; Volume III., pp. 253, by N. Willis, Chillicothe, 1802. The Journals of the Legislature were, also, regularly printed, from 1798. *The Proceedings of the Corporation of the Town of Cincinnati* is before me, printed by David L. Carney, in 1807, pp. 48. Dr. Daniel Drake's *Notices of Cincinnati*, duodecimo, pp. 64, was printed by John W. Brown & Co., in 1810. These are, perhaps, enough for Ohio.

The first paper printed in Indiana was the *Indiana Gazette*, the first number of which was issued on the fourth of July, 1804, by Elihu Stout, at Vincennes. The office was burnt out, early in 1806; but he immediately procured new materials and resumed the paper under a new name, *The Western Sun*. I have not seen any books or pamphlets from this press: perhaps, as it was the seat of Government, some of the early laws were there printed.

In Tennessee, George Roulstone & Co. printed

ed the *Knoxville Gazette*, at that place, in 1793. In the Legislature, previous to 1800, several appropriations were made for printing the Constitution, Laws, etc. A volume of the Journal of the Legislature, pp. 141, was printed by Roulstone, in 1801; another, pp. 162, in 1803; another, pp. 197, by John Hood & Co., in 1805; another, pp. 197, by William Moore, in 1808—all at Knoxville. Copies of these are in the State Library, at Nashville. Michaux, in his *Travels*, 1802, mentions Roulstone's press and his paper, which was then issued twice a week. He also mentions weekly papers at Jonesborough and Nashville.

In Illinois, the first newspaper was issued by Matthew Duncan, "an editor and proprietor" "fr. m. Kentucky," at Kaskaskia, in the Fall of 1809.

In Missouri, Joseph Charles established the *Missouri Gazette*, at St. Louis, in July, 1808. This, I presume, is the same Joseph Charles, who had an office in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1803. I have a sermon, by Rev. David Rice, on "the present revival of religion," an 18mo., pp. 52, with that imprint.

And now to go back to our starting point—Michigan. The press there was established by Rev. Gabriel Richard, in 1809. His printing-press and materials were brought overland from Baltimore; and with them came James M. Miller, his first printer. His first effort was a weekly paper, in French and English, entitled *Essai du Michigan and Impartial Observer*, of which not more than eight or ten numbers were ever issued. Miller also printed a small book, two years earlier than those mentioned by Mr. Shea, viz.: *L'Âme Penitente, ou, Le Nouveau Penz y Bén Au Detroit: Imprimé par Jacques M. Miller. M.D.C.C.IX.* A copy of this rare little volume is in the library of Mr. James A. Girardin, of Detroit, to whom I am indebted for much information regarding Father Richard and his press. A. Coxshawe seems to have had charge of the press, in 1811; and he was succeeded by Theophilus Mettez, in 1812, who carried on the business till 1817, when John H. Sheldon opened his office, and issued the *Detroit Gazette*, the first successful newspaper printed in Michigan.

I have given enough to show that the art of printing was extensively practised, throughout the West, previous to 1811.

As I have been for some time "working up" this subject, I will be glad to receive, from any of your readers, any information bearing upon it; and especially the titles, size, and date of early books and pamphlets, the productions of the early Western Press.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

ROBERT CLARKE.

FIRST EDITION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS LAWS. [II. M., II., iii., 85; III., i., 250.]

In reply to your inquiry whether I can "add anything to Mr. Deane's Note on the *Laws*," I may say that it does not seem to me necessary to suppose that the author of the *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* (Shaw), ever saw the edition of Laws printed in 1649. If that edition was then in existence (in 1817), it could not fail to be remembered by many now or recently living. All that Shaw has, in his little book, could as well be taken from the edition of 1660, the title-page of which reads thus: THE BOOK OF THE GENERAL LAWS AND LIBERTIES CONCERNING THE INHABITANTS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COLLECTED OUT OF THE RECORDS OF THE GENERAL COURT, FOR THE SEVERAL YEARS WHEREIN THEY WERE MADE AND ESTABLISHED. And now Revised by the same Court and disposed into an Alphabetical order, and published by the same Authority in the General Court holden at Boston, in May, 1649. This follows the "republican motto" as given by Shaw.

The date, 1660, is at the bottom of the page; but the part I have copied is what would most attract the notice of an observer, who was chiefly regardful of the subject-matter. The extracts are just as the passages are printed in this edition.

All that Shaw says is, that the *Book of General Laws*, etc., from which they were taken, was published in May, 1649; and that is just what the title-page of the edition of 1660 says. He need not have intended to convey the impression that he had before him that edition, of which no copy is known to be extant.

WORCESTER, MASS.

S. F. HAVEN.

WHY WASHINGTON IRVING WAS NOT MARRIED.— [II. M., II., viii., 314.]

There is no new matter in the article referred to. It is made up mainly from the *Life and Letters* of Mr. Irving, by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, Esqr., as will be seen by reference to Volume I., Chapter XIV., of the four volume edition or to Volume I., Chapter XII., of the later edition, "revised and condensed."

The supposed letter of Mr. Irving, quoted by the writer of the article referred to, was not, in reality, a letter, as was originally surmised, but extracts from some eight pages of manuscript, written on both sides, and extending from page 8 to page 18—part of a sketch of his early history—which was found among his private papers subsequent to the publication of the *Life and Letters*.

That manuscript was written by Mr. Irving

and left for perusal merely, and not to be retained, with Mrs. Amelia Foster, during their long and intimate sojourn at Dresden, in 1823. It was submitted to the perusal of that lady to satisfy some curiosity expressed by her as to the incidents of his early life—he was, then, forty—with a strict injunction that it should not be shown, and should be given back to him, which was done. As I have said, it was found, after his death, among his *private* papers, where, no doubt, it had remained ever since it was returned to him by Mrs. Foster. The first leaf and all after the ninth were missing; but that portion which touched upon his relations with Miss Hoffman were complete.

As I have said, the article in the Magazine does not conflict with the statements made by Mr. Irving's biographer and kinsman; and it fairly presents the record of that incident in the early life of our distinguished countryman which possesses more interest and presents the loveliness of his character with more distinctness than any other.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

THE FIRST SHORT-HAND REPORTER TO CONGRESS.
[H. M., III., i., 241.]

There must be a mistake in this paragraph, since I have a series of volumes of *The Congressional Register*; or, *History of the Proceedings and Debates of the first House of Representatives of the United States of America*: namely, *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, South-Carolina, and Georgia. Being the Eleven States that have Ratified the Constitution of the Government of the United States. Containing the most interesting Speeches and Motions; and accurate Copies of remarkable Papers laid before and offered to the House.* TAKEN IN SHORT HAND, by Thomas Lloyd, all of which volumes are of an earlier date than that on which Lloyd is said to have contrived his system of short-hand and commenced to report the debates in Congress.

The Prospectus of the work, which accompanied the first of the eleven numbers of which the volume was composed, indicates that Lloyd enjoyed unusual privileges within the House; and that his enterprise was sustained by "most of the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Union; many of the first characters in the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the several states; and numerous literary and intelligent gentlemen in America, as well as in other countries, where the English language is read and understood." The Prospectus states, also, that Lloyd was "a citizen of Philadelphia."

HIS. MAG. VOL. I. 20.

The first number of the first of these volumes was "Printed for the Editor, by Harrison and 'Purdy,' in New-York, in 1789; but the second and all subsequently issued parts, except the last sixteen pages of that volume, were printed by Samuel Loudon, 'for T. Lloyd,' who was the sole proprietor of the work. The Index of the first volume was not published until some time after the commencement of the second volume; and, with two pages of the Debates, it was added to the third Part of the latter volume.

The second volume opened with the announcement that "Hodge, Allen, and Campbell, having become proprietors in *The Congressional Register*, with T. Lloyd," it would be issued in weekly parts, without "the delay heretofore sustained." It was announced, too, that "the editor had obtained the assistance of Mr. G. Dickinson, a gentleman of abilities, in taking down the debates in short-hand, and transcribing them for the press;" and the Laws of the United States were added, "as an Addenda" to the volume.

Notwithstanding the promise of greater regularity in the issue of the work, by the new proprietors, the Second Session of the First Congress opened while one-quarter of the Debates of the First Session were yet unpublished; and the third volume was sent to press, "in line" with the Congress, as you would have said had you been there, while five numbers of the second volume were yet unpublished. That volume presented no change in the style or plan of publication, except in the omission of the *Addenda* containing the Laws and in considering *nine* instead of eleven numbers as the complete volume. From a notice in my volume, I find that it was completed on the fifteenth of April, 1790.

The fourth volume was opened with no other change than the resumption of the publication of the Laws. The fourth number warned subscribers "to pay their Accounts only to Hodge, Allen, & Campbell, or their Order," although Lloyd was, evidently, one of the Proprietors, as before.

As my fourth volume is only a fragment, I have no means of continuing my description of the volume beyond page 152; and I must leave to some other reader of the Magazine the task of continuing the narrative—a task which, for the sake of those who have no facilities for executing it, I hope will not be overlooked.

It is proper to say that *The Congressional Register* was an octavo, very neatly printed; and that the debates were reported with great completeness and, from the satisfaction it gave to the members of the Congress, evidently with great accuracy.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—[*H. M., II., viii., 252.*]

It is true that the writing and the names in Washington's Commission and the Declaration of Independence are rapidly fading out. Many of the names to the Declaration are already illegible. As nearly as I can learn, upon inquiry, this document was placed in the hands of some parties, several years ago, for the purpose of obtaining *fac similes*. In the process, some acid was used that is resulting in the destruction of the original.

M. D. LEGGETT,
WASHINGTON, D. C. Com. of Patents.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN BINGHAMTON, N. Y.—[*H. M., III., i., 241.*]

I think the writer in *Rounds' Printers' Cabinet* for April, whose article was copied into your April number, when he stated that Mr. William Stuart "was the founder of the first paper" in Binghamton, Broome-county, New York, "where he still resides," made a mistake.

Chauncey Morgan commenced *The Broome-county Patriot*, at Binghamton, as early as 1812. It was discontinued, in 1815, and was followed, soon after, by *The Phoenix*, published by Morgan & Robinson, which was discontinued in 1819.

In 1818, or about that time, a paper was started, in Binghamton, bearing the title of *The Republican Herald*; but it was not continued more than three or four years.

In 1822, Augustus Morgan established *The Broome Republican*; in 1831, *The Broome County Courier* was established by Mr. J. R. Orton—subsequently called *The Binghamton Courier* and *Broome County Democrat* and, now, *The Binghamton Democrat*—and in 1839, a semi-monthly, entitled *The Iris*, was established by Mr. C. P. Cooke—subsequently changed to a weekly. All these were published in Binghamton; but, with one exception, it is not necessary to trace their subsequent histories.

The Broome Republican, established in Binghamton, in 1822, by Augustus Morgan, as already stated, was continued, in that village, by several successive proprietors, until about 1849 or 1850, when Mr. William Stuart became its proprietor; and it will be seen that Mr. Stuart was not the pioneer newspaper-man in the Queen-city of Southern New York.

It is equally true that the daily press in Binghamton was not, originally, a creature of Mr. Stuart's enterprise. *The Evening Express*, the first daily, in that city, I believe, was published in 1848, from the office of the *Republican*, of which either Mr. Cooke or Mr. Colston was then the proprietor; and not until 1849 did Mr. Stu-

art, in connection with Mr. E. T. Evans, commence the publication of his *Daily Iris*, the title of which was changed to *The Binghamton Daily Republican* when, subsequently, Mr. Stuart purchased the weekly *Republican*, as already stated.

It is a matter of considerable importance that the record of the press-history of the country shall be made as accurate and as complete as possible. That is my apology for troubling you with this communication.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

THE CROSS OF CALATRAYA, ON THE FIVE-CENT PIECE.—[*H. M., III., i., 245.*]

I.

The Design for the nickel five-cent piece was prepared by the late Mr. Longacre, then Engraver of the Mint, in the year 1865; and the cross referred to was added merely as a piece of ornamentation, and has no special significance whatever. The allusion to the President of the United States, in this connection, is irrelevant, and needs no reply.

JAS. POLLOCK,
PHILADELPHIA, PENN. Sup't of the Mint.

II.

The devices for the five-cent minor coinage were prepared by the late J. B. Longacre, who was, at the time, Engraver of the Mint.

The cross to which you refer, was, no doubt, adopted merely as a matter of taste, and without reference to any historical event.

H. R. LINDERMAN,
WASHINGTON, D. C. Director of the Mint.

DID GENERAL GRANT "FIGHT IT OUT ON THE LINE?"—[*H. M., II., vii., 133.*]

One of your correspondents has propounded the query if Grant did adhere to his declaration, that he would "fight it out on that line, "if it took all Summer." The reply to this query demands an analytical investigation of what meaning Grant intended to convey by these words. If he meant a persistent hammering of Lee's army, he certainly kept his word, not only to the letter but to the spirit of the letter. If he intended to assure the nation that there should be no more flights to the heights of Centreville, as in the Fall of 1863, he kept his word, like a man. If, again, he wished to relieve the national doubt that lukewarm counsels, vacillating purposes, and shameful changes of base were to continue to be the order of the day, the result justified the expression. He did "go forward;" and, though

the flag floated onwards, on a river of blood, to wave over conquered Richmond, it did go forward; and the end was accomplished at a cost, it must be confessed, of human suffering and a sacrifice of life unexampled in history.

If the end justifies the means, the result was reached. The victor's coronal, however, was a wreath of asphodels; his road, one corduroyed with corpses, cemented with gore, and paved with iron and gold; his course enveloped in flame. Still, the national unity was restored. If the people were satisfied with the price of the triumph and the cost of the victory, Grant's emphatic promise was made good.

BUT if Grant intended that his words should convey to the confiding North and to the loyal masses, that he would "fight it out," on that line of front (East and West, horizontal) or on that line of operation, (North and South, perpendicular) the promise was *not* made good.

As General Thomas remarked, in regard to his supercedure, at Nashville, they meant to do it, but now they are endeavoring to cover up their tracks, even so, under another aspect and in a lesser degree, it is now almost impossible to discover which was the real line of operations on which the Army of the Potomac was originally intended to advance upon Richmond, in May, 1864. It was bruited, at the time—it has been admitted, since, by those who ought to have known—that the left flank of Lee's Army was to have been turned, and the great blow struck at Richmond from the Northwest. This involved a combined movement, in accordance with a clear strategical plan, indicated by one of our ablest Generals, killed early in the War; it contemplated a simultaneous advance in the valley of the Shenandoah, a junction through Gordonsville, a line of supply by the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, a severance of the rebel lines of supply towards the West, an envelopment of Richmond on the Northwest and South, a combination with the Army of the James from Norfolk, closing up every avenue of supply and escape, and a repetition of, certainly, the finest example of practical strategy throughout the War—Grant's Campaign, from the South, against Vicksburg, his investment of that stronghold, and his capture of its garrison.

Instead of this, the rebel *right* was turned. That part of the original programme which involved the turning of the rebel *left* came very near being entirely reversed; for the rebel left not only smashed up the Union right, but shook the souls of many a brave man—perhaps of all who were cognizant of what had occurred, except Grant himself.

Very little credit should be accorded to Lee for what he accomplished in the Wilder-

ness. The whole country was one vast network of entrenchments; wrinkled with earthworks, presenting successive lines, quadrupling the strength of positions—natural citadels, with almost impenetrable forests for palisades, and deep, miry, ugly rivers, for wet-ditches. There was only one thing for Lee to do. If he had not done what he did, he would have been a fool; and whether great or not great, there were men under him, such as Mahone, who could have almost supplied eyes to the blind. It is fortunate for us that such men as Mahone, who were allowed to do the work, were not permitted to have the say. West Point prejudice crippled the Confederacy, almost as much as it shackled the North. The best proof of this is, that Mahone was only a Major-general, in 1864: Lee a full General, in 1862: Pemberton, the capitulator of Vicksburg, and Bragg, the loser of everything entrusted to him, Lieutenant-generals, in the same year.

From the shield of Lee's entrenchments, prepared long previously, and the natural difficulties of the country, unexceeded in the difficulties it presented to attack and unsurpassed in its susceptibilities for defence, Grant—elbowed off, or glancing off, or thrown off—kept on, *not* exactly on the direct line, but on a line, to Richmond. The slaughter of Cold-harbor exhausted even the patience of an American Army; and there was a tacit understanding, among officers as well as men, that there had been a sufficient sacrifice of life to satisfy the grimmest appetite for blood or indifference to suffering. Or, to use the words of a historian, who wrote under the very influence—wrote honestly, as far as he himself was concerned—of the powers that be—*Draper, iii., 387*—"Later "in the day, orders were issued to renew the "assault; but the whole Army, correctly appreciating what the inevitable issue must be, "silently disobeyed."

From Cold-harbor, the Army of the Potomac struck off, on a tangent, to its former direction. When it reached the James, it was two full days ahead of its antagonist, the Army of Northern Virginia. Here was a loss of time which has never been explained—which, like many other events of the War, is inexplicable. This loss of time is so utterly unlike Grant—so utterly out of keeping with his whole previous career of generalship, so utterly opposite to his movements against Vicksburg, so contrary to his energy, prior to and after Chattanooga, so utterly inconsistent with his character—that it is only just to him to believe that the delay is not chargeable to him.

Had those two days been utilized, Petersburg would have been taken; and all the Southern Railroads, culminating at that point, would

have been cut; and all the subsequent loss of time, treasure, life, and labor would have been saved.

To sum up the matter, after this exposition of the facts, it is but fair to decide, from one point of view, that Grant kept his promise to the ear although he broke it to the hope. From another point of view—a point of view founded on a more favorable, or flattering, or partial consideration of the circumstances—he fulfilled the spirit of his declaration, while, by no means, acting out his literal interpretation.

TIVOLI, N. Y.

ANCHOR.

CONNECTICUT ON THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES.

—[H. M., III., i., 246.]

I.

With reference to Prudence Crandall and her school for colored girls, I beg leave to refer you to John W. Barber's *Connecticut Historical Collections*, under the head "CANTERBURY." Mr. Barber's book was published in 1836, soon after the discontinuance of the school; and I think that his account of the affair is reliable. You will see that the school-house does not appear to have been burned.

Mr. Barber speaks of her case (respecting the constitutionality of the law prohibiting the setting up of schools of the kind) as coming finally to the *Superior Court*: it went to the *Supreme Court* of Connecticut; and is reported, under the name of *Crandall v. State*, in *Connecticut Reports*, Vol. X., Page 339.

The law alleged to have been broken by Miss Crandall was approved May 24th, 1833. Its title is, "*An Act in addition to an Act entitled 'An Act for the admission and settlement of 'inhabitants in towns.'*" The Preamble and first Section are given, at length, on Page 340, Volume X., *Connecticut Reports*.

The second Section provides for the removal of such non-inhabitant colored persons; the third makes the testimony of such colored person admissible, in all prosecutions, under the first Section; and the fourth Section repeals a provision for corporeal punishment, found in the Act to which this was an addition.

HARTFORD, CONN.

CHARLES J. HOADLY.

II.

The terms of the Query are partly true and partly false. The statement contained in it is unfair, inasmuch as the simple statement, without comment, conveys a false impression. It is not true that the State of Connecticut ever prohibited colored children of this State, or other States, being taught to read, etc. It is true that an Act was passed by the Legislature of this

State, in the year of 1833, and published in 1835, by which any person was forbidden to establish any *Academy or Literary Institution* for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States, *exclusively*. Our Academies and private Schools were always open to such colored pupils as chose to enter them, in common with white children. Besides, we had good Common Schools, in which colored children were instructed as well as the children of the whites. They (the colored children) were never excluded from our Common Schools. The blow aimed, by the Act referred to, was at schools established for the *exclusive* benefit of colored children of *other States*.

But that you may have a clearer understanding of the case referred to, I will enclose to you a copy of the Act; and you can judge, for yourself, in regard the injustice of it, if there were any injustice in it. The law was repealed, in a short time after it was passed, and never had any effect, in this State, except that it broke up Miss Crandall's school. That the law in question never bore very hard on the colored children, you may infer from the fact that they enjoyed as good advantages for education, in the common branches of learning, as nine-tenths of the white children. But the law was passed when there was great excitement in regard to colored people, not only in this State, but in all the non-slave-holding States in the Union. The law was never popular; and, as I said, it was soon repealed.

I cannot pretend to give you all the facts in the case of Miss Prudence Crandall's school, in this place. But I will say, briefly, that some where about the year 1830, there were a few aristocratic families living in Canterbury, who had grown-up daughters; and, wishing to give them better advantages of education than the Common Schools afforded, they established a school of a higher order. They employed Miss Prudence Crandall to teach in the school. These families were her patrons. For awhile, every thing pertaining to the school went along well. The school was a success, Miss Crandall being quite popular, as an instructress. My impression is, that there were one or two colored girls in the school; and to this there was no objection made by any one. But, in the course of time, Miss Crandall decided to open a boarding school, in this village, for the instruction of colored girls *exclusively, from other States*. At the close of the week, she informed her scholars that such was her intention; and, with the remark that, probably, their parents would not let them come, she advised them to leave the school, which they did. To this there was *decided* objection in the minds of most of the people in the village. And I sup-

pose Miss Crandall met with some annoyance, in consequence of the course she had resolved to pursue, in defiance to the known wishes of the community. And I do not know but that she thought she was persecuted for "righteousness sake."

I was not living here at the time, and can speak only as I have received the information from people now resident here. Most of the people living here, at the time, are now dead. I believe Miss Crandall went to prison, because she refused to pay the fine which the law imposed on her.

It is not true, as stated in the Query, that "the school-house of Prudence Crandall was burned to the ground." Miss Crandall had no school-house, nor did she teach in a school-house, at all. She taught in a private house, which was a large one, and fitted up for a "Boarding-school." Some time, either during the session of the school or after, I do not know which, it is said the building was fired; but by whom is not known, but was generally believed, by persons living here, at that time, that it was fired by some of *her own friends*. Be that as it may, the people of the village soon discovered the fire, and put it out, so that little or no damage was done. The house was not burned to the ground; but is standing, now, in good repair, and occupied by one of the most honored and influential families in the village. Let what I have said suffice for the present. I will now give you a copy of the law; and you must judge, for yourself, in regard to that:

"SECTION 1st. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Assembly convened,* That no person shall set up or establish, in this State, any School, Academy, or literary institution, for the instruction or education of colored persons who are not inhabitants of this State, nor instruct nor teach in any School, Academy, or other literary institution whatsoever, in this State, or harbor or board, for the purpose of attending or being taught or instructed in any such School, Academy, or literary institution, any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent, in writing, first obtained, of a majority of the civil authority, and also of the Selectmen of the town in which such School, Academy, or literary institution is situated; and each and every person who shall knowingly do any act forbidden, as aforesaid, or shall be aiding or assisting therein shall, for the first offence, forfeit and pay to the Treasurer of this State, a fine of one hundred dollars, and for the second offence shall forfeit and pay a fine of two hundred dollars, and so double for every

"offence of which he or she shall be convicted. And all informing officers are required to make due presentment of all breaches of this Act.

"PROVIDED, That nothing in this Act shall extend to any District School, established in any School Society, under the laws of this State, or to any School established by any School Society, under the laws of this State, or to any incorporated Academy or incorporated School, for instruction in this State."

The above is a copy of an Act passed by the Senate and House of Representatives of this State, in 1833, and can be found on page 331, in the *Public Statute Laws of the State of Connecticut*, published in 1835.

You will perceive in the last clause of the Act, a proviso which would not prevent any school-teacher from instructing colored persons in the District-schools or other schools lawfully established in this State. The only object of it seems to have been to prevent schools from being established for the exclusive benefit of colored persons *not belonging to this State*. I do not like the law, and do not know any body that does; but it is not quite so bad as it has been represented in some quarters.

JOHN R. FREEMAN.

Pastor of the First Congregational Church, Canterbury, Connecticut.

THE CROWNINSHIELD WHARF, IN SALEM.—[II. M., III., i., 242.]

The Crowninshields referred to in the article cited, were three sons of Clifford Crowninshield—BENJAMIN W., Secretary of the Navy, under Madison and, subsequently, Member of Congress from Essex-county, Massachusetts; RICHARD, whose two sons, Richard and George, were concerned in the famous murder of Captain Joseph White, in Salem, in April, 1830; and GEORGE, the youngest, a shipmaster, who, with his brothers, amassed a fortune, during the War of 1812, by the success of the *America*, privateer, owned by them.

When Peace came, George built the yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*, of two hundred tons; furnished her in a style of richness and elegance unheard of, then, and unequalled, since, until the advent of the yachts of the past few years. He started from Salem, in March, 1817, intending to circumnavigate the globe. He went to Fayal; thence to the Mediterranean, where, after visiting the principal ports and entertaining Princes and Potentates in a style in keeping with his wealth and pride, as being the first *American* who had visited Europe in his own yacht, he reached Malta. While there, the sickness of a valued

friend, who was his only companion on the cruise, induced him to turn his yacht homewards; and he arrived in Salem, in November, 1817; and died, suddenly, while walking in the saloon of his vessel, on hearing of the death of his friend, who had expired in his own house, fifteen minutes before.

The only scraps of record to be found, connected with that cruise, is the Journal, kept by the friend of Mr. Crowninshield. I have access to it and shall be pleased to have you see it. It is very interesting, throughout.

NEW YORK CITY.

W.

XIII.—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

"PUPILS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS WHO DO NOT KNOW
"WHO WASHINGTON WAS.

"To the Editor of *The Sun*,

"SIR: The remarks in to-day's paper in reference to the manner in which our children are taught in the Public Schools, are very just. It was the custom, some years ago, for American history to be taught in our schools. What boy of us, in our days, did not know all about Lexington, and Bunker-hill, and the Father of his Country? But now ask a scholar in one of our schools about those things; and he will stare in astonishment.

"I have a child, fourteen years of age, attending school, in Harlem. She has never seen or heard of a history of her country, in the school house. On Sunday, I was reading and explaining to her extracts from my own school-book, *Marshall's History of the United States*, and telling of the great and good Washington. She, in the simplicity and ignorance of her heart, asked me whether he was as great a man as Daniel O'Connell, 'because,' she added, 'some of the Trustees when they visit the school, always talk about him.'

"Is this the proper way to make good American citizens? I think not. What says *The Sun*?

"HARLEM.

1776."

The above, taken from a New York paper, may be considered one of the results of the almost entire disregard of the history of *our own country*, by those who assume to be the instructors of the youth of the country, and their superior regard for the history, or what purports to be the history, of Greece and Rome, France and England. They tell us that *our country has no his-*

tory; and they teach our children, when they teach them anything on the subject, only the stale outpourings of the narrow, sectional pedagoguism of forty years ago, regardless of the results of modern investigation and the demands of truth.

THE WAR DEPARTMENT RECORDS.

"The old story of the man who undersold his broom-making competitor will occur to many who read of Colonel Adam Badeau's use of the stolen War Department records.

"Nokes stole the material for his brooms; Stokes stole his brooms ready made, and had the market to himself. It turns out that Colonel Badeau not only used the public archives, access to which was denied to everybody else, but he employed a Government-clerk to write out his 'history' for him! If this was not next to stealing ready made brooms, we would like to know what part of the work Colonel Badeau actually did."—*Tribune*.

The War Department, after having allowed General Grant's friend and eulogist to carry away the public archives of the Republic, by cart-loads at a time, and to take them to Europe, now refuses those who desire copies of any of its archives—even those of them concerning which there is no pretense that the welfare of the public demands their continued seclusion—the privilege of copying or even of looking at them; and authors and students of the history of the recent War need expect no further opportunity to gather information from the unpublished archives of the country, unless, like one whom we know, General Sherman's authority is invoked, as in Colonel Badeau's case, the President's plain, working men no longer enjoy, in this "model Republic," that "equality before the law" which, in monarchical Europe, they can readily secure; and the archives of the United States, even to scholars and for authorial purposes, are closed to all who are not partisans and friends of those in authority.

"OUR ANCIENT RECORDS. A WORK THAT WILL
"COST AT LEAST TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND
"DOLLARS. NO RECORDS OF OUR REVOLU-
"TIONARY WAR.

"In May, 1870, the Common Council of this city adopted, and Mayor Hall approved, a series of Resolutions by which the Clerk of the Common Council was authorized and directed to employ a suitable person to prepare for the press, with appropriate notes, the ancient records of the city of New Amsterdam and the city of New York, prior to 1850, and to

"cause five thousand copies of the same to be printed and published.

"Under these Resolutions, the Clerk employed Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan for such services, from the first of October, 1870, to the thirty-first of December, 1871, for six thousand, two hundred, and fifty dollars. The Board of Apportionment and Audit audited and allowed, for the services, during the year 1871, the sum of five thousand dollars. Two other bills were rendered to the Comptroller, for services from January to June, 1-72, amounting to two thousand, five hundred dollars, which sum has not yet been paid. Last Fall, Comptroller Green appointed Stephen Angell to examine and report how far the work had progressed. In his Report, Mr. Angell says that a large portion of the records have been stereotyped by the New York Printing Company; that Dr. O'Callaghan is still engaged in the preparation; that fifteen volumes of six hundred and eighty pages each are ready to be indexed; but that the style contemplated is unnecessarily expensive, and that the whole of the records could have been brought into twelve volumes, well printed, and quite as available as the present style, and at a cost of not more than half the amount contemplated, which cannot be done for two hundred thousand dollars, even if most economically done.

"About a month ago, Comptroller Green sent a communication to Mayor Havemeyer, calling his attention to the subject, and asking if it would not be expedient to still further investigate the progress and cost of the work. Accordingly, at a meeting of the Board of Aldermen, a few weeks ago, a Resolution was adopted to suspend, until further notice, the prosecution of the work, inasmuch as the liabilities already incurred were thought to be excessive. The Resolution was referred to the Committee on Printing and Advertising, who are to report on the amount of the work done, the probable extent and approximate expense of the whole work contemplated, together with the reasons why the work should be abandoned; or, if continued, to what extent it should be prosecuted.

"Accordingly, the Committee, consisting of Alderman Peter Kehr, Oswald Ottendorfer, and John Falconer, met, yesterday, in the City Hall, for the consideration of the question of suspending the work of printing the ancient records of the city. The room in which the meeting was held was filled by members of the Historical and Geographical Societies, who listened with interest to the proceedings. Professor O'Callaghan was first requested to give his statement. He said that fifteen

volumes were stereotyped, all of which but two had indexes. The fifteen volumes embrace the period from 1617 to 1674, seven volumes, from 1647 to 1776, were ready for the printer. No record is in existence from 1776 to 1784, while the Revolution was pending. The records from 1784 to 1831 are ready for the printer. The whole work will make forty volumes of nearly seven hundred pages each, octavo. The Professor said that if everything were in his favor, the work could not be completed in less than two years from the first of May next.

"Dr. Moore of the Historical Society asked the Aldermen not to be tempted by false economy; that it was true economy to expend these few thousand dollars for the work, as it was necessary to the welfare of not only the city but of the whole country. If the records which are now mouldering in the City Hall be lost or burnt, without having copies printed, the history of this city would be as fabulous as the history of ancient Rome.

"Chief justice Daly next addressed the Aldermen, saying that if the history of this city was of any importance, these records were necessary to be printed. He felt anxious for their safety, because he knew that they were liable to be destroyed by fire or to be tampered with, by unscrupulous parties. This is the only city which has not had its records printed. He thought Professor O'Callaghan the only competent man in the country to undertake such an important work; and felt anxious that the work be prosecuted, during his life. He thought the compensation moderate for so arduous a task. He added that it was a disgrace for a city of such magnitude as New York, to have its records in such an incomplete form. The Committee then adjourned."

We take the foregoing from a recent number of the *New York Sun*; and we have something to say about it.

During the last few years of Mr. Valentine's official career, that gentleman's attention was frequently called to the importance of the ancient records of the city, both as material for history and as evidence of the city's rights, as a municipality; and he was repeatedly urged to secure the adoption of measures, by the corporate authorities, which would lead to the printing of them, with appropriate annotations. But the venerable Clerk never saw his way clear—there was not enough interest felt in the subject, by those in authority, and the *thing* was not yet sufficiently matured in audacity and mendacity to carry the measure through, as matter of public plunder—and nothing was done, officially, in the

promises, until after he had given place to another.

In 1867-8, in order to bring the subject fully before the world, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, with the full approval and hearty co-operation of Mr. Valentine and by direct and official authority of the corporate authorities of the city, commenced the publication of these ancient records, carefully annotated; and they were printed, to the extent of one hundred and seventy small octavo pages, both in the Magazine and in book form, without either the present or prospective expense to the city of a single cent. The importance of the work was seen at once; and, on all hands, our work was commended as most timely and valuable—the elaborate foot-notes which accompanied and illustrated the naked official records very often presenting the results of the research of such well-known scholars as Brodhead, Paulding, Riker, Bergen, Valentine, etc.

In the Spring of 1870, while the recollection of this voluntary publication on the earliest of these ancient records was yet before the world, our advice was sought by a gentleman who was officially connected with the Corporation, concerning the publication of those records by the Corporation; and, based on the advice we gave, on that occasion, a Resolution was presented to the Common Council authorizing the publication, of those records, properly edited, and duly passed. There was no design, as far as we had any information, to do more than honestly print an honestly edited and carefully annotated copy of the records referred to; and as the Corporation, years before, had already paid Doctor Westbrook and Doctor O'Callaghan for translating those of them which are in Dutch, there was no linguistic obstacle to prevent any one who possessed a competent knowledge of the history of the men and matters of New Amsterdam and New York, from carrying on the work agreeably to the order of the Common Council, and with usefulness to those who seek information concerning the history of the municipality. We know that, both by the author and the promoters of the Resolution referred to, the duty of editing the work embraced a faithful reproduction of the ancient records, with carefully prepared Introductory Notes to the several Series, as carefully prepared foot-notes illustrative of the naked official records, the restoration of many of the Orders of the Director-general and Council of the Colony, which had been scattered and lost from the city records, and the preparation of proper indices; and we know, too, that no one ever supposed, at that time, that the entire time of an Editor was required on the work nor the

establishment of a sinecure, for that Editor's gratification.

While the Resolution was in the Mayor's hands, for approval, the New York Printing Company—that notorious creator of fraud, which has outdone, in wrong-doing, all other authors of municipal corruption—saw, or fancied it saw, in that Resolution, another object to which it could fasten itself, for the depletion of the City Treasury. Under its influence and that of “the Ring” whose auxiliary it was, that notorious “Company” was employed to print the proposed work; and, as the Editor of the proposed work would necessarily have a controlling influence in the matter, in various respects, one who was an adept in such matters, in such connections—if possible, one who had already graduated in the school of an “official” printing-office and was not unacquainted with the practices of “official” printers—was necessary for the consummation of the new programme.

There was, at that time, a venerable gentleman filling a fifteen-hundred dollar clerkship, under the State Government, at Albany. He was not unacquainted with the subject of the ancient records of the city of New York, as he had been already paid, by the City, for translating a portion of them from the original Dutch into the modern English; nor was he unacquainted with the practices of “official” printers, as he had assisted Weed, Parsons, & Co., Cornelius Van Benthuysen, and other “State Printer” era, in their very questionable operations on the *Documentary History of New York* and other works of that character. He was, besides, in favor in the Library of the New York Historical Society; and the eminent respectability of the controlling power of that distinguished body, if it could be brought into requisition for the promotion of this portion of the Printing Company's scheme for plundering the City, would serve, at once, to clothe with apparent respectability what was nothing else than corrupt and to give to the wrong-doer a most experienced and most useful co-operator. The power of the New York Historical Society, therefore, was connected with the shafting of the New York Printing Company—Doctor Moore can tell of what the connecting belt was composed and just when and where the connection was made—the fifteen hundred dollar clerk was brought from Albany and nicely ensconced in an office within sound of the Printing Company's presses, with a salary of Five thousand dollars per year; the bound volumes of the “ancient records”—tender and time-worn—were taken bodily from the legal repository of them, in the City Hall, stripped from their

covers, and placed in the hands of the composers, for "copy;" and the work went on—as the work of "the Ring" was wont to go on, at that time—swimmingly and agreeably to all, except the taxpayers of the City.

The venerable Editor commenced his labors, on his peculiar basis, on the first of October, 1870; and he is still laboring, we are told, over his important work of ——— making indices, at five thousand dollars per year. The sheets of the several volumes of the records, separated from their covers, have formed, as we have said, the printers' "copy:" there has been, therefore, no copying to be done by the five-thousand dollar Editor. The Printing Company's proof-readers have read the proofs: there has been, therefore, no proof-reading to be done by the transferred gentleman from Albany. A volume of his work, which we have carefully examined, clearly indicates that illustrative foot-notes, for the explanation of the meagre record, to those who are not historical experts, have not been considered necessary: there has been no research, therefore, by the venerable Editor, in whom, if what was said before the Aldermen's Committee is true, is concentrated all the knowledge on the subject which the world need care to know. He has merely sat in his office, from the first of October, 1870, to June, 1872, and, probably, from June, 1872, until now; received from the Printing Company, from time to time, the printed sheets of fifteen insignificant volumes of the work, printed in such a style of typographical prodigality, both as to smallness of the volume and largeness of the type on which it was printed, as only an "official" printer who was conscious of his own power in a most corrupt Government, possessing ample resources, would have thought of employing for such a purpose; made the indices—he pretended to do nothing else—to eight of them; received five thousand dollars, in money, on account; sent in a bill for twenty-five hundred dollars more, keeping back the bills for more than five thousand dollars, which will also be established if he shall obtain payment of this; informed the City authorities that, "if everything were in his favor," twelve thousand, five hundred dollars more would be needed to compensate him for making the remainder of the indices and writing the prefatory note; and again connected the motive power of the New York Historical Society to the shafting of the defunct New York Printing Company, in order that the proposed—what you call it—might seem to be attired in all the respectability of the eminently respectable body which, at that time, moved the official grist-mill. The contract which we make from the *Sun*, we pre-
tend, tells the rest of the story; and the ven-

erable Editor complacently waits, as Macawber is said to have awaited, while Doctor Moore grinds his grist, for him, in "Boss Tweed's" mill, which has been set in motion, for this purpose, by the respectability of the New York Historical Society, and engineered by its Librarian. We shall see, we suppose, what kind of a miller Doctor Moore will be, in a reform mill: we have seen, in the extract quoted above, how admirably he has filled the role of a Professor of "false" and "true Economy."

A few words more, illustrative of the subject.

FIRST: Without foot-notes, to explain the text, the meagre official records which are the subjects of this article will be, generally, almost useless—indeed, it will require a pretty good acquaintance with the local history of the City to render them useful to those who shall read them. Why, then, has not the Editor prepared the necessary foot-notes? Was he not well enough informed on the subject to do so, creditably; or was this yearly allowance an insufficient inducement; or was it a part of the scheme of the combined respectability of the Second avenue and corruption of Centre-street not to do anything which could be avoided without impairing their chance for payment?

SECOND: The ripping apart of the volumes of the records and the use of the records themselves, by the printers, for "copy," instead of using copies of the records for that purpose and the records themselves only for the revision of the "proof-sheets," indicates a recklessness as well as an indolence which, as far as we have ever heard, is entirely without parallel. Was the expected profit of the undertaking so small that a copyist could not have been employed to make a duplicate of the record, for the printers' use; or were the bound volumes of the records of so little importance that they could be properly removed from the Clerk's office; ripped out of their bindings; employed as "copy" by dirty-fingered workmen; and exposed, for months together, to the fire-risks, and water-risks, and thief-risks, and neglect-risks of the tinder-box, in Centre-street, which, subsequently, became the slaughter-house of a dozen or so of those who worked in it?

THIRD: As the Editor clearly intended, from the beginning, to do nothing but make indices and write a prefatory note to the series of volumes, the latter of which is not yet touched and the former only just commenced—he has made the indices to only eight of these little volumes, in his more than two years labor, without pretending to have done anything else—we submit that five thousand dollars per year, for such a service, is entirely out of keeping, unless among those, *attachés* of "the Ring,"

who closed their eyes to propriety and integrity; and we cannot reconcile the claim for such a compensation, for such a service, with that other claim, to eminent respectability, which has been made by some folks, for the parties to this questionable transaction. We also submit, with due respect, that that wonderful talent of which we have heard so much—even when employed in merely "editing" other people's writings and making indices for them—which, previously, could command nothing more than a fifteen-hundred dollar clerkship, could not *honestly* have become entitled to more than three times that amount as a *mere index-maker of public documents*; and we will leave it to any respectable workman who is practically acquainted with such matters—John Ward Dean or Samuel G. Drake, of Boston, Lyman C. Draper or Daniel S. Durrie, of Madison, A. S. Spofford, of Washington, Doctor Henry R. Stiles or John Gilmary Shea, LL.D., of New York, and Doctor Franklin B. Hough, of Louisville, for instance—to determine if more than two years of time and upwards of twelve thousand dollars of money could have been possibly employed, *honestly*, in making indices for eight such volumes as these—we know, personally, that eight such indices, to such volumes, could have been made by gentlemen who are quite as capable as Doctor O'Callaghan ever was, at one-tenth of the cost which he has inflicted on the city for that work; and, in that case, they would have been quite as well done.

FOURTH: Because of this propensity to extort monies beyond a just compensation for the services rendered, those who seek the original authorities, in their study of American history, are wounded in the houses of those who assume to be their friends and are deprived of the advantage for study which, otherwise, they might comfortably enjoy. For instance, the swindle inflicted on the taxpayers, by somebody, stopped the publication of what—under the title of the *Documentary History*, edited by Doctor O'Callaghan—might have been of inestimable value to those who desire to know more of the history of this State, had it been continued; and the same may be said of *The Minutes of the Council*, yet unfinished, which the same Doctor O'Callaghan began to carry through the "official" press, at Albany, some years since, and never finished. The *Corporation Manual*, edited by the late D. T. Valentine; the *Calendars of the Deeds, Mortgages, etc.*, recorded in the Register's office; and the *Calendars of the archives of the State*, edited by Doctor O'Callaghan, have been discontinued, also, because of the bad odor, concerning their cost, which some one—either Editor, or Printer, or both—has cast over them; and

now the long looked-for, long hoped-for records of the city, from the same cause, are evidently doomed to remain in manuscript, unprinted, for another generation or two, unless they shall be printed by private enterprise without resorting to the taxpayers for assistance. Notwithstanding all this, we find a Historical Society employed, by its executive officers and its influences, either directly or indirectly, in promoting the wrong and in retarding the progress of historical studies! This is, truly, a wonderful age.

FIFTH: With all due respect to Chief-justice Daly, we think he made a mistake when he said "Professor O'Callaghan" was, in his opinion, "*the only competent man in the country to undertake such an important work*;" and we hazard nothing when we say that, learned as he may be, all that relates to the history of the city of New York does *not* begin and end in Doctor O'Callaghan.

Probably the Chief-justice can tell us just what Doctor O'Callaghan has really done to merit such high praise as he has thus bestowed on him: we have seen his *History of New Netherland*, and we have seen the occasional foot-notes and the indices which he has added to various documents, *the latter from other pens than his own*, which, as an auxiliary to different "State Printers," he has ushered through the press, at the cost of the tax-payers of this State. Not a single original work, besides the *History of New Netherland* and a bibliographical list of American bibles, as far as we have knowledge, has ever escaped his pen, unless, as has been stated, he was co-author, with William Lyon Mackenzie, of the two volumes which bear the name of the latter and were suppressed by legal process; and his laurels, as "the only competent man," rest solely, with the exceptions named, on his ability to make excellent indices, *when he can take his own time to do the work and be liberally paid for doing it*, and to co-operate with "State Printers" in some of the most flagrant jobs of book-making, at Albany, of which the annals of that locality bear testimony.

The Chief-justice must have heard of one, J. Romeyn Brodhead, as well as of John Paulding, David T. Valentine, James Riker, Doctor Franklin B. Hough, and the learned author of the decision, in the Surrogate's Court, in the case of *Brick's Estate*—all living when "Professor Callaghan" embarked in this undertaking—all of whom were wronged in their well-earned reputations by the extravagant estimate which he has put on the Doctor's ability; and if it will not be regarded as unreasonable, in the face of such an authority, we can name an underling, a mere "understrap-

"per," unto whom even Doctor O'Callaghan has not hesitated to resort for information, on nice questions of local history, whose real ability to edit those records as far surpasses that of Doctor O'Callaghan to do the same work, as the ability of the Chief justice to extol the Doctor's qualifications for that duty surpasses the ability, in the latter line, of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—we refer to William Kelly, the unassuming, but not less meritorious, assistant of Doctor Moore, in the legitimate duties of the latter as Librarian of the New York Historical Society.

We protest, therefore, against such an alliance of eminent respectability and eminent criminality as we have noticed, nominally for the promotion of historical literature but really for something very much less deserving. We protest against such an alliance of the dignified New York Historical Society with the disreputable New York Printing Company, as the *Ass* has described, in order to secure a sinecure for anybody, at the expence of decency and the rights of others—taxpayers and non-taxpayers. We protest against the publication of the ancient records of the city, through such a combination of honor and dishonor, in such a form, unaccompanied by explanatory foot-notes, at such a cost, under such undue pretences of superior wisdom and unapproachable virtue, as we have noticed, no matter whose temper shall be ruffled or whose pretensions to respectability shall be, thereby, exposed in all their fimsiness.

We ask the tax-payers of New York to watch the progress of this movement of those respectable and disreputable, confederated—who seek to saddle them with another job, not quite as large but equally disreputable in principle, as some others: we call on the members of the New York Historical Society to determine whether or not the high character and influence of that body shall be prostituted to the promotion of a flagrant wrong on the city, under the pretense of serving the cause of historical literature.

XIV.—BOOKS.

Subscribers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCHUBNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., Booksellers, 64 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Papers relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania, A. D., 1680-1778.* Edited by William Francis Perry, D.D. Privately printed. 1871. Quarto, this-page and verso, xxi., 607.

Our readers are generally aware that, many instances, the General Convention of the Prot-

estant Episcopal Church in the United States authorized the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., to collect, in Europe and elsewhere, copies of whatever correspondence and other documents, illustrative of the history of that denomination of professing Christians, in the early period, he could find; and that the Doctor zealously discharged that duty, leaving behind him, at his decease, a large collection of manuscripts, now known as *The Hawks Collection*. Many of our readers are aware, also, that our friend, the Rev. Doctor Perry has succeeded Doctor Hawks, as the appointed Historiographer of the Convention; and those who have been privileged to examine and employ the work, will remember, also, gratefully, that some two or three years since, the latter gentleman edited and published, by order of the Convention, a very small edition of that portion of *The Hawks Collection* which relates to the early history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.

The elegant volume before us is the second of the series—a sumptuous quarto, beautifully printed, and filled with documents concerning the history of the Episcopalian Church in Pennsylvania, supplemented with appropriate notes and an admirable index—and we have pleasure in inviting the attention of our readers to it. It is a local of the highest importance, for the illustration of both the ecclesiastical and civil history of the Province of Pennsylvania; and no one can pretend to write on any subject connected with the early history of that important Commonwealth or with any of her leading inhabitants, prior to the War of the Revolution, without referring to it.

As we have said, the volume is a large quarto, printed with old-style type, on tinted laid paper, in the finest style of modern book-making; and the edition is a very small one, only for subscribers.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

2.—*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the semi-annual meeting, held in Boston, April 28, 1872.* Worcester: 1872. Octavo, pp. 85.

In this tract we have the record of the work of this excellent Society, between October, 1871, and April, 1872; and it affords the best of evidence of the intelligence, zeal, and industry of those who conduct its affairs.

The Report of the Executive Committee discusses the literature of discovery on the North-west coast of America; the Librarian's Report discusses various subjects of practical interest; the Treasurer's Report presents the Budget of the Society, in all its encouraging details. Besides, we have an admirable speech from Rev. Dr. Ellis, on *Town-debts*, which may be read,

usefully, by town-officers and town tax-payers, without as well as within Massachusetts; and a carefully-prepared paper, by Horace Davis, on *The likelihood of an admixture of Japanese blood on our North-western coast*, illustrated by a map of the "Japanese Warm Stream" of the Pacific.

We are glad to perceive that this excellent old Society is still earnestly engaged in the work to which it was dedicated by its founders; and we hope that its best days will be those which are in the future.

The typography of this tract is excellent.

3.—*Proceedings of the New-England Historic, Genealogical Society, at the annual meeting, January 1, 1873.* Boston: 1873. Octavo, pp. 44.

The Reports of the Committees and officers of this excellent Society indicate a degree of prosperity and activity which will gratify its warmest friends; and at a cost, for conducting its affairs, which ought to put a blush of shame on the face of those who conduct at least one Society, nearer by, if any thing could produce a blush of shame on their faces short of an exposure of the details of their infidelity to the spirit as well as the letter of their trust.

The increase of the Library, during 1872, was one thousand and forty-six bound and unbound volumes and five thousand, nine hundred, and nine-nine pamphlets—including one hundred and two bound volumes of newspapers—and "a large number of manuscripts, besides many "maps, engravings, photographs, and articles "for the Cabinet," the great importance of which will be apparent to every one. The Society has been seated in its own "House;" it has secured one of the most competent and faithful men in the State as its Librarian; its funds have increased, irrespective of its Building fund, more than a thousand dollars; and, in short, it has shown, practically, what an active, earnest set of men can do, with small means; and left those who have a greater regard for the amount of their own salaries than for the purposes of their employment to wonder why it is not the good-fortune of their Societies to be one-half as prosperous or a quarter as efficient.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

4.—*The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion.* (1861-65.) Prepared, in accordance with Acts of Congress, under the direction of Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes, United States Army. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1870.

The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion. Part I. Volume I. Medical History. Prepared, under the direction of Joseph K. Barnes, Surgeon

General United States Army, by J. J. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon United States Army. Quarto, pp. xliii., 794, [6, not numbered] 365.

The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion. Part I. Volume II. Surgical History. Prepared, under the direction of Joseph K. Barnes, Surgeon General United States Army, by George A. Otis, Assistant Surgeon United States Army. Quarto, pp. clv., 650, xiv.

Every careful writer of military history will find in the medical and surgical records of armies very much information, of the highest interest, which cannot, ordinarily, be found elsewhere; and every one who cares to look, beyond the results of military operations, at the causes which have produced or the influences which have controlled them, will, necessarily, resort to the annals of the composition, the sanitary condition, and the havoc made in the ranks by disease and the missiles of the enemy. For this reason, the Medical and Surgical History of any War is as important to those who undertake to write concerning the military operations in that War as it can possibly be to the medical or surgical student; and no official history of a War can be regarded as complete which does not include a faithful transcript of the observations and experience of the Surgeons who accompanied the Armies, therein

It was regarded as most gratifying information, therefore, when we learned that the Federal authorities were preparing to print the annals of its faithful medical staff, concerning the operations of the recent War; and still more welcome were the first-fruits of that service—the two elegant quartos, referred to, at the head of this notice—when, through the courtesy of the Surgeon-general of the Army, they were laid on our table.

The first-named of the two volumes—the *Medical History*—opens with an Introductory Note, by the Surgeon-general, in which he traces, with great particularity, the origin and progress of the measures which have resulted in the publication of this volume; and this is followed by an elaborate *Introduction*, in which the general subject of the volume, the system of its construction, and a minute description of its contents are carefully presented. There is, also, in this portion of the work, a very interesting discussion of the question as to the loss of life, during the War; and, if for no other feature, that portion of the work entitles it to the highest consideration by every student of the history of the War. Then follows an elaborate series of tables showing the sickness and mortality of, respectively, the white and the colored troops, month by month, and "region" by "region," extending to a hundred and fifty distinct diseases, appropriately classified. An "Appendix" follows, containing a mass of *Reports*

of *Medical Directors and other Documents*, from the Battle of Bull-run to the close of the War—a series of papers of the highest importance, as material for history, and carefully illustrated with maps of the principal battles and scenes of operations.

The second-named of these volumes—the *Surgical History*—opens with the same Introductory Note, by the Surgeon General, which opens the *Medical History*, already noticed; and this is followed by an *Introduction* to the volume, by Doctor Otis, its Editor; a *Chronological Summary of Engagements and Battles*—a paper embracing descriptions of the conflicting forces, their respective losses, and other information—and an *Index to the Chronological Summary*, in which those conflicts are noticed, alphabetically. The text of the volume contains detailed reports, many of them illustrated, of hundreds of cases of wounds and injuries of, respectively, the head, the face, the neck, the spine, and the chest, sustained by both Federal and Confederate soldiers—a series of reports which, more generally than any other of the series, will be found useful to the surgical community; but, nevertheless, affording, not unfrequently, evidence which will be found of the highest importance by those who love to explore the inner recesses of historical truth.

Our readers will perceive that the work before us is highly prized, by us, as an authority in history as well as in science. We are grateful to him who projected it and to those who executed it. We hope that no untoward event will occur to retard the publication of the volumes not yet issued.

Typographically considered, these volumes possess great beauty, both in their text and their illustrations—they are seldom surpassed, as specimens of elegant book-making.

5.—*History of the Pennsylvania Volunteers, 1861-5*; prepared in compliance with Acts of the Legislature, by Samuel P. Bates. Volumes III., IV., and V. Harrisburg: 1870-1871. Large octavo, pp. [Volume III.] iv., 1879; [Volume IV.] v., 1898; [Volume V.] v., 1481.

We have already noticed, at length, the earlier volumes of this series; and we have pleasure in returning to the subject, with the closing volumes before us.

During the progress of the War, and for several years after its close, Pennsylvania appeared to care nothing for the record of her own devotion to the cause of the country nor for that of the gallantry of her troops in the field. Her Reports were mere skeletons; and she provided scarcely enough of those to supply the necessary wants of her Executive officers, without seeming to care whether or not students of her

history should be enabled to ascertain, from official sources, what she did and what she did not do, as one of the leading Commonwealths of the Confederation.

But, some years after Peace was established, a new spirit was aroused and a new policy established. A competent scholar was employed as the State's historiographer; the records of her several Regiments and Battalions were completed; and the world was made acquainted with the fact that Pennsylvania had, at last, become sensible that those who had supported her banners, in the field, were entitled to Pennsylvania's gratitude. Five large volumes form the important record, as Pennsylvania has now completed it; and no one, unless by accident, need look in vain for a complete record of every Regiment or Battalion which has borne her standards or that of every man, old or young, who has fought her battles.

The *History* is arranged by Regiments—every Regiment enjoying its separate record of services and separate Roster of officers and men (the latter arranged, alphabetically, by Companies) with their respective ranks, dates of muster and individual records—and is illustrated with carefully-prepared maps and engravings adapted to that purpose. Indeed, there seems to be very little to be desired which has not been anticipated; and the author is entitled to great credit for the patient industry which he has displayed in every part of his laborious services.

The volumes are very handsomely printed by the State Printer, and will become objects of anxious enquiry wherever the history of the military operations of the recent struggle shall become subjects of intelligent enquiry.

6.—*Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey, in the Revolutionary War*, compiled under orders of His Excellency Theodore F. Randolph, Governor, by William S. Stryker, Adjutant General. Printed by authority of the Legislature. Trenton, N. J.: 1872, Octavo, pp. 878.

New Jersey was favored, a year or two since—and, probably she is now—with an Executive who possessed a clear head and was upright in the discharge of his official duties; and he was blessed with an assistant, as his Adjutant-general, who was of the same rare kind. Between the two—the Adjutant-general and the Governor—it was determined to make and publish a complete record of the soldiers of New Jersey who served, respectively, in the Army of the Revolution, in the War of 1812, and in the Mexican War—we suppose that of the Jersey-men who served in the recent Civil War will complete the series—and, the Legislature having

approved the proposition, in the portly volume before us we have the first-fruits of that patriotic undertaking.

The volume opens with a brief digest of the action of the Continental Congress and of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey which called into the service of the Continent the first two Battalions of the New Jersey line; and that is followed with Rosters of their respective officers and sketches of their services in the field. Following these are similar digests, Rosters, and sketches of services of the Third Battalion of the "First Establishment," the four Battalions of the "Second Establishment," and the three Battalions of the "Third Establishment;" and lists of the officers, Jerseymen, who served in other commands than those included in the ten Battalions first referred to. Then come the *Official Roster of Continental Troops*, beginning with William Alexander, Lord Stirling, Major-general, and ending with Isaac Zopus, a Private in "Spencer's Regiment," Continental Army;" records of the origin and officers of the "State troops" and of the officers of the State "Militia;" the Laws under which that Militia was organized, in the several Counties of the State, from 1775 until 1781; and notices of its services in the field. An elaborate *Official Roster of State Troops and Militia* follows, in which Major-general Philemon Dickinson heads the list and "William Young, Teamster," closes it; and a similar Roster of the officers in the Naval Service and an Index close the volume.

In all these several Rosters the names are arranged, alphabetically, under their several offices; and the Counties to which the men belonged and, very often, their respective Regiments and brief notices of their services add to the interest of the brief record.

Our readers will need no reminder from us of the interest which necessarily attaches to this very elaborate record; and how much genealogists and students will rejoice at this evidence of New Jersey's judicious liberality in seconding the excellent judgment and disinterested industry, in this instance, of those whom it has been her good fortune to secure as her public officers.

The volume is a very handsome one; and we are indebted to our friend, General William S. Stryker, the excellent Adjutant-general of the State, for the copy which is before us.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

7.—*History of Lexington Kentucky Its Early Annals and Recent Progress including Biographical Sketches and Personal Reminiscences of the Pioneer Settlers Notices of prominent citizens etc etc* By George W. Rauck Cincinnati

natl Robert Clarke & Co 1873 Octavo, pp. viii., 483. Price \$4.00.

The author, not without propriety, has called Lexington, "the Jamestown of the West; the "advance-guard of civilization; the center from "which went forth the conquerors of a savage "empire." She is, also, the second outgrowth of an intelligent community—the second city which has occupied the same site—and, within the memory of living men, she was rich in her crumbling remains of a powerful, intelligent, and by-gone race. It was proper, therefore, that she should find an annalist; and the volume before us is intended to meet that want.

Opening with a survey of the remains of the ancient city, as far as the remains have been noticed by those who preceded him or can be found, to-day, the author next describes, successively, the intermediate occupation of Kentucky, by the Indians; the occupation of the same territory, by the whites; the settlement of Lexington, in 1775; and her subsequent progress and decline. In this work, he has largely, but necessarily, introduced the history of all Kentucky and, incidentally, he has noticed, also, that of the entire West; but, although he has thus extended his observation beyond the limits of municipal Lexington, her particular annals are not obscured nor the memories of her burghers overlooked. It was necessary, in order to present her story and that of her founders, in all their completeness, that that of Kentucky and the wide West, beyond her boundaries, should also be noticed; and the duty has been carefully and judiciously met.

It is very seldom that any locality can secure so faithful an annalist as Mr. Rauck has proved himself to be; and we very rarely find a work of this class which has been prepared with such evidently untiring industry. Nothing seems to have been forgotten or overlooked, of what Lexington has ever seen or ever done; and it seems that no one has ever set foot within her boundaries without finding a place in this admirable record. Had it been provided with a suitable *Table of Contents* and a carefully-prepared *Index*, we should have considered it as perfect as it very well could be, in the absence of any attempt to present the genealogies of the leading families of the locality; and we cannot omit the mention of our deep regret that a work which has been prepared with so much labor and printed with so much taste, should not have been provided with a *Table of Contents* and an *Index*, of a character suitable to the wants of those who will have occasion to use it.

As a specimen of Western book-making, it is a very neatly executed volume.

9.—*Annals of Phoenixville and its vicinity: from the settlement to the year 1871*, giving the origin and growth of the Borough, with information concerning the adjacent townships of Chester and Montgomery Counties and the valley of the Schuylkill, by Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, Esq. Philadelphia: Bavis & Pennypacker. 1871. Octavo, pp. 295.

Nearly one half of this volume is occupied with a careful survey of the history of Chester-county and its vicinity, from its settlement until the close of the War of 1812, interspersed with documents for the support of the narrative and its illustration. The latter half of the volume is confined to the annals of the Borough of Phoenixville, from the purchase of the site on which it stands, in December, 1731, until 1871, in which portion of the work, with great industry and evident care, the small beginnings and the rise to prosperity of that flourishing community are duly recorded.

There has been no waste of words in the preparation of this volume for the press; and yet there seems to be nothing lacking, in a careful, complete, conscientious presentation of the facts, as far as the author has traversed the field which he has labored in. There is no attempt to record the genealogies of families, such as we see in every such work which proceeds from New England—an omission which will be regretted, years hence, when *love of family* shall have become more developed in that portion of the Republic—but “the short and simple annals” of the neighborhood—all that was considered noteworthy, thereabouts—have certainly fallen into capable hands and been successfully and satisfactorily presented. The want of a proper Index is the principal drawback; and, in a new edition, should one be called for, it is to be hoped the omission will be remedied.

The volume is a very handsome one; and is illustrated with a Map, *fac-similes*, and several neat wood-cuts.

1.—*History of Wayne County, Indiana, from its first settlement to the present time; with numerous Biographical and Family Sketches*. By Andrew W. Young. Embellished with upwards of fifty portraits of Citizens and Views of Buildings. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 459.

This portly volume contains the annals of Wayne-county, Indiana, situated on the border of Ohio and almost directly East from Indianapolis.

Opening with a general description of the County and ample notices of its settlement and general progress in prosperity, it next introduces each town, separately; carefully recording its history, the progress of its improvements, and its present condition; and preserving, in bio-

graphical and genealogical sketches and more than fifty portraits, not only the statistics of their leading families but the lineaments of their more prominent members.

It promises well for the history of “the West” that such a volume as this has been already devoted to a record of the simple annals of a single County; and we congratulate the inhabitants of Wayne county that they have found one who was both able and willing to perpetuate the history of the heroism of their ancestors and the prosperity which has crowned their humble labors, with so much patient fidelity and so much minuteness.

The volume is very neatly printed by Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., and is worthy of an extended circulation.

10.—*Early History of the Lutheran Church in America, from the settlement of the Swedes on the Delaware, to the middle of the eighteenth century*. By C. W. Scheaffer. New Edition. Philadelphia: The Lutheran Book-store, 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 142.

We notice, in this place—although it is not a *Recent Publication*—this hand-book of Lutheran history, in order that our readers who have occasion to refer to works on that subject may not overlook it.

It does not profess to be very complete, nor is it so; but it will be found useful, as far as it goes, as a general guide to the history of the Swedish, Dutch, and German Lutherans, in America, until “the middle of the eighteenth century”—say until within a hundred and twenty years of our time—and, as such, we notice it, notwithstanding the date of its publication.

It is very neatly printed.

XV.—CURRENT EVENTS.

OBITUARY.—CHARLES HALSEY MITCHELL, the fifth son of MINOTT MITCHELL, Esq. and ELIZA, *née* SILLIMAN, his wife, was born at White Plains, Westchester-county, N. Y., on the thirteenth of February, 1824; entered the University of the City of New York and graduated in the Class of 1844; read law in the office of his elder brother, William Minott Mitchell, Esq., New York, and was admitted to practice in 1846; removed to Milan, Ohio, in 1847, and continued to reside there, practising his profession, until 1852, when he returned to New York, in which latter city he resumed his practice, and continued therein—the greater portion of the time in partnership with his cousin, MINOTT MITCHELL SILLIMAN, Esq., forming the firm of MITCHELL & SILLIMAN—until his decease. He married, on the twenty-first of July, 1859,

ISABELLA R., daughter of Hon. JOHN HULL, of Freehold, New Jersey, who, with two children, survives him; and he died, from nervous prostration, at his residence—the well known home of his father—on the thirtieth of January, 1873.

With Mr. Mitchell's father and some of the members of his family it was our fortune to become personally and intimately acquainted, in the days of our young manhood, more than a third of a century since; and, subsequently, it was our fortune, also, to meet them, in opposition, as a principal party, in one of the most tedious legal contests which the Bar and the Bench of Westchester-county have ever engaged in—a contest, too, in which they were on the losing side. Nearly twenty years ago, it was our fortune, also, to remove, with our young family, to the vicinity of White Plains and to become a neighbor and every-day associate of all of them; and, with all the animosities which had been created by years of family strife entirely buried, by both parties, it was our privilege to find in both the venerable heads of the family, as well as in the younger members of it, neighbors whose untiring kindness could not have been exceeded by those who were nearer to us, and, subsequently, friends, who, in our adversity, as well as in our prosperity, have been unchanged and unchangable, constant in good words and works, and never becoming weary therein.

In this family group—embracing parents, children, grandchildren, nephews, and neices, the aged as well as the young—"Halsey," for by that familiar name our deceased friend was generally known, was always among the first to meet and to greet us with his hearty, outspoken salutation; and, only a short time before his death, we received from him one of those letters of hearty censure of what was supposed to have been an indiscreet act of our own, which, quite as much as a word of hearty approval, it is the privilege of a friend to write to us. He was then in ill-health; but we did not entertain a thought of his danger until the sad tidings of his decease abruptly broke upon us, informing us that another of our friends had been taken, another of the ties which bind us to earth had been suddenly broken.

Mr. Mitchell possessed natural abilities of a high order; and they were improved by a liberal education, by diligent study, and by extended travel, both in the old world and the new—three several visits to Europe (one of them in company with James T. Brady and Edward Sanford; another in company with Governor Seward) having served to make him acquainted with whatever was noticable in Europe; and his long residence in the West, as

well as in New York, made him perfectly familiar with the men and matters of our own country. He was a good lawyer, too; and, without entering public life, as an office seeker, he was thoroughly acquainted with the political affairs of the Republic.

But it was in the social circle and among those whom he recognized as his friends, that "Halsey" shone brightest; and in that capacity, especially, will he be remembered, most fondly, by those who were regarded by him as belonging to that circle. Quick, impulsive, outspoken, he was, nevertheless, as slow to inflict a wound, unnecessarily, as he was prompt to assuage it, if inflicted improperly; and no one could have been more generous in forgetting past differences, honestly entertained, or in forgiving a wrong, inflicted without malice, than he. He was fond of harmless jokes, heartily participating therein; and those who have traveled, day by day, between "the Plains" and New York, or who met him in his business office, or in his family circle, will remember his frequent sallies of wit, his brilliant repartee, and his earnest, hearty bursts of laughter when others retorted, even to his own disadvantage.

Having known and enjoyed his earnest friendship, when a friend was most welcome, we know how heavy the blow is which has taken him from us; and our heartfelt sympathy is extended to those, both within and without his family circle, who were bound to him by ties of a yet more sacred character—wife, children, brothers, nephews, neices—and who feel more keenly than we can the power of his absence.

—JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, LL.D.—After this page was entirely in type, we received the sad tidings of the death of our distinguished friend, JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, the well-known historian of New York; and we make room for this brief notice of it. In our next, we shall endeavor to notice the event more fully than we can at this time.

—Lieutenant-colonel Atherton H. Stevens, Jr., died, in East Cambridge, recently. He was formerly in command of the First Battalion of Massachusetts Cavalry, and Provost-marshal of the Twenty-sixth Army Corps, also the first Union officer who entered Richmond, and received its surrender from Mayor Mayo.

—Mr. George A. Simmons, of Boston, has presented to Independence Chamber, Philadelphia, a copy of the portrait of Samuel Adams, by Copley, which hangs in Faneuil Hall.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The Title-page and Index of this volume, will be sent to our subscribers with the number for July, which is now in the printers' hands and well advanced.

The July number will contain the first of Major Douglass's Lectures on the Military Operations on the Niagara frontier, in the War of 1812; the beginning of Mr. Randall's historical sketch of men and matters in Chenango-county, in this State; Judge Godfrey's paper on the young Castine, read before the Maine Historical Society; General Devens's Oration on General George G. Meade, delivered before the Society of the Army of the Potomac, at its recent meeting at New Haven; and a supplement to the article in this number entitled *Confederate Love-taps*—General Bragg having sent to us some very important papers, hitherto unpublished, for that purpose—besides a continuation of some of the articles unfinished in this number.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. I. THIRD SERIES.]

JUNE, 1873.

[No. 6.]

—THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.

By JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

Edward Everett probably never rose to loftier eloquence than when, in the New York Academy of Music, on the fourth of July, 1862, he discussed, in the presence of thousands, "the great issues now before the country." In his closing appeal, he reached the climax as he unfolded the relations of the great West to these issues. "For years, the turning point of the politics of 'the West * * * had been nothing less than 'the sovereign control of the Mississippi, from 'its heartspring to its outlet in the Gulf.' Only one sentence in the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, he said, had come to the public, but that "sentence gave away half a Continent" to Napoleon, in barter for some worthless Crown bestowed on some worthless Bourbon; and, in turn, pressed by necessity, the French Emperor, for a few millions, "transferred to us that 'territory, half as big as Europe, by a stroke of 'his pen." The cession included "Louisiana, 'Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and 'Kansas, the Territories of Nebraska, Dacotah, 'and Jefferson, * * * the State of Oregon 'and the Territory of Washington." The Mississippi, for the West, is the natural outlet to the sea. Some ten millions, of the loyal Western States, claim this as belonging to the common country, and, said the orator, assuming his sandest attitude and tones, "Louisiana fondly 'believes that ten millions of the free people of 'the Union will allow her and her seceding 'brethren to open and shut the portals of this 'mighty region, at their pleasure. They may 'do so, and the swarming millions which 'through the course of these noble streams and 'their tributaries, may consent to navigate them 'by sufrage from Montgomery and Richmond; but it will be when the Alleghanies 'and the Rocky Mountains, which form the 'eastern and western walls of the imperial

"valley, shall sink to the level of the sea, and "the Mississippi and the Missouri shall flow "back to their fountains."

Suppose the traveler to embark on a lake steamer, at Cleveland, touching at Sandusky and Detroit, then passing through Lake Huron and accomplishing the circuit of Lake Michigan, touching at Chicago, Milwaukee, and Green Bay; thence traversing the entire length of Lake Superior, as far as Superior City. Let him now take the stage-coach, and traverse the wilderness, to St. Anthony; thence, by rail and horse, to the Missouri; and thence, by steamer, as high as Fort Benton. Standing there, let him attempt to realize, in thought, that he is now, by river, about three thousand miles from St. Louis. From Fort Benton, let him now strike southward, along the base of the Rocky Mountains, the entire breadth of Idaho and Colorado; as he crosses the Union Pacific Railroad, let him look eastward, and think of the Atlantic, and westward, and think of the Pacific. Let him follow, next, the southern boundaries of Colorado, Kansas, and Missouri, until he reaches the Mississippi, and thence, up the Ohio, to Pittsburgh, and thence, by rail, to Cleveland, his point of departure. He will, then, be prepared to pronounce our hacknied phrase, "THE GREAT WEST," with some adequate notion of its meaning. And yet, after all, this would be but a meagre view of any thing but "the magnificent distances" of the West.

If we leave out of this estimate the States admitted into the Union, since Kansas, we shall have enough left for our present purpose. We may call the Western States, in the order of their admission. Ohio was admitted into the Union, in 1802; Indiana, in 1816; Illinois, in 1818; Missouri, in 1820; Michigan, in 1837; Iowa, in 1846; Wisconsin, in 1848; Minnesota, in 1857; and Kansas in 1860. Let it be remembered that more than ten years have passed since the statistics of the last decennial census were compiled; and that all these States, but especially the newer ones, have made vast progress since that time. Now, according to the tables of 1860, in these nine States, over one hundred millions of acres—one half of which

were occupied—were owned by citizens and valued at over two billions of dollars. To show what changes have taken place since 1860, in this respect, Iowa may be cited. In 1860, less than eleven millions of acres were owned by citizens; in 1867, there were nearly thirty millions. In 1860, these nine States—Kansas not yet admitted—had nine hundred and eleven thousand dwellings; in 1860, one million.

It would be interesting to examine the census, in order to present to our readers a view of the physical greatness of these States as exhibited in their improved lands, the number of their dwellings, the amounts of grain and animals, the number of their newspapers and other periodicals, the products of their skilled labor in iron, cotton, woolen, and other materials—indeed, in all that goes to make up the vast sum total of money values of these States; but, inasmuch as the census of 1870 is not yet accessible, we prefer to omit these facts and pass on to other statements of a more significant and imposing character.

On the twelfth of April, 1861, at twenty minutes past four in the morning, Edward Ruffen of Virginia was permitted by General Beauregard to make his name forever infamous by firing the first shot at the national flag that floated over Fort Sumter; and, on Saturday, the thirteenth of April, the fort surrendered. As the wires conveyed the intelligence, South, North, and West, the wildest excitement was produced. The South was wild with joy at the result; whilst the North and West were wild with rage, at the insult offered to the national symbol and the humiliation of the national honor. We could not, if we would, do perfect justice to the New England and Middle States, in the treasure, the munitions, and the men they sent to the field. On the fifteenth of April, President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, for three months, to suppress the rebellion; and, the same day, Jefferson Davis and other traitors laughed a loud laugh at the news; but, in reality there was nothing to cause laughter. The President may have displayed simplicity in his plan, as if such a force could put down such an enemy; but a man of his docility very easily learned better; whilst, all over the North and West, the patriotic fever swept like a hurricane. Such a Sunday was never known on this Continent, as that which succeeded the fall of Sumter and preceded the first call for troops. The wires had conveyed the distressing news, in every direction; and, whilst multitudes crowded the churches, other multitudes gathered at the street-corners or in public halls, to discuss the situation. The one thought that oppressed the hearts of all was that "the dear old flag had been insulted by

"traitors." At the East, multitudes were found who did not believe in proceeding too fast or pushing matters to extremes. Towns and cities, in that section, were so unfortunate as to be creditors to the amount of millions to persons at the South. The very harness by which the rebels drew their cannon, the very saddles they rode on, the very "cadet-gray" in which thousands of their soldiers were clothed, were bought at the North, on credit. The hatters and clothiers of Newark, the carriage and harness-makers of New Haven, the great merchants of New York, and Philadelphia, and Boston, looked at the situation, through the vast debts owed them at the South. It casts no reflections on their integrity or patriotism, to say they *hoped* that mild means would heal the difficulty and save also their endangered capital.

The surrender of Sumter was known in the great cities of the West, on Saturday evening; and, on Sunday, the fourteenth of April, it was known at every telegraph station, West of the Alleghenies, and thence, widely circulated, in every direction. Lorin Andrew, President of Kenyon-college, was the earliest to offer himself as a soldier; and, before the flag over Sumter was lowered, "twenty full Companies" were offered the Governor of Ohio, for immediate service. "But a single day was required to raise the first two Ohio Regiments, 'in answer to the President's call.'" In Indiana, that Sunday was devoted, in many places, to making clothes for the soldiers. Lewis Wallace, of Crawfordsville, had drilled a Company of Zouaves; and, under his direction, Blinn, one of his pupils, had drilled the cadets in Wabash-college so thoroughly as, in the opinion of some, to excel his master. Both these Companies, at once, enlisted under Wallace; and Companies from the country filled up the Regiment—the immortal Eleventh Indiana Volunteers—in a trice. That great organizer, Governor Morton, was at the helm, in the Hoosier State, as Governor Dennison was in the Buckeye. In Illinois, and Michigan, and Iowa, and Wisconsin, and Kansas, the flood of popular feeling flowed in the same direction, until it seemed as if that sublime hypothesis with which Everett closed his Oration, as quoted already, in the commencement of this article, was converted into a sublime fact. Ten millions of people rose to a level with the exigency of the hour, and proved that it would be easier to smooth down the two great mountain-ranges and turn the two great rivers of the West back upon their sources, than for them to surrender to treason, not merely the Mississippi-valley but their country.

The object of these statements is not merely to show what these Western States *now* are, but

to reflect the luster of their present greatness on the humble but illustrious beginnings of that greatness.

From the voluminous facts which Mr. Reid, in his *Ohio in the War*, has, with such painstaking, presented in his work, we select a few. "At the close of the War against the Rebellion, the State of Ohio had in the national service "two hundred Regiments of all arms. In the "course of the War, she furnished two hundred and thirty Regiments, besides twenty-six independent Batteries of Artillery, five "independent Companies of Cavalry, several "Companies of Sharpshooters, large parts of "five Regiments credited to the West Virginia "contingent, two credited to the Kentucky contingent, two transferred to 'United States "Colored Troops,' and a large proportion of "the rank and file for the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts. * * * In these various organizations, as original members or as recruits, the State furnished to the national "service the magnificent army of three hundred and ten thousand, six hundred and fifty-four soldiers. * * * The period of service of these troops ranged from that of the "National Guards, for a hundred days, to that "of the Veteran Volunteers, for five years. "Reduced to the department standard, they "represent not quite two hundred and forty thousand three-years' soldiers." And then Mr. Reid, with unconcealed pride, tells where and "how they fought on well-nigh every battle-field "of the War * * * and the record of what "they did will never cease to be cherished by "their grateful countrymen." It was in such sublime bountifulness, in the gifts dearest to herself, that Ohio redeemed the worthy reply of Governor Dennison to the insolent Message of the rebel Governor of Kentucky to the President's first call for troops: "IF KENTUCKY REFUSES TO FILL HER QUOTA, OHIO WILL FILL IT "FOR HER." And what was done by Ohio was paralleled by Indiana, Illinois, and the other Western States. They were fired with no half-hearted interest, but with a determination which sent to the field the very best of her sons.

As for the sanitary arrangements and the means contributed, directly, by the people of these States, to the soldiers in the field and in the hospital, they were enormous. Their gifts, in some cases, required nothing less than whole freight-trains to convey them. The facts can never be known, except approximately; but could they be known and reduced to value, in dollars, to weight, in tons, or bulk, in cords, the aggregate would constitute one of the most imposing of this great period.

In the great review of our Armies, at Washington city, at the close of the War, when the

legions of the Potomac, the Shenandoah, and Tennessee, under Grant, Sheridan, and Sherman, marched before the President and multitudes of admiring spectators, it was remarked, by eastern men, that the manhood material, the yeoman-quality, and "the intense, quick, and "long swinging stride of the western troops, "distinguished them from the eastern." All were troops worthy of the deliverance the nation had experienced at their hands; but not least illustrious among them, at that national pageant, were those that had been sent by those nine Western States.

As one rides along the railway which traverses the unequalled "Cheat-mountain region," he asks what the forces were that heaved up these mountains and then split them apart, in these sublime clefts? As he rides over the wide-extended prairies of the West, beholding their matchless beauty and richness, he asks what were the causes that made them what they are? Some have reached, a *grand effect* in these Western States, and we ask for the *causes* of it. The mere division of similar territories, by a river, or the mere circumstance of a few degrees' difference of Latitude cannot account for the prosperity of one section and the depression of another. We propose to discuss this question, at some length, as due both to history and philosophy.

"The poor wise man, by his wisdom, delivered the city; yet no man remembered that "same poor man;" and yet, we are told, "the "words of wise men are heard in quiet more "than the cry of him that ruleth among fools." The great beneficent results which history names are often traced to wrong agents; and the real heroes whose faith and wisdom achieved these results are forgotten. To too great an extent this has been true in the history of this gigantic western civilization.

Without going back to trace the methods by which the United States came in possession of the North-western Territory and of the Louisiana Territory—including part of the States whose growth we have been tracing—it is sufficient to say that, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1785, two Army-officers, General Rufus Putnam and Colonel Benjamin Tupper, published a plan which led to the organization of the "OHIO COMPANY;" and this was addressed, mainly, to "officers and soldiers who "have served in the late War, and who are, by "an Ordinance of the Honorable Congress, to receive certain tracts of land in the Ohio Country." This led to a meeting, in Boston, of delegates elected according to the plan. That meeting was made up of eleven delegates. General Rufus Putnam was elected Chairman. He was a man of great integrity and inde-

pendence; and, by his own efforts, he had become one of the most accomplished Engineers in the American Army. He was greatly honored by Washington; and it was undoubtedly *his* plan and not Colonel Gridley's, as is commonly stated, that was adopted by Washington, for the occupation of Dorchester Heights, and which forced the evacuation of Boston.—(HILDRETH'S *Life of Early Settlers of Ohio*, 66.) He was a good man; but he was not the man who was to drop the seed-corn of western greatness. He and his companions had fought well for the country, and they were ready to brave all the rigors of frontier life; but the honored agent of Divine Providence, in imparting to the Northwest the right type of civilization was the delegate from Essex-county, Massachusetts, the Rev. Manassah Cutler—usually called "Doctor Cutler," for the double reason that he had been honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws, by Yale-college, and he was also a successful practitioner of Medicine, in the parish of which he was Pastor, fifty-two years.

Doctor Cutler was born at Killingly, Connecticut, in 1742; and graduated at Yale-college, in 1765. For a time, he successfully practised Law, in Martha's Vineyard; but, in 1771, was ordained to the Christian ministry, as Pastor of the Hamilton-church, in Essex-county, Massachusetts, which position he worthily filled until his death, in 1828. He is represented as a man of superior abilities and attainments. He attained local celebrity, as a physician, and a national celebrity, as a botanist, for which reason he was elected an Honorary Member of several scientific associations in Philadelphia and other parts of the country. During two Campaigns, he was a Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army; and it thus happened that he was elected a member of the Convention that formed the Ohio Company. His genial manner, great common sense, extended acquaintance, and his interest in the enterprise, led to his being selected as the Company's agent, to proceed to New York, where Congress was in Session, to negotiate for Ohio lands. In June, 1787, he started for New York, in his own carriage. He had provided himself with letters of introduction to leading men, on his route and in Congress.

The manuscript copy of his journal tells us that, at Providence, he "received a polite invitation from Governor Bowen, in the name of a large company, to join them in a Turtle-frolic, six miles out of town; but, much against my inclination, I was obliged to excuse myself: spending my time in Turtle-frolics would very illy comport with the long journey and public business I had undertaken.

"As I went out of town, Mr. Hitchcock and myself waited on Governor Bowen. I informed him it was my wish to visit the famous steam-engine, at Cranston, of which he was one of the proprietors. He proposed excusing himself from the Turtle-party and riding out with me, to the engine, eight miles from Providence; but as it must have deprived him of so much pleasure, as they had in prospect, I insisted on his not thinking of it and went on, myself, to Cranston. This curious machine was made under the direction of Mr. Joseph Brown, of Providence, and is a striking proof of the abilities of that able philosopher. The invention was not new; but he had made many valuable improvements in simplifying and making the working of it more convenient above what has been done in Europe. It cost upwards of one thousand pounds sterling."

A comparison of this "famous engine" of that day with one of the many now made, at the Novelty and other Works, and to be seen at hundreds of Water-works and Manufactories, would show that some progress has been made in that line, since Doctor Cutler went out of his way eight miles to see an engine that was then "a seven-days-wonder."

It seems, also, that the "turtle-party" of 1787, must be the lawful progenitor of the "clam-bake" in which the Rhode Islanders of our day take so much delight.

Having passed through the Notch, in the Hartford "Mountains," which he describes, Doctor Cutler came to East Hartford, where his dignified manners so impressed a "Connecticut tavern-keeper, a man of great *engacity* and remarkable *complaisance*," that, "after taking off his hat and making several bows and scrapes with his feet, asked me if I was not the Governor!"

It is exceedingly interesting to compare the Doctor's description of several towns and cities, as they were in 1787, with what they are now. For instance, who, in passing through the elegant streets and suburbs of the city of Hartford, as it now is, would suspect that Cutler was describing the same place, as it was eighty-one years ago? "Went out to Hartford," continues Doctor Cutler, "by the Southern road. The city of Hartford is very delightfully situated on high ground, and the bank of a beautiful river. The prospect is extensive and the streets handsome. The main street, which is very straight and spacious, running the whole length of the city, is elegant. The houses are very large and many of them of brick, with large shops of goods of every kind, fronting the street. But the narrow bridge over the small river that runs

"through the city, crossing the street at right angles, greatly injures the appearance and is truly disgusting."

"After dinner, I called on my class-mate, Jonathan Bull, Esq., one of the Aldermen of the city, but did not get out of my carriage. I had not seen him, nor any of my class-mates, in this part of the country, since we commenced, at college, twenty two years ago. I was surprised to find that he knew me, at some distance; for he was sitting in the stoop of the door. I certainly should not have readily recognized him, had I not known whom I expected to see. He very soon appeared much the same as he used to do, excepting the inroads of time had made in the features of his face. He urged me to spend some time with him; but it was not in my power. I also called on my class mate, Colonel Ezekiah Wyllis. He lives with his father, Colonel Wyllis, Secretary of State, in an elegant seat, just without the city, situated on a high eminence which overlooks the city and commands a most enchanting prospect of the river, meandering through rich meadows and fertile fields, for ten or fifteen miles. The landscape from this seat far exceeds any I have ever seen, in any part of the country. My good old friend did not recognize me, for some time; for I was determined not to tell him my name. At length, he recollected me; and so much were his tender passions moved, that he could not refrain from tears. We had been particularly intimate at College—lived together, two years, in the same chamber. The firmest affection and friendship subsisted between us, during the whole of our residence at college. Our attachment had been cemented by a similar taste for the same course of studies, which we generally pursued together, and were constant companions, in our amusements and parties of pleasure. It was my intention not to light; but such was his importunity or rather force, that I could not withstand it. His lady, who is beautiful and amiable, received me with great politeness. She is much younger than himself; for he entered into the connubial state late in life, having been married but three years. We spent two or three hours in running over college scenes, which he seemed to dwell upon with peculiar satisfaction, and in giving each other the history of what had passed since we left our *alma mater*. With the greatest difficulty, I took my leave, but not without promising to spend two or three days with him, on my return. This unexpected tenderness of affection, in my friend, made so deep an impression on my mind that I felt it much more sensibly after I left him than be-

fore; and entirely decomposed me for the remainder of the day."

Those familiar with that portion of the Connecticut-valley, in the midst of which Middletown is situated, will appreciate Doctor Cutler's "fine writing," as he attempts to describe it. "The landscape," so he writes, "appeared to me of a very peculiar style. The scene was truly picturesque and romantic; the effect was greatly heightened by the particular situation of the sun, which was then about half an hour high. The distant shadows were projected; and a thin haze bordered the landscape, near the horizon, and spread a dubious veil, from side to side. This greatly heightened the beauty of the distant objects. It hid nothing and sweetened the hues of nature; gave a consequence to every distant object, by giving it a more indistinct form; corrected the glare of color; softened the harshness of outlines; and, above all, threw over the landscape the harmonizing tint which blended the whole into repose and beauty. In the foreground, was Middletown. On my left was Connecticut-river, three fourths of a mile in breadth and, at a distance from the top of the hill, rolling her water with a slow but majestic pace, through the center of the landscape, towards the southern horizon. * * * I fancied myself in the Elysian fields and gazed with delighted astonishment, until the sun was set and the sable curtains of the night so far drawn as to close the enchanting scene. * * * On to Middletown by a road passing close to the bank of the river, perfectly level and smooth, the sides next the lots of interval being lined, for two miles, with the tall and straight Button-wood trees I ever saw."

According to the custom of the day, being a clergyman, he was welcomed at any house he might stop at to claim hospitality; and, accordingly, he seldom was under the necessity of remaining at the tavern during his long journey. Influenced by the fact that General Samuel Holden Parsons, an influential public man, a somewhat noted officer in the Revolutionary Army, and, if we mistake not, at this very time, a member of the Continental Congress, resided there, Doctor Cutler called on him, and was most hospitably entertained in his family.

General Parsons was graduated at Harvard, in 1756; and "among his early friends and correspondents, is the name of John Adams." Previous to the Revolutionary War, for twelve years, he had been a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut, and "received repeated proofs of public confidence, in various appointments of honor and trust." He was among the earliest of the patriots who urged

resistance to the unjust claims of Great Britain; and, in 1776, Congress gave him the commission of Brigadier-general. He was complimented, both by Washington and Congress, for gallant service, in 1777. He was honored with the confidence of the Commander-in-chief, in various ways; and was one of the Court that tried André. After the War, he settled in Middletown, and successfully engaged in the practice of law. He was also several times sent to the Legislature.

The influence of such a public man would be of great service to the agent of the new Company, in their proposed purchase of lands in the western country. In addition to these considerations, was the further fact that General Parsons had been "appointed a Commissioner, "in connection with Generals Richard Butler, "of Pittsburg, and George Rogers Clarke, of "Kentucky, to treat with the Shawanoe Indians, "near the Falls of the Ohio, for extinguishing "the aboriginal title to certain lands within the "Northwestern Territory. This Treaty was "held on the northwestern bank of the Ohio, "near the mouth of the Great Miami, on the "thirty first of January, 1786; and the Indians "then ceded to the United States a large and "valuable tract of land upon which the flourishing city of Cincinnati now stands."—(HILBRETH'S *Early Settlers of Ohio*, 215.)

In applying to a man of such influence and experience, Doctor Cutler displayed characteristic wisdom. There is here a fact which shows on what little things the greatest movements depend. Whilst he was on his first expedition, West, and when the Ohio Company was talked of, as a possibility, it is said that that shrewd old frontiers man, Zane, who gave name to Zanesville, advised General Parsons to locate the lands on the *Miami* and not on the *Muskingum*. Parsons suspected that Zane gave the advice from interested motives; and, when the location was actually made, gave the weight of his influence against the Miami country, which is one of the finest sections in the territory.

One of the most important services rendered Doctor Cutler, by General Parsons, was the numerous letters of introduction which he gave him to members of Congress and other influential gentlemen, in New York and Philadelphia.

Doctor Cutler's account of his Sabbath, in Middletown, is interesting: "SUNDAY, July 1. "This morning, General Parsons introduced me "to Mr. Huntington (the Pastor at Middle- "town) but engaged me to dine with him. I "preached in the morning and afternoon. Mr. "Huntington's meeting-house is very large, but "an ancient fabric. The house was crowded "and the people, in general, dressed in a very "tasty manner. It was Mr. Huntington's com-

"munion; and I was pleased to see that his "church was so large as to fill nearly the whole "body of the meeting house. The greater part "of the married people of the congregation, I "believe, belong to his church; and I was "astonished to observe the great number of men "who appeared to be upwards of seventy. I "drank tea and spent the afternoon with Mr. "Huntington. He is sociable and agreeable; "and his acquired and natural abilities are eminent, though I presume he is not very popular as a preacher, having somewhat of a "hesitancy in his delivery. He is a brother of "Governor Huntington and Doctor Huntington. He commenced two years before I entered college. I spent the afternoon most "agreeably, and the evening equally so, at "General Parsons', in company with my good "old friend, Mr. Plumb, who has left the desk "for the bar, and is set down as an Attorney; "in this city. Mrs. Parsons, who appears to "be an amiable lady, of rather a serious turn, "treated me with the greatest kindness and "attention. I cannot recollect the time when I "felt myself so perfectly composed and free in "the public exercises, and performed with "greater ease than on this day. This convinced "me of the advantage it gives a preacher over "his auditors and will account for the repeated "compliments I received, so far beyond what I "have experienced before; though, perhaps, "was never more fortunate in the selection of "my Sermons and had nearly committed them "to memory."

Having secured the main object of his visit at Middletown, Doctor Cutler continued his journey: and, on the second of July, reached New Haven, which, for three years, had been an incorporated city.

As all that pertains to the history of the city, honored by the presence of Yale college, and possesses a general interest, and especially all that gives us a look at the great man who was then at the head of the College, with many other facts, we quote Doctor Cutler's description, in full. The contrast between "the city of "sand," as it was, in 1787, with about ten thousand inhabitants, and "the city of elms," as it now is, and the Yale-college of eighty-one years ago and the Yale college of our day, which each one will draw for himself, cannot fail to be one of interest.

"July 2. It was nine o'clock, this morning "before General Parsons and myself had arranged all our matters with respect to my business with Congress. He favored me with a large number of letters to members of Congress and other gentlemen, in New York. "Went on to New Haven; took lodgings at "Miles' Tavern, sign of the Lion, kept in a

"elegant style. The house has good accommodations; the stables are good and well supplied with hostlers. After I had dressed and waited on the gentleman-barber, I paid my compliments to Doctor Stiles, the President of the College. The Doctor was just coming out of his gate, going to the Chapel, to attend evening prayers. I begged leave to accompany him; and, for the first time, attended prayers in the College chapel, since I took my degree. I declined a seat in the desk. The President introduced me into the stranger's pew. The students were about one hundred and sixty; and the several Classes made a very respectable appearance. The dress and manners of the Senior Class were genteel and graceful. A view of the seats, pews, and gallery called up a series of reflections of the hours I had spent within those walls, at public worship, in public examinations, every quarter, and various exhibitions that sensibly move my tender passions. After prayers, the President introduced me to the Tutors, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Fitch, Mr. Homes, and Mr. Davidson. We also went to Mr. Homes' chamber, where we spent a couple of hours very agreeably: the conversation was wholly confined to literary subjects and the present state of American Colleges. The President proposed a walk to Doctor Wales's, the Professor of Divinity. He was gone out; we therefore returned, and spent the remainder of the evening at the President's house. The Doctor and Mrs. Stiles were very urgent that I should take a bed with them; but having engaged one at the tavern, I declined. They engaged me to breakfast in the morning.

"July 3, 1787. Very early this morning I took a walk through the principal street of the lower part of the city. It seems to have been built nearly new, since I left the town. I was surprised to find that few objects seemed to be familiar; that the traces of this part of the town, where I had so many pleasant walks, were almost entirely eradicated from my mind. The long wharf was most natural, though much enlarged.

"The most affecting loss to me is the loss of 'Mother Yale'—the old frame College, so dilapidated as to be taken down, in 1782. Yale-college was, by far, the most sightly building belonging to the University, and most advantageously situated. It gave an air of grandeur to the others. There are now only Connecticut Hall, the Chapel—which is three story, containing the Library and Cabinet Chamber—the Divinity Hall, and kitchen. These are all built of brick, but so situated as to make very little show. The City of New Haven covers a very large piece of ground, a

"little descending, with a southern aspect. It is laid out in regular squares, with a public square in the center. There is a row of trees set out around the public square, which were small when I was at College, but now have become larger and add much to its beauty. The houses, in general, are good, some of them elegant. The streets are generally dry, but very sandy, and will, probably, never be paved, as it would be attended with great expense. The harbor is good, and the shipping considerable—principally in the coasting and West India trade.

"Breakfasted at Doctor Stiles. He has four daughters, unmarried, and very agreeable. His only son is in the law-way, settled in the country. Miss Channing, a young lady from Newport, and of very uncommon literary attainments, was here, on a visit. She not only reads but speaks French, Latin, and Greek, with great ease; and has furnished her mind with a general knowledge of the whole circle of science, particularly Astronomy and Natural Philosophy; she likewise has a high taste for the fine arts; and discourses, with great judgment, on eloquence, oratory, painting and sculpture, etc; she is very sociable, and knows how to take the advantage of every incident, to render herself agreeable; and no subject seems to come amiss. Her style is exceedingly correct and elegant, without the least symptom of affectation. How highly ornamental is such an education to a female character, when connected with the softer graces and politeness of manners.

"Immediately after breakfast, the Tutors came in to invite me to College. Doctor Stiles accompanied us. We took a view of the Library, the Philosophy Chamber, and Cabinet. The Library is small. The collection consists of rather antiquated authors. The Philosophical apparatus is still less valuable. A hard-some rum is now collecting for purchasing a complete philosophical apparatus. The Cabinet is a good collection but very badly disposed. Although I had intended to proceed on my journey, the time passed insensibly, in the agreeable company of these gentlemen, who are truly literary characters; and I consented to tarry until dinner. Indeed, I could not deny myself the pleasure of spending a little time at the place where I received my education, from which I had been absent so many years. At eleven o'clock, the Tutors, attended their Classes; and the Doctor and I returned to his house. I sent for my trunk and showed the Doctor, his lady, and the young ladies my botanical apparatus and books, with which they were all highly pleased, having never

"seen any thing of the kind before. I had collected a number of flowers, the day before, which I had not had time to examine. They were preserved, perfectly fresh, in my botanical box. From them, I gave a short lecture on the parts of fructification, separating and exhibiting the parts, at the same time, which was highly amusing to the company. The Doctor was extremely pleased with my Hobby-horse, and was determined to mount him and have a ride himself. I had to explain technical terms and construe crabbed Silesian Latin, for an hour on a stretch. At length, a call to dinner put an end to my fatigue; but the Hobby-horse was introduced at the table, and each of the company must have a ride, in turn. After dinner, I was determined to set out, immediately; but there was no such thing as getting away. We returned to the microscope and the plants. Doctor Wales came in, to see me, and spend the afternoon, who joined the Doctor in pressing me to spend the next day (fourth of July) in the city, which was to be celebrated, by order of the Corporation, with great military parade, an Oration, in the Brick meeting-house, a public dinner, in the State House, etc. Before I left the Doctor's house, and by his procuring, I suppose, a billet was sent me by the Mayor of the city, to dine, the next day, with the Governors of the College, Corporation of the city, etc. I was obliged to return an answer directly opposed to my feelings, and excused myself from accepting the invitation, as I was under the necessity of leaving the city, that evening. As I was determined to go, Doctor Stiles and Doctor Wales were so complaisant as to propose to accompany me to West Haven, six miles from the city, which they did. It was with the greatest reluctance that I took my leave of this very agreeable family, where I had been shown so much kindness, politeness, and attention."

We cannot here refrain from copying a single passage from the Diary of President Stiles, who was, in many respects, a very remarkable man and who figures so pleasantly in Doctor Cutler's diary. It shows his work and emoluments, in a striking light. "The business of the Professorship of Divinity now devolves on me, for the present—and did for two years—and, besides my history lecture, I weekly, give a public dissertation, on astronomical subjects, besides my private or chamber-lecture, on Theology, every Saturday afternoon. And, besides these, I attend every day, the recitations of the Senior and Junior classes, in philosophy, i. e., each, one recitation a day. So that I am called to fill the offices of three Professor-

"ships and the Presidency, at the same time. And yet the Corporation keep me in so poor and parsimonious a manner, that domestic cares and the *res augustæ domi* are a heavier anxiety, than all my college cares."—(Woolsey's *Historical Discourse*, 116.)

"July 4. Pursued my journey. Arrived at Napp's, in Horse Neck, about ten o'clock. Both Napp and his wife have the air of a gentleman and lady—keep good attendants and a house well furnished with everything necessary for a tavern. I felt more anxious for my horse than for myself; but it being dark and much fatigued, I wished to excuse myself from going to the stables. The hostler is Cuff. After he had given my horse oats, I gave him a serious charge to rub him well down and give him a good supper. His ready promises made me suspect him the more. 'Well,' says I, 'my lad, if you do not take good care of him, my horse will certainly tell me, in the morning, and you may depend on a flogging!' 'What? your horse tell you?' 'Da dibble! Your horse speak—I no believe dat!' 'Yes, Cuff, you shall see what he will do, in the morning.'

"In the morning, Cuff came, grinning and laughing, with my horse. 'Now, Massa,' said he, 'what your horse say? If he say, I no give him good supper, he lie like da dibble!'

"July 5. Was on my way, some time before sunrise. After riding about three miles, a gentleman overtook me, who was riding in a whisker (?) and bound to New York. Found him very sociable and agreeable. At East Chester, saw a stone Church, which was greatly injured by the British troops—the windows, which were remarkable for their size, were taken out and destroyed, and have not been since repaired. On our way to this place, my fellow traveler showed me several spots where the British and American troops engaged in action, and entertained me with the various movements of the two Armies, while they were in this vicinity. About three miles from this place, is a river which was the separating line between the two armies, for a considerable time. The name of the river he has forgotten. A singular achievement is mentioned, of a British light-horseman, at the bridge over the river, which appeared to me incredible. The bridge is high from the water; and the abutments at least ten feet apart. This bridge was taken up, by the Americans. It is said that a light-horseman, who had crossed the river, above, in order to reconnoitre, was discovered, near the bridge, on the American side, and closely pursued by a body of horse. He made for the bridge, but did not

"know that it was taken up, until he came within a few yards. He had no alternative but to jump his horse over or be taken prisoner. He preferred the former, and clapped his spurs to his horse and leaped him from abutment to abutment, and so made his escape.

"On the side where the British troops lay, the hills and highlands were strongly entrenched. About two miles before we came to Kings bridge, we had an extensive view of the lofty shore, on the opposite side of the Hudson-river. * * * On this side of the river, the lands are rather low, interspersed with swelling hills and in a state of high cultivation. Several *manors*, with the villas of the owners, present themselves to view. The sides of the river present an unusual and pleasing landscape. The western bank is fortified by the range of mountains from opposite New York as far up as Stony Point, forty or fifty miles, so that it proved a complete barrier against the British troops, during the late war. King's bridge is built over a narrow river, which communicates with the Hudson and Long Island Sound. It was, a considerable time, the line between the two armies.

"Passed the ruins of several British and American encampments and fortifications. My companion appeared to be perfectly intelligent and well-informed, much of a gentleman, and of most pleasing address. He was, at different times, in the country and in New York, in the British and American encampments. I watched him, to discover whether he was a Whig or a Tory; but he was so guarded, even in his praises and censures, which, on different occasions, he bestowed upon the conduct of the two armies, and expressed himself with so much judgment and impartiality, that I was unable to determine whether he was an American or a Briton. However, I am inclined to think he is a Whig. Two miles from the city, took leave of my fellow-traveler—exchanged our names, which, before, had been unknown to each other, and parted with apparent reluctance, on both sides, most sincerely so on mine. His name was *Nicholson*, a merchant from Long Island.

"About three o'clock, I arrived at the city of New York, by the road that enters through the Bowery. Put up my horse at the sign of the Plow and Harrow—Bowie's.

"After dressing myself, took a walk in the city. When I came to examine my letters of introduction I found them so accumulated that I hardly knew which to deliver first. As this is rather a curiosity to me I am determined to preserve a catalogue although only a part are to be delivered in New York."

This catalogue will be a curiosity to our read-

ers and we reproduce it as such, and not for this reason merely, but to show how this New England clergyman fortified himself for the execution of his delicate and important mission.

The following letters were addressed to persons in Philadelphia, viz.: the Hon. Timothy Pickering, Mr. T. D. Blanchard, Samuel Van Horn, his Excellency Doctor Franklin, Barnabas Binney, M.D., Benjamin Rush, M.D., John Morgan, M.D., Doctor D. Shippen, Mr. Benjamin Park, Merchant, Mr. William Ball, Merchant, Mr. Robert Aiken, Printer, Doctor Gerardus Clarkson, Rev. Dr. Ewing, Provost of the College in Philadelphia, David Rittenhouse, Esq., his Excellency the President of the Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Rev. Doctor Sproat, Rev. William Rogers.

The following were addressed to persons in New York, viz.: Mr. Hugh Henderson, Merchant, Rev. Dr. Rogers, Sir John Temple, Lady Temple, Doctor Ebenezer Crosby, Hon. Ebenezer Hazard, General Knox, Colonel Richard Platt, General N. Webb.

The following are named as Members of Congress, viz.: Colonel Carrington, Colonel Grayson, Hon. Richard Henry Lee, Hon. Dr. Lee and Hon. William Daer, both Members of the Board of Treasury, his Excellency General St. Clair, President of Congress, Hon. Melancthon Smith, Hon. E. Benson, Hon. Samuel Baldwin, Hon. Roger Sherman, Hon. William Swaine, and Hon. W. Livingston of the Board of Treasury.

Besides these, Doctor Cutler had letters to Monsieur Le Marchand, Superintendent of the French King's Botanical Garden, New Jersey, Colonel George Morgan, Princeton, New Jersey, Rev. Dr. Smith, vice President of New Jersey College, Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, President of New Jersey College.

"The last letter I delivered was to Mr. Hugh Henderson. He is a whole-sale merchant, and lives in genteel style. Mrs. Henderson is a sister of Mrs. Willard, which was the occasion of my receiving an introductory letter from Doctor Willard. Mr. Henderson received me very politely. After tea, he proposed a walk about the city; but first gave me a specimen of Scotch generosity, in urging me to take lodgings with him, whilst I remained in the city and assigned me one of his front chambers, and ordered his servant, *Stirling*, to attend me. Upon finding no apology would avail, I accepted his invitation; and his servant was sent for my baggage. *We rambled over a considerable part of the city before dark*; delivered a number of my letters; and returned and spent the evening, very agreeably, at Mr. Henderson's. He lives

"on Golden Hill, on Golden Hill-street, No. "14."

Such was the introduction of our tourist to the commercial metropolis of America; and we may here be indulged in a few statements concerning it, before proceeding with the Diary.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.—

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 283.

BY ETHAN ALLEN, ESQR.

SECTION II

Of the immortality of the soul.

The Doctrine of a real though invisible substance of the soul, will not (in my opinion) militate against the immortality of it, but on the contrary render the evidence of it more conspicuous and unexceptionable. Though our external senses and internal reflections and consciousness, are incompetent to perceive, or comprehend the intrinsic Nature of the soul, yet, we may negatively understand, that it does not exist of senseless matter, since we are conscious of the display of rationality, which stupid matter is void of; and in as much as the essence of the soul does not derive its existence from incogitative substances, which, in external nature, we perceive by the senses, we can not infer the dissolution of the soul from that of the body; yet if the Soul was material its dissolution would follow of consequence.

But should we exclude in our Idea of the essence of the soul all possible substance from it, we should Ideally exclude its existence, for a soul must exist of something since it can not exist of nothing. What that substance is we can not define any farther than to say that it is a thinking substance, or a substance that is capable of reflection and consciousness, part of the properties of the soul are intelligent exertions or agency, but it is probable that we shall be able to investigate but a partial knowledge of its properties. That immortality is an essential property of it, is the question under consideration, a question of more importance to us than any or all others, this we will therefore particularly attend to, but as this subject has been largely discussed in the fourth Chapter of the volume to which this is an appendix, we shall endeavour to omit such arguments as are therein contained, and add some that are there omitted.

As the soul is a moral being we must rely on moral reasonings for the investigation of its eternalization; for neither mathematical nor what we call sensible demonstration (which is predicated on the senses) can extend to it, for by the mere perception of our senses we have no conception of a spiritual or conscious being, but are apprized of such an existence merely from a consciousness of it, nor has our mathematical computations or calculations, which are so essential to astronomical knowledge, and many other parts of science, any thing to do in this investigation but such clear and unexceptionable sort of demonstration, is calculated for the discovery of the existence, magnitude, distance, number, quantity, diameter, and movements of external objects, as those of our solar System, or any other that come within the description of number, admeasurement, quantity and the like. so that when we reason on the immortality of the soul, and find that we are destitute of those kind of proofs for the reality of it, that are so certain, curious and useful to us in most of the concerns and vicissitudes of life, we are apt to be more or less nonplussed, and wonder that Divine providence has not given us as full and certain a demonstration of our immortality as of external and sensible Objects, not considering that the soul had been an object of sense, it would have been material and consequently mortal with the body, and not capable of surviving it. Hence we infer, that we are too apt to demand of providence such kind of demonstration for our immortality as is utterly inconsistent with it. The imperceptibility of the soul to the organs of sense, in stead of being considered as militating against its endless continuance in being, should rather be adjudged in favour of it, it is not flesh and blood and therefore may survive death, though it may have existed of substance or it could not have been united with the body or capable of survival of it at death as we have before argued. If we duly consider this matter we may be satisfied that God could not have given us a greater or more certain evidence of our immortality than he has done. Admitting the reality of it to take place in future, and continue to be taking place for ever, or without end, yet it would be impossible for us in this stage of being, to conceive how such beings as unbodied human souls could exist, or be conversible after the dissolution of the bodies. This is a species of knowledge which in nature is not attainable until our premised progressive future State of being and action, the Order of intelligent existence takes place for admitting the reality of such a state, but could we conceive of the manner of it, till it

succession of time and revolution of events bring us into that premised future condition of being and action, and consequently into a consciousness of it: as of things in this life. We can not be to day conscious of an existence tomorrow, nor of one moment beyond the present tense, so that the future existence that we hope for either in this life or that which we expect beyond death, can not be made known to us, till future existence and circumstances render the future consciousness of it to be in fact true, for consciousness is predicated on the truth of things or facts, in which there can be no deception. Thus it appears, that were our souls (admitted to be) immortal, yet we could have no consciousness of it in this life, for that our consciousness of being and action, can not take place in our minds, any sooner or later, than our progressive existence and actions either in this or in a future manner of existence will admit, nor is it in nature possible for God Almighty, to have given us a more extensive consciousness of our existence than what he has done. he could not to day have made us conscious of an existence to-morrow, for it would not be in fact true; nor could he in this life have given us a consciousness of a never ending existence, for the reasons already assigned, but this is no argument against such an existence, any more than that because this days consciousness does not extend to tomorrow, therefore tomorrow will never be, or because a man born blind has no conception or consciousness of colours, therefore there are none. Our ignorance of futurity may be an Occasion of distrust of it, especially to inconsiderate minds, who collect but little or no knowledge by reasoning, from which source only we are able to apprehend any thing of an existence beyond the time being. Through the medium of our senses we have a conception of external existences, and by recollection thereon, and by considering their properties, relations, nature, and tendencies, we in some measure explore their constitutions or at least their entity, and we find from traditions both oral and written, that rain and Sun-shine, Summer and Winter, *Rainy and fair Season*, *Monsoons & refreshing breezes*, Seed time and Harvest, day and night, have interchangeably succeeded each other, and do not scruple but that the same Order of nature will still be continued, yet are not certain that there will ever another day, but having been used to a past succession of them, habituate our selves into expectation and firm belief of others yet to come but this order of external things is peculiar to our senses, which we call sensible demonstration and can not be had for any thing

in *futuro*, for sensible proofs extend no farther than past or present actual perception, and can not give us any perception of the existence of naked souls or spirits; nor of any thing in this World or any other, a moment beyond the present tense. Had it been possible and agreeable to Divine providence, to have as yet exempted human nature from mortality, and all the race of man was still alive, (though we should be unable to stow them in this World,) we might have had from habit an expectation and strong belief, that we should live for ever in this manner of existence, and thus conceived of our selves to be immortal, but since on the position that we survive death, and pass from these bodies and this World imperceptibly to make room for others to follow us (probably to some of the heavenly Orbs which are perceptible to us here), and as we may rationally expect to progressively rise in the order of being, above the wretched condition of humanity, we may well imagin that human souls much dignified in the manner of existence and action, in the superior regions, would have little or no desire, and probably no power to return to this World again, since if they should, it is no wise likely that they could converse with, or communicate one Idea to us or even so much as come within the discovery of our senses, in consequence of their unbodied and exalted superiority of nature to ours. But should any departed soul return to this World again with a body organized like ours, it would like ours be obnoxious to a second death, which would evince no thing of its immortality to us, but rather evince a certain rotation of morality. The truth of the matter is, we are incapable of holding any correspondence with any other but mortal beings, nor can we have a true conception of an immortal being or pure spirit while in this life; nor is it at all requisite that we should: Our business is at present in this World for which our nature and faculties are wisely calculated. Should we be able to conceive of the manner of our premised future existence, it might imbitter the present life, from an anxious desire to be advanced in the Order of being, faster than the revolutions of events according to the Order of nature would permit, though a conception of a state of immortality is impossible to us for this obvious reason, that could we conceive of it, it must be like this state of existence, and then it would be mortal; for if it is not like the condition of humanity we can have no conception of it. Hence it appears that an immortal state is to us in this life inconceivable, and yet if it was conceived of by us, it would imbitter our present enjoyments, from a participation of a su-

perior blessedness in the progressive order of being, which the Order of time and revolution of events procrastinated.

Finally, the immortality of the soul does not at all depend on our reasonings concerning its essence, though our present comfortable prospect or faith in it may depend thereon, and though our speculations on this important subject, may be more or less imperfect, yet the providence of God in the Order of nature relative thereto as well as to things in general is absolutely perfect, and therefore cannot fail of ultimately perfecting the best good of all his Creatures, and since under a wise powerful and beneficent providence, as we must admit that of the Divine to be, immortality would be the greatest, most extensive and important good, that Almighty God could possibly bestow, without which all other endowments, gifts and benefits, could not be of any considerable consequence to us, by reason of a temporary continuance, and as the absolute perfection of a God, is abundantly competent to perfect so benevolent an event, the moral certainty of it follows of consequence. This inference is deduced from the immutable perfection of the Divine Nature, and is of more consolation to us than all our other reasonings on this subject.

After what has been evinced of the immortality of the soul, should any still complain of the insufficiency of the evidence, they may with equal impropriety complain, that the present is not the next century, that they might be in possession of the knowledge of the World to come. How much more becoming such creatures as we are, would it be, to confide in the ultimate goodness of God, than to remonstrate against the government of the ruler of the Universe.

God is (not only infinitely wise and powerful, but) infinitely good.

The immortality of the soul (with the blessings of providence,) is the greatest possible good that God could bestow upon the soul. — Therefore the soul is immortal.

If the major and minor propositions in the foregoing syllogism are true, the consequence of the immortality of the soul is likewise true. The major proposition is as true as that there is a God. The minor proposition is as true as that with the blessings of providence it would be our greatest good to be immortal.

and as these propositions are both true, therefore we are immortal beings.

God is ultimately Just.

Justice in all events does not take place in this World.

Therefore there must be an existence beyond this life, wherein the ultimate Justice of God will take place.

The Justice of God none will dispute, and that Justice does not take place in all cases in this life is too obvious to be disputed, and therefore the inference of a future state of being follows of necessary consequence.

The first of the foregoing syllogisms, founded on the wisdom power and goodness of God, is conclusively demonstrative of the never ending existence of the soul. The second which is founded on the immutable ultimate Justice of God, does not certainly infer a never ending existence of the soul, though it necessarily infers a future State of being to this, wherein the injustice that is done in this World, must be righteously adjusted, the delinquents punished, and the virtuous rewarded. It was from the benevolence of the Divine Nature, that we received an existence in the present life, for his natural attributes of power and Wisdom might not have induced him to it: nor could his perfection of Justice have insured us an existence at all, for no Justice could have been pleaded on our behalf before we had a being, but since God has given us a being and state of agency, we have become objects of Justice, nor is it fit or possible for God to refuse it to us, therefore it follows according to Justice, that since the distribution of it is not perfect in this World, there must be another to come, wherein it may be perfected, and when Justice has been righteously administered, we have no farther claim to existence merely from that perfection of the Divine nature, but eternally shall have a just ground of confidence in the goodness thereof, whereon to predicate our hope of Immortality. The Justice of God is an absolute security, that the display of his providence to us as individuals, must ultimately be better for us than not to have been, since a being worse than not to have been, would furnish a complaint against both the Justice and goodness of God but inasmuch as God is both Just and good, our immortality is as clearly demonstrable, as any proposition that respects the moral sciences, though not so readily perceived by such minds as are but little accustomed to reasoning, as other moral truths which may be investigated by a less number of propositions and inferences, for as we must first by reasoning from the works of Nature, investigate the knowledge of the being of a God, and secondly, from our own rational Nature investigate his moral perfections, we thirdly apply those perfections in the investigation of our immortality, as in the foregoing syllogisms. The arguments for the being, natural attributes and moral perfections of God, are exhibited in the first and second chapters of the first volume of this work, and the moral perfections of God in which most philosophers and Christians (except the calvin-

ists) agree, were in this investigation of the immortality of the soul taken for granted, and though the Progress of the arguments for the immortality of the soul have a longer retrospect, as predicated on those of the moral perfections of God, than those arguments that merely evince his being, yet if the whole chain of arguments are Just, the proposition of the immortality of the soul is as certain, as those other positions on which they are predicated.

Finally, there is too much wisdom power and goodness displayed, in the creation, regulation, and support of such part of the natural and moral World with which we are acquainted, to suppose that death extinguisheth the being of man. The senseless creation as has been before observed, was brought into existence merely to subserve the intelligent, as the Senseless considered abstractly from the moral, could not have been an Object of Divine providence, for that mere incogitative beings are by nature incapable of enjoyment or understanding, and if man the most exalted finite being that we are acquainted with, ceases to be at death, and in life is surrounded with so many evils that abstractedly considered from a future State of being and enjoyment, life could hardly be estimated a benefit and the plan of providence would be so contracted and inconsiderable, as to be unworthy of God. The display of such vast power and wisdom would prompt us to conclude, that there must have been some adequate object in the Divine view, which must extend to something beyond human life, since the display of providence in the present condition of being, manifests a competency of wisdom and power sufficient to continue our existence without end; this therefore must have been the benevolent design of God, which will fully account for his creation and moral Government without which it would appear to be inadequate and imperfect: nor is it reconcilable to the exalted character that we ought to ascribe to God, to suppose that he has implanted such strong desires and expectations in our souls, of surviving the grave for no purpose. It seems to be nearly the same as promising us in (the constitution of) our natural desires and expectations, a state of being beyond this life, which on the position of its not coming to pass, would imply a deception. When we reflect on the united adorations of one generation of the human species after another to God, for the benefits of being, and more especially (since this life is so short and miserable,) for the hope of immortality predicated on natural desires and moral reasonings, we can hardly imagine that the God of nature after all, would by the stroke of death frustrate our expectations, by a

cruel annihilation. Had God in the constitution of our souls determined that they should become extinct at death, most probably he would not have given us any hope or apprehension of a future state of being, for he could not be pleased with deceiving his creatures, by frustrating the fervent desires and hope that he had originally implanted in them. The most rational wise and virtuous of all the generations of mankind, have from principles of humanity, Justice, Benevolence, goodness and truth, counteracted their present interest, advantage and happiness more or less, in Order to to recommend their doings to their own consciences, and consequently to God, under whose providence they have expected to exist in another state, with the virtuous habits that they had acquired in this life, which they have flattered themselves would redound to their happiness in the World to come, but if death terminates the being of man, moral good and evil are empty names, and deception and villainy may be more advantageous than truth and Justice. Thus Oppression, violence and Wickedness, would as likely if not more probably be crowned with a temporary happiness, than the Opposite habits of Justice, benevolence, and morality. Was it not for the hope of immortality morality would loose its influence in the World, and then nothing but deceit, oppression fraud, and injustice of every kind could be expected in society, of which there are too much at present.

By all the speculations into providence that we are able to make, abstractly considered from a future State of existence, it would not appear upon the whole, that God was a Just, good and beneficent being, since murder, oppression and every species of cruelty, are more or less perpetrated with impunity in this World; we must therefore admit another to come, in which a Just and righteous retribution must take place, for God may as well cease to be, as cease to be ultimately good, beneficent and Just.

The conclusion of the arguments for immortality are sum'd up to be this, that a God of Justice will be Just, and of goodness will be good in the displays of his providence, and as these perfections with those of wisdom and power, are infinite in God, they cannot fail of perfecting the immortality of man.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—The Centennial Anniversary of the organization of the Rainbow Fire Company, of Reading, Pennsylvania, was celebrated in that city, recently.

III.—FOURTH OF JULY ODE, BY DR.
PETER BRYANT, OF CUMMINGTON,
MASSACHUSETTS.

It may not be generally known that the father of the poet Bryant, also, wrote poetry; but the *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, July 13, 1811, contains an *Ode for the Fourth of July, 1811*, composed by Doctor Peter Bryant, and sung, to the tune of *Rise Columbia*, at a celebration of Independence-day, in Northampton, Massachusetts, by the Federalists of Hampshire-county. I copy this *Ode*, for the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE:

"ODE.

"I.

"Pour in deep tones the solemn strain,
"A requiem to the mighty dead,
"Whose valor burst a foreign chain,
"And bow'd th' oppressor's haughty head!
"And call'd the shock of War to meet,
"Their Eagle from his airy seat!

"II.

"And if departed *Heroes* know
"To sympathize with mortal care;
"Oh! let the pensive numbers flow,
"To soothe each hovering *Spirit* near,
"That views its native country, curst
"With *wild misrule*, and *laws unjust*!

"III.

"And must our Freedom's new risen light
"A transient flame, itself consume?
"A meteor-flash athwart the night,
"That leaves behind a deeper gloom?
"And can the strength that rais'd the State
"No more sustain the mighty weight?

"IV.

"Or, wait we 'till the sacred fane
"Of blood-bought independence falls;
"And *Ruin* stalking o'er the scene
"Inscribes '*Extinction*!' on its walls?
"To vindicate those rights afraid,
"Which *home-bred tyrants* dare invade?

"V.

"Lo! Commerce quits her azure throne!—
"Her doom is seal'd, her sentence past;
"The trumpet of her fate is blown,—
"While echoing to the direful blast
"Resound the caverns of the deep—
"The isles that in its bosom sleep!

"VI.

"His vengeful bolt the *Gaul* has hurl'd,
"Infuriate, dipt in stygian fire;
"And loos'd to sweep a subject world,
"Th' impetuous whirlwinds of his ire!

"While Slavery stern, and haggard War
"Leash'd in like hounds, attend his car!

"VII.

"Where sleep the thunders of the West.
"The energies of patriot might!
"Rise! dash to earth th' invader's crest,
"And vindicate a nation's right!
"And bid our trampled banners wave,
"To guide the vengeance of the brave!

"VIII.

"Awake to guard your native coast—
"Sons of heroic sires arise!
"The last Republic earth can boast,
"To you for succour turns her eyes!
"Oh! while she trembles o'er the grave,
"Stretch the puissant arm to save!"

Peter Bryant, the author of this ode, was born at West Bridgewater, Massachusetts, on the twelfth of August, 1787; studied medicine and settled as a physician, at Cummington, Massachusetts, where he died, in 1820. According to a genealogy of the Bryant Family, by John A. Boutelle, of Woburn, published in the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register*, (xxiv., 315-318), he was a descendant, in the fifth generation, from Stephen Bryant, who settled at Plymouth as early as 1632; through Stephen Ichabod³, and Philip⁴, his father.

Doctor Bryant, by his wife, Sarah, daughter of Ebenezer Snell, was the father of seven children; of whom William Cullen Bryant was the second.

BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN WARD DEAN.

IV.—CONFEDERATE LOVE-TAPS.

GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG AND THE GENERALS OF HIS COMMAND.—CONTINUED FROM
PAGE 374.

As early as the twenty-fifth of February, only two days subsequent to the date of this Report, its treatment of Generals Breckinridge and McCowan was evidently known in the Congress of the Confederate States and influenced the action of the members of that body, from Kentucky, in their votes on the question of ordering a proposed vote of thanks to General Bragg and his command to be engrossed;* and it is said that, very soon after, copies of it were circulated, privately, where it was supposed "they" would do the most good," in the service of the commanding General. As may reasonably

* Compare the *Richmond Examiner's* report of the debates of the Congress, February 27, 1863, with the vote on the question of engrossing the Resolution, February 28th. † *Knoxville Register*, May 2, 1863.

be supposed, General Breckinridge was very soon advised of the terrible censure on his conduct which that Report had conveyed to the Capital; and, on the twenty-ninth of March, the Report itself was seen and read by him.

There can be no doubt that what friendly feelings between General Breckinridge and the General-in-chief, had survived the shock produced by the letter addressed by the former to the latter, on the twelfth of January,* were, by the perusal of that Report, entirely scattered. All the pleasant words which had been written and spoken and all the hopes which had been cherished, while General Bragg was preparing for the Campaign and seeking General Breckinridge's co-operation, were forgotten; and only discontent and distrust remained.

That rumors of the character of General Bragg's exposition of General Breckinridge's conduct, in the recent battle, had preceded the Report itself, is very evident from the fact that, on the twenty-eighth of March, the latter gentleman, after having resorted to the Report of his immediate commander, Lieutenant-general Polk, for information on the same subject, addressed a letter to its author, expressing his fears that that Report, also, might be considered, by some, as conveying a censure on his—Breckinridge's—conduct, on that occasion. The Report of General Polk, to which General Breckinridge thus resorted, as far as it concerned the latter, seems to have been almost as decided, in its tone, as was that of General Bragg; and it need not be wondered at that it was not wholly acceptable to the anxious Kentuckian. We copy from an extract formerly belonging to General Breckinridge, and found among his papers:

**** "The general movement from the left, having reached Chalmers' Brigade at ten o'clock it was ordered to the attack and its reserve under Brigadier General Donelson was directed to move forward to its support. This charge was made in fine style, and was met by the enemy who was strongly posted in the edge of the Cedar brake, with a murderous fire of Artillery and Infantry. In that charge their Brigade Commander, General Chalmers was severely wounded by a shell which disqualified him for further duty on the field. The Regiments on the left, recoiled and fell back, those of the right were moved to the left, to hold their place and were pressed forward. The Brigade of General Donelson having been ordered forward to Chalmers' support, moved with steady step upon the enemy's position and attacked it with great energy. The slaughter was terrific on both sides. In this charge which resulted in break-

ing the enemy's line at every point, except the extreme left and driving him as every other part of his line attacked, had been driven; Donelson reports the capture of Eleven guns and one thousand prisoners. The Regiments of Chalmers' Brigade having been separated after he fell moved forward and attached themselves to other Commands, fighting with them with gallantry, as opportunity offered.

"There was no instance of more distinguished bravery, exhibited during this battle, than was shown by the command of General Donelson. In the charge which it made it was brought directly under the fire of several batteries strongly posted and supported, which it assaulted with eager resolution. All the line in their front was carried except the extreme right.

"This point which was the key to the enemy's position and which was known as the 'Round Forest,' was attacked by the right of the Brigade. It was met by a fire from Artillery and Musketry which mowed down more than half its number. The 16th Regiment Tennessee volunteers, under the command of Colonel Jno. H. Savage, lost two hundred and seven, out of four hundred and two. It could not advance and would not retire. Their Colonel with characteristic bravery and tenacity, deployed what was left of his command as skirmishers and held his position for three hours. In the 8th Tennessee of the right wing under the lamented Colonel Moore, who fell mortally wounded, and who was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Anderson the loss was three hundred and six men and Officers out of four hundred and twenty-five.

"The enemy was now driven from the field at all points occupied by him in the morning, along his whole line, from his right, to the extreme left, and was pressed back until our line occupied a position at right angles to that which we held at the opening of the battle. After passing the Nashville and Mufreesboro turnpike his flight was covered by large bodies of fresh troops and numerous batteries of Artillery, and the advance of our exhausted columns was checked.

"His extreme left alone held its position. This occupied a piece of ground well chosen and defended, the river being on the one hand and a deep Rail Road cut on the other. It was held by a strong force of Artillery and Infantry well supported by a reserve composed of Brigadier General Wood's Division.

"My last reserve having been exhausted the Brigades of Major General Breckinridge's Division, and a small Brigade of General J. K. Jackson's posted to guard our right flank, were the only troops left that had not been engaged. Four of these were ordered to report to

* Vide pages 361, 362, ante.

"me. They came in detachments of two Brigades each, the first arriving near two hours after Donelson's attack, the other about an hour after the first. The Commanders of these detachments, the first composed of the Brigades of Generals Adams and Jackson, the second under General Breckinridge in person, consisting of the Brigades of General Preston, and Colonel Palmer, had pointed out to them the particular object to be accomplished to wit: to drive in the enemy's left and especially to dislodge him from his position in the 'Round Forest.' Unfortunately the opportune moment for putting in these detachments had passed.

"Could they have been thrown upon the enemy's left immediately following Chalmers and Donelson's assault in quick succession, the extraordinary strength of his position would have availed him nothing. That point would have been carried, and his left driven back on his panic stricken right, would have completed his confusion and ensured an utter rout. It was however otherwise, and the time lost between Donelson's attack and the coming up of these detachments in succession, enabled the enemy to recover his self possession, to mass a number of heavy batteries and concentrate a strong infantry force on the position, and thus make a successful attack very difficult. Nevertheless the Brigades of Adams and Jackson assailed the enemy's line, with energy and after a severe contest were compelled to yield and fall back. They were promptly rallied by General Breckinridge, who having preceded his other Brigades reached the ground at that moment, but as they were very much cut up, they were not required to renew the attack.

"The Brigades of Preston and Palmer on arriving renewed the assault with the same undaunted determination, but as another battery had been added since the previous attack to a position already strong and difficult of access this assault was alike ineffectual. The enemy though not driven from his position was severely punished and as the day was far spent, it was not deemed advisable to renew the attack that evening, and the troops held the line they occupied for the night. The following morning, instead of finding him in position to receive a renewal of the attack showed that taking advantage of the night he had abandoned this last position of his front line, and the opening of the new year found us masters of the field." * * * * *

To the letter which, as we have said, General Breckinridge addressed to General Polk, on the subject of this Report, three days afterwards, the latter sent the following reply, which we

copy from the original manuscript, now before us:

"SHELBYVILLE TENN

"Mar 31, '63.

"GENERAL

"I am in receipt of your note of the 28th in which you express the apprehension that some minds may imagine from reading that part of my report relative to you being ordered to report to me on the 31st at Murfreesboro: that I meant to say you were directed to send me four Brigades *at one time* and that you failed to do so. Such was not my intention. I only knew you had been ordered to send four from the fact that I received four. I did not know whether they had been all required to report together or in detachments of two each. From the fact of their coming two at a time I took it for granted they were ordered to me in detachments of two.

"You say it is not mentioned that 'I (you) carried the Brigades of Preston and Palmer into action on Wednesday.' It is not in so many words at the place where their going in is mentioned but by referring to my report you will find I spoke of you as the 'Commander of the detachment composed of the Brigades of Preston and Palmer,' which ought to satisfy any man not disposed to find occasion for faultfinding that the troops you brought to my support were directed and carried into action by you, especially as I say, you had explained to you the object to be accomplished and that you rallied the troops of your other two Brigades.

"I wrote that passage of my report with a knowledge of all the facts fresh in my mind, and with your report lying before me, and it surely never occurred to me that such a construction as you indicate might be put upon my language. Had it occurred to me while writing my report I would have shaped my language so as to make such an interpretation impossible. My report had gone on to Richmond before I received your note, but if you think it a matter of importance to you I will endeavour now to have the correction made before it is printed.

"Please let me hear from you on the subject. In conclusion I need not say that you rightly estimate my feelings of respect & friendship for you.

"Robertson went up to day & promises his report as soon as it can be copied. It shall be sent so soon as received.

"I remain General

"VY truly yours

"L. POLK.

"Lt Genl

"M^r Genl BRECKINRIDGE."

To this letter, General Breckinridge sent the following reply, copied from his own copy of it:

"TULLAHOMA TENNESSEE
"April 2nd 1863.

"GENERAL

"I have your letter of the 3.rd Ult, and thank you for the explanations you give me. I never supposed that you intended the construction to be placed on that part of your report, which I feared might be.

"Still I apprehended that many persons not reading critically, may infer that I was responsible for the failure to gain a complete victory, since it is stated that four of my Brigades were ordered to report to you—that they came in detachments of two each, at long intervals, and too late to accomplish the result, which would have been the utter rout of the enemy if they had arrived in time.

"Many may say, since I was ordered to report four Brigades to you, how did it happen that they came in two detachments, the first, two hours after the time, and the other still an hour later, when their timely arrival would have changed the face of affairs?

"It occurs to me that the inference will be unfavorable to my conduct, although not conclusive against me. Of course you could not know when I received the orders, nor with what alacrity I obeyed them except from my own report. All I could request would be the exclusion of an inference that in obeying an order to report to you with four Brigades, I had delayed two hours with half the force, and three hours with the remainder. The question as it effects me personally is not, did the Brigades arrive too late for the opportune moment, but, is it inferable from the report that I was responsible for it. If an erroneous construction is placed on your report, it may work me great injury, since it will be read by many thousands through the Confederacy.

"With the kindness and frankness which has always marked your intercourse with me, you say that if it had occurred to you that this construction might be put upon your language you would have so shaped it as to make such an interpretation impossible, and that if I think it of any importance to me, you would endeavor to have the correction made before your report is printed.

"Under the circumstances that surround me, it will be grateful to my feelings, if you can in the way you deem best exclude the construction to which I have referred.

"Very truly your Friend

"JNO C BRECKINRIDGE
"Maj Genl

"Lt Genl L. POLK
"Shelbyville Tenn"

HIS. MAG. VOL. I. 22.

While this correspondence was going on, on the twenty-ninth of March, the Report itself was received and read by General Breckinridge; and, two days later, after due reflection, he addressed the following letter, asking a Court of Inquiry, to the Adjutant and Inspector-general of the Armies of the Confederate States, at Richmond.

"HEAD QUARTERS,

"BRECKINRIDGE DIVISION

"TULLAHOMA March 31st 1863.

"To S. COOPER,

"Adj't & Inspector Genl.

"Richmond Va

"SIR.

"Two days ago I read Gen. Braxton Bragg's official report of the battles of Stones river before Murfreesboro, and after a proper time for reflection, think it my duty to send you this communication.

"I cannot conceal from myself the fact that so much of the report as refers to my conduct and that of my command (except some general compliments to the courage of a portion of my troops on Wednesday the 31st of Dec.) is in tone and spirit a thorough disparagement of both. This tone runs through all its parts and lies like a broad foundation underneath the whole. At the same time the narrative of events is made to sustain the general spirit.

"While the report of the commanding General fails, as I think, to do justice to the behaviour of my Division on Friday the 2^d of Jan'y, yet its strictures are chiefly levelled at my own conduct as an officer during all the operations. By direct statement and by unmistakable inference it is throughout a reflection upon my capacity and conduct.

"Without referring to its contents in detail, I have to say in respectful terms, that neither its material statements, nor its equally material innuendoes can be maintained by proof—that its omission of important facts creditable to my Division and myself is as remarkable as many of its affirmative statements—in a word, that in spirit and substance it is erroneous and unjust.

"I trust that nothing in the foregoing expressions passes the limit of military propriety, and that plainness of statement will be pardoned to one who even under the weight of superior military censure, feels that both he and his command have deserved well of their country.

"Having met the Commd^r Genl repeatedly on the field, and on three occasions in council during the progress of the operations, without receiving from him the least indication of dissatisfaction with my conduct, I was not prepared to see a report bearing a subsequent

"date, containing representations at variance with these significant facts. Nor was my surprise lessened when I observed that it was written after a correspondence with his Corps and Division commanders (I being one of the latter) in which he invokes their aid to sustain him and speaks of them as Officers 'upon whom I [he] have ever relied as upon a foundation of rock.'

"The Commanding General having written and forwarded his report before receiving those of his subordinate commanders, could have derived no assistance in its preparation from those usual Official aids to the Commander in chief, and since his position on the field prevented him from seeing many of the movements, especially those of Friday the 24 of Jan, it much concerns all affected by his statements to know something of those other, and to them unknown sources of information, to which he has given the sanction of his influence and rank as the head of the Army.

"I have felt that it would be improper in a paper of this character to enter upon a detailed vindication, yet in view of the fact that the casualties of war may at any time render an investigation impossible, I hope that it has not been improper for me to place on record this general protest against the injurious statements and inferences of the Commanding General, particularly, since, not anticipating his censures, I may not have been sufficiently minute in portions of my own report.

"And in regard to the action of Friday the 24 of Jan^r, upon which the Commd^r General heaps so much criticism, I have to say with the utmost confidence that the failure of my troops to hold the position which they carried on that occasion was due to no fault of theirs or of mine, but to the fact that we were commanded to do an impossible thing. My force was about 4500 men, of these, 1700 heroic spirits stretched upon that bloody field, in an unequal struggle against three Divisions, a Brigade, and an overwhelming concentration of Artillery, attested our efforts to obey the order.

"I have the honor to request that a Court of Inquiry, be appointed to assemble at the earliest time consistent with the interests of the service, and clothed with the amplest powers of investigation. Of course I do not desire the interests of the service to be prejudiced in the least degree by any matter of secondary importance; accordingly while an early investigation would be grateful to my feelings, I can cheerfully await the time deemed best by the proper authority.

"With great respect, Yr Obdt Servt,

"JNO. C. BRECKINRIDGE.

"Major Gen P. A. C. S."

A few days after his perusal of General Bragg's Report and the transmission of a request for a Court of Inquiry, already referred to, General Breckinridge appears to have made a formal request of some kind, concerning that Report—probably one for a copy of some of the appended papers—which drew from the General-in-chief the following reply, copied from the original, now before us:

"HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENN.

"TULLAHOMA April 2^d 1863

"GENERAL

"In reply to your communication of the 1st inst. this morning received, the General Commanding directs me to say that as his Report of the battles before Murfreesboro has become an official record of the war office; he does not feel authorized to grant your request. But he will approve an application to the Department,

"I am, General,

"Very Respectfully

"Your Ob't Servant

"GEORGE W^m BRENT

"A. A. G

"Major Genl. JNO. C. BRECKINRIDGE"

The requisite application to the War Department, suggested by the preceding note, having been made by General Breckinridge, it was endorsed by General Bragg and, undoubtedly, sent to Richmond. The endorsement was notified to General Breckinridge by two officers, in two distinct notes, evidently the result of unusual caution, on General Bragg's part, in order that there might be no mistake in the due transmission of the message. Those notes are before us; and we copy them, *verbatim*:

I.

"HEAD QUARTERS DEPT No 2

"TULLAHOMA TENN

"April 4th 1863

"GENERAL

"The Comdg, Genl, directs me to send to you the following Copy of this endorsement upon your request for copies of certain reports. 'If not inconsistent with the views of the Dept. I hope the request will be granted.'

"(signed) Braxton Bragg.

"I am General

"Very Respectfully

"Yr Obdt Servt

"P. H. THOMSON

"A. A. Genl

"Maj Genl J. C. BRECKINRIDGE

"Comdg &c

"Tullahoma

"Tenn"

II.

"HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENN.
"TULLAHOMA APRIL 4th 1863

"GENERAL

"The General Commanding directs me to send to you a copy of his endorsement, on your application to the Adjutant and Inspector General at Richmond for copies of the report of the General Commanding, and certain others, which will be forwarded at once. The endorsement is as follows—'If not inconsistent with the views of the Department I hope the request will be granted' (signed) Braxton Bragg—

"I am, General,

"Very Respectfully

"Your Ob't servt,

"GEORGE WM BRENT
"A. A. G."

We believe there was nothing done in the matter of this dispute, by the Confederate States' authorities—at any rate, neither General Bragg nor General Breckinridge appear to have suffered, in consequence of this "unpleasantness," either at Richmond or before the country.

Both General Bragg and General Breckinridge appear, however, to have fortified their respective positions with documents of high character, many of which are before us—mostly the original papers. All of these, whether sustaining the one or the other of the distinguished contestants, are important material for the history of this portion of the great contest which then convulsed the Republic; and, as only a few of them, at most, have been published, we can do no better service to those who shall resort to our pages, either for amusement or instruction, than by presenting the whole of them to our readers. They are as follows:

I.

PAPERS COLLECTED BY GENERAL BRAGG.

1.—*General Bragg's requisition on Captain F. H. Robertson, Chief of Artillery, Polk's Corps, for a special Report.*

"HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENN.

"TULLAHOMA Feb'y 16th 1863

"MY DEAR CAPT.

"As you exercised a special command under my orders to operate under Major General Breckinridge, on the evening of the 2nd January 1863, at Murfreesboro, you will please make a special report direct to these Head Quarters of the operations of all the Artillery on that occasion.

"As Artillery is always dependent on the support of Infantry, you are expected to refer

"to that support in such a manner as will do full justice to both arms, and to all commanders and corps engaged

"Yours Very Respectfully

"and Truly

"(signed) BRAXTON BRAGG

"General Commanding

"A true copy.

"KINLOCH FALCONER,

"A. A. Genl.

"Capt. F. H. ROBERTSON

"Chief of Artillery

"Polk's Corps

"Shelbyville Tenn."

2.—*Captain Robertson's Reply.*

"SHELBYVILLE TENN

"Feby 18th 1863

"CAPT K FALCONER

"A. A. Genl

"On the morning of the 2^d Jan 1863 I was ordered to accompany Col Brent A. A. G. and endeavor to find a position from which the enemy's line might be enfiladed with Artillery. Such a position having been found a report of the fact was made to the General at once. The enemy's skirmishers being in possession of the point selected it was determined to attack and carry it. I received orders from Genl Bragg, to take Robertson's Battery, Six Napoleons, Two Sections Semple's Battery, Four Napoleons, two rifles and two 12 Pdr Howitzers belonging to Breckinridge's Division and to occupy and hold to the utmost extremity the desired position after the enemy had been dislodged by the Infantry.

"The necessary preparations for the Artillery were made at once. The Batteries arrived on the ground and were soon in position. Having to await the arrival of a still absent Brigade I took an opportunity to consult Genl Breckinridge.

"I found his ideas of the attack and my own differed materially. He supposed it was to be made by a combination of both Arms whilst I was positive the General's orders were that Infantry alone should take the hill. General Breckinridge then desired me to form my Batteries in the space between his two lines of Infantry and advance, this I declined to do: Stating, as a reason, the danger both of confusion and loss from such an arrangement. He then desired me to form an advance behind his second line of Infantry. I then repeated the General's orders to me—Viz. to wait until the Infantry had crowned the Crest and then to rush up and occupy it. Knowing the disposition of all commanders to use Artillery, I spoke to Genl. B. and earnestly protested

"against crowding a field so constructed as the
"one in which we were to operate with small
"guns, Stating that in case of a repulse, we
"would inevitable loose some if they were carried
"on the field: Genl Breckinridge thinking dif-
"ferently however, formed his Batteries and ad-
"vanced them simultaneously with his Infantry
"and immediately behind it.

"Col Brent A. A. G. was present on this oc-
"casion and heard the conversation.

"After the first reconnaissance and before the
"final arrangements for attack, two pieces of
"Breckinridges Division had been moved and
"had opened fire on the enemy's Skirmishers. It
"called the enemy's attention to the very point
"we desired to attack, and probably to this devel-
"opement is due the fact that we found the ene-
"my's Batteries had been located so as to cover
"completely all the ground over which we would
"be compelled to pass and which operated to
"such an alarming extent on our lines. One of
"these Batteries, I think was located near Harver's
"House, the other was located in rear of the
"round forrest to the right of the Rail Road in
"front of Chalmer's position. I know they must
"have been across Stone's River for I could
"notice the Shells falling, and all had consid-
"erable elevation.

"All being prepared, the movement began in
"the following order. Infantry in two lines
"interval 200 yards, the Batteries of Genl Breck-
"inridges Division formed immediately in rear of
"the 2^d line. My Batteries in rear of all, Cais-
"sons left at a distance in rear, I followed up the
"advance with my command, until I gained the
"open field across which we were to advance,
"here I halted.

"The plan for the Artillery was as follows.
"Two 12 Pdr Howitzers to rake the slopes from
"the highest point of the hill to the water's edge,
"firing down the river the heaviest Battery. Six
"Napoleons to occupy the highest point, the
"other Battery—four Napoleons—to occupy a
"station on the ridge running out from the river,
"to the right from the hill top. The two 12 pdr
"Howitzers began early—the ground for the four
"Napoleons was soon uncovered and occupied
"by Lieut Fitzpatrick Comdg. Before this, how-
"ever, the enemy's fire had brought the Artillery
"of Genl Breckinridge's Division to a halt. had
"overturned two pieces, the others had begun
"firing obliquely to the right, but for a time I
"thought they were firing into their own men.
"I waited for some time for the Infantry to clear
"the crest so that I could order Robertson's Bat-
"tery up to its place, but saw unmistakeable evi-
"dences of a retrograde movement, and seeing
"Col Grenfell at this moment I sent word to Genl
"Bragg that I was satisfied the Infantry would
"be unable to hold their position and changed

"my place so as to bring the guns of Robert-
"sons Battery to bear on the enemy. I ordered
"it up to take position beside Sample's it had
"nearly arrived at the new position when the
"Infantry gave back. I at once ordered the
"Commander, Lt Bruton, to take his Battery to
"the rear and establish it in the line of timber
"to protect the Infantry until it could be
"reformed—the other Batteries were ordered to
"move off, not however until all the Infantry
"support had disappeared. At this point oc-
"curred our loss in guns, two pieces of Wrights
"Battery were lost and one fine piece belonging
"to Sample's Battery. The Batteries having kept
"up the fight some time after the Infantry had
"abandoned the field drew to themselves a very
"heavy fire, they were therefore much reduced
"in men. In this communication I desire to
"call the attention of the Genl Comdg to the
"good behavior of Capt Sample's Company.
"under fire more particularly would I direct his
"attention to Lieut Fitzpatrick Comdg the two
"Sections, this gallant officer brought off one
"piece that would otherwise have been left and
"would have saved the other had the wheel
"driver not been shot at the critical moment of
"limbering up. Lieut Pollard of this Com-
"pany behaved with great gallantry and was
"seriously wounded.

"As fast as the pieces came back to the new
"line they were placed, but the majority hav-
"ing no ammunition were ordered back to
"their caissons to refill their boxes. So soon as
"our guns were unmasked, fire was opened on
"the enemy's lines and continued until dark
"with a very heavy fire of Skirmishers upon
"the Artillery. This line had been established
"supposing it would be good to rally the
"broken Division but the hope proved utterly
"fallacious, except about 150 fugitives collected
"in a ravine to my right, I saw no body of
"troops, and fearing an advance of the enemy
"under cover of the darkness, I moved to the
"rear again and established a new line along
"another skirt of timber here I found some few
"troops of Genl Breckinridges Division, but
"many of them had returned to their old
"places as I knew from the sound of the cheer-
"ing & speaking in the rear. Being unable to
"find Genl Breckinridge for some time, I pro-
"ceeded to regulate the Artillery according to
"my own ideas. After a time I met the Gen-
"eral, told him what I had done and he direct-
"ed me to continue so to act, and report to him
"after I had finished.

"The contagion of flight had spread to the
"Artillery and it was with great difficulty that
"several pieces of Artillery were brought away,
"owing to the drivers being frightened—in more
"than one instance I found it necessary to cock

"my revolver and level it, in order to bring men to a realizing sense of their duty. I am clearly of the opinion that if there had been no Artillery on that field the enemy would have gone into Murfreesboro easily that evening. There was no organization that I could see or hear of until after the enemy had been checked, save in the Artillery. I have never seen troops so completely broken in my military experience.

"I tried myself and saw many others try to rally them but they seemed actuated only by a desire for safety and beyond the reach of other sentiments. I saw the colors of many regiments pass and though repeated calls were made for men of the different Regiments no attention was paid to them. I take this opportunity to mention the courage of some man whom I do not know. He carried a stand of colors and halted frequently faced the enemy and called the 6th Ky Regt. and although he did not receive much attention, he lingered so long as there was any Infantry on the field, and then passed to the rear calling out, 'Here's your 6th Kentucky.'

"I have the honor to be

"Very Respectfully &c

"F. H. ROBERTSON

"Capt &c."

II.

PAPERS COLLECTED BY GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE.

1.—Captain F. H. Robertson's Report.

A. A. GENL

BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION

"SIR,

"By direction of Lt. Genl Polk I reported to Genl Breckinridge on Friday evening 2nd Jan'y 1863, with Robertson's Battery of Six (6) Napoleon guns, and Semple's Battery of four (4) Napoleon guns in all Ten (10) guns. My command was formed in rear of the line of the Infantry, and finally behind the Artillery of the Division which was immediately behind the 2nd line. Leaving my Caissons I advanced to the edge of the opening through which the Infantry had charged. The highest point of the hill to the left was selected to be the site of Robertson's Battery, Semple's, was to take the right.

"So soon as the ground was cleared upon which Semple's Battery was to stand it was at once pushed to its place.

"The Infantry not being able to clear the crest of the hill and the fire being very heavy on our right I decided to alter the plan and send my Battery to the right, but our line

"being cramped by unfavorable ground to the right, I only ordered a Section up to fill a gap in our line of Artillery. By the repulse becoming general I determined to stop remainder of my own Battery in the field to check the enemy's advance, the Artillery of my command was brought off with the loss of one piece by Semple's Battery. This only occurred after the infantry supports had given away entirely.

"The fighting of this Battery (Semple's) was entirely creditable, the confusion was such that it was not to be wondered at that three (3) pieces were left on the field but that more were not lost.

"The Artillery as it entered the woods was placed and a rapid fire checked the enemy's advance. The Batteries under my command were subjected to a hot infantry fire and the worst cross fire I ever saw. The loss of the two Batteries I cannot know as I have not seen Lieut Fitzpatrick Comd'g. Two Sections of Semple's Battery, my own lost six horses and six men.

"After dark the guns fell back and Maj Graves having been severely wounded I at the request of Genl Breckinridge placed the Artillery upon the new line. But for the Artillery fire the enemy would surely have carried the position entirely as our Infantry was scattered.

"The men of the Artillery generally behaved splendidly, but individual exceptions were many to this rule, and I found it necessary to draw my revolver in order to make the drivers halt long enough for the piece to be limbered up and brought off.

"Very Respectfully

"F. H. ROBERTSON

"Capt &c.

"SHELBYVILLE TENN

"Jan'y 12th 1863"

2.—Adjutant-general Theodore O'Hara's Report.

"HD QRS BRECKINRIDGE'S DIV.

"TULLAHOMA TENN.

"Jan. 16th 1863

"GENERAL,

"In compliance with your wish I have the honor to furnish you with my recollections of the events of the late operations before Murfreesboro as far as your command was particularly concerned.

"When the line of battle was formed on the morning of the 28th of December, your Division constituted the first line of the right wing of the army reaching from the Lebanon pike to Stone river, and its several brigades, each with its battery of artillery, were disposed from right to left in the following

"order; Adams', Preston's, Palmer's & Hanson's. Jackson's brigade with Lumsden's battery being subsequently added to your command was posted east of the Lebanon road a little in front of Adams' right. No event of interest occurred on this day.

"On the afternoon of the 29th Cobb's battery was moved forward to occupy a commanding eminence some six hundred yards in front of Hanson's line, supported by the 9th Ky. Regiment. A little after dark the enemy made a vigorous attempt to gain possession of this vital position, but was promptly repulsed by our infantry. Soon after, in obedience to an order previously given by L^t Gen. Hardee, the battery with its support was withdrawn to the original line. A few hours later an order was given to re-occupy the hill at all hazards, and accordingly the battery was conducted back to the position by the same supporting regiment without encountering any opposition. The enemy renewed his effort the next morning, both by means of his sharpshooters and a heavy artillery fire, to dislodge us from this coveted position, but without success. The hill was ordered to be fortified, and its occupation was further strengthened with some additional pieces of artillery.

"On the 30th L^t Gen Hardee moved with Cleburne's Division to the west of the river, and you were thus left without support to defend the line between the river and the Lebanon road. Hanson's brigade was advanced to the hill where Cobb's battery was posted, and Adams' brigade took its place in the original line, while Jackson's was withdrawn from the other side of the Lebanon road to the position vacated by Adams.

"Early on the morning of the 31st the roar of cannon and musketry announced the battle on the west side of the river. During the early part of the day while it was progressing you received frequent reports from the cavalry in your front, which proved to be unfounded, of the presence of the enemy on the east side of the river. A message to this effect came to you from the Commanding General about 10 O'clock A.M. and you were ordered to advance and attack the enemy. You promptly put your line in motion and had advanced some half mile, swinging round to the left upon the strong position occupied by Hanson as a pivot, when you received another message from the Commanding General that the enemy was advancing on the Lebanon road, and ordering you to fall back to your original position.

"About 12 O'clock P.M. you received an order from the Commanding General to detach two of your brigades to the assistance of L^t

"Gen. Polk who was said to be hard pressed. Adams' & Jackson's brigades were promptly despatched across the river for this purpose. About an hour after an order came for you to report with the rest of your Division, except Hanson's brigade, to L^t Gen. Polk. Putting the command in motion at a double-quick you galloped forward with your staff and on reaching the other side of the river found Adams' brigade falling back in confusion over the plain, having been repulsed in an attack on a strong position of the enemy which the forces of L^t Gen. Polk had previously in vain striven to carry. By the exertion of yourself & staff the brigade was soon rallied, though in a considerably disorganized condition. Jackson's brigade had fallen back under shelter of the cedars to the left of Cowan's house. As soon as Palmer's and Preston's brigades arrived across the river they were formed in one line, the latter on the right, and advanced to a renewed attack on the same citadel of the enemy's position which had so stubbornly withstood the assaults of our forces. The line advanced across the plain in splendid style under a tremendous fire of artillery concentrated at the point of attack, as well as of batteries which were brought to bear upon our flank from the elevated ground on the river bank. As it reached Cowan's house its advance was in some measure impeded and some confusion caused by an impassable picket-fence & other obstacles, in consequence of which the 20th Tennessee Regiment became separated from the rest of the command. At this point the line was subjected to a terrific fire of the enemy's infantry, massed in its immediate front, as well as of his concentrated artillery. The 20th Tennessee having passed to the right of Cowan's house and the Nashville pike was especially exposed to the enemy's fire, but nothing daunted, although alone and without support, it gallantly charged the enemy and captured a number of prisoners, but was finally compelled to fall back before the overwhelming fire of the enemy. Finding it impossible to carry the enemy's position against such odds as he had massed there to resist you, and in the face of such a tremendous fire of artillery and small arms, you moved the rest of your force by the left flank into the cedar brake, and held the position unassailed by the enemy whose lines were visible in heavy force at a short distance in your front. A short while after the columns of Major Generals McCown, Chatham & Cleburne came up & prolonged themselves on your left. About this time L^t Gen. Hardee joined you, and you went with him to the edge of the

"woods to reconnoitre the enemy. It was decided by him not to renew the attack this evening, our forces not being in condition for it. Adams' brigade came up during the evening & took position on the right. Night approaching you established your headquarters at a bivouac in the woods. About 9 O'clock you received a message from Lt Gen. Polk desiring your attendance at the headquarters of the Commanding General, whither you immediately repaired. About 11 O'clock an order came from you for your staff to join you at your late headquarters, and for Palmer's brigade to move to the west side of the river and be in position on the right of Hanson by daylight.

"On the morning of the 1st of January a battery made its appearance on an eminence on the east side of the river some fifteen hundred yards in front of Palmer's line, and it thus became evident that the enemy had crossed a force to this side of the river during the preceding night while you were absent and your whole Division, with the exception of Hanson's brigade, on the other side.

"During the morning of the 2^d some of the members of your staff obtained your permission to advance a couple of pieces of artillery a few hundred yards in front of Palmer's right with a view to develop the battery above mentioned and to obtain some indication of the enemy's force and position on this side of the river. The battery, which had thrown an occasional shell at Palmer's brigade, retired out of sight without replying to our pieces, which then commenced to shell some houses in which the sharpshooters of the enemy had taken cover, when you ordered them to cease firing & retire.

"About 1 O'Clock P. M. while reconnoitring the enemy with some of the members of your staff in front of Hanson's line of skirmishers, you were summoned to the presence of the Commanding General, and received from him in person an order to take your Division (leaving Cobb's battery and the 9th Ky Regt to hold the hill hitherto defended by Hanson's brigade) and carry by assault the eminence in your front where the enemy had shown himself on the east side of the river, and after taking it with your infantry to plant your artillery upon it and enfilade the enemy's lines on the west side which it was supposed it commanded. You were to be ready for the attack precisely at 4 O'clock P. M., and as the enemy's attention was to be simultaneously engaged by an attack with artillery on the West side of the river, the first gun was to be the signal for you to advance to the assault. Adams' and Preston's

brigades having side of the river for the assault a formed in two commanded by Brig Gen. Pillow occupied the right brigade the left right and Adams Gibson, on the left the artillery in the first line lay in which and the open field some width and slope Your plan of attack the brigade commandery, was for the across the field encounter the enemy charge with the the eminence; accomplished, they up at a gallop a son of Withers' you with two batteries was directed to pass and the other the Division & At the intimate forward gallantly as soon as they fire from the east side of the river side. As the left the enemy's fire became absolute falter for a moment infantry on the east it from the position through the west river. As soon cleared the batteries Robertson's which during the action ward and plan from being able beyond the river ground occupied much the high from his command entire field on massed there to The ground beyond which had been with thick woods infantry could be our batteries were therefore to drive our infantry to a

"the eminence, and a portion of them in the
"ardor of the charge pursued the enemy across
"the river. While this was taking place a
"heavy force of the enemy which had crossed
"the river at a point below came down upon
"our flank. Assailed by this superior force, as
"well as subjected to the terrific cannonade
"from the enemy's batteries in front, our in-
"fantry were compelled to fall back after hav-
"ing sustained a loss of more than a third of
"their number. The artillery maintained its
"position, holding the enemy in check until all
"the infantry had fallen back and rallied in the
"skirt of woods whence we had moved to the
"assault, and then retired, losing three pieces
"which they were compelled to leave behind as
"all the cannoners & horses belonging to
"them were killed. The enemy did not ad-
"vance beyond the eminence from which he
"had been driven.

"As soon as the command was rallied & the
"lines reformed on the ground whence we had
"moved to the attack, you sent me to report to
"the Commanding General the result of the
"action. He directed me to tell you to main-
"tain your position if possible and that he had
"ordered Anderson's brigade to reinforce you.
"On my return a little after dark I found An-
"derson's brigade just arrived and forming on
"the left of the Division. Soon after, station-
"ing strong pickets, you moved the whole com-
"mand back several hundred yards and pro-
"longed it in a line with the position which
"Hanson's brigade had occupied before the
"action, that brigade resuming its position.
"Your Division remained in this position until
"about midnight on the 3^d when it was put in
"motion to cover the retreat of Hardee's Corps
"by the Manchester road from Murfreesboro.

"I am, General, Very Respectfully

"Your Ob^d Serv^t

"THEODORE O'HARA

"A. A. A. Gen^l

"Maj: Gen. BRECKINRIDGE

"Commdg Division"

3.—Inspector-general Wilson's Report.

"TULLAHOMA TENN: Jan'y 20 | 63.

"GENERAL,

"I have the honor to submit the
"following memoranda of the operations of
"your Division in the late battles before Mur-
"freesboro.

"The following is the disposition of the four
"Brigades composing your Division on the
"morning of the 28th of December last. The
"Brigade of Brig Gen Adams had its right
"resting on the Lebanon Pike, about one mile
"in front of Murfreesboro, and in continuation
"of his line towards the ford over Stones River

"on the Nashville Pike, were posted success-
"ively the Brigades of Preston, Palmer & Han-
"son, the left of the latter resting on the East
"bank of the river near the above-mentioned
"ford. The Batteries were advantageously
"posted on eminences adjacent to their respect-
"ive Brigades, in such a manner as to com-
"mand almost the whole of the open fields
"which lay in front of our line. Cobb's Bat-
"tery of four guns, supported by Co^l Hunt
"with three Regiments of Hansons Brigade,
"was subsequently thrown forward some six or
"eight hundred yards, to occupy an eminence
"which commanded not only your own, the
"first, and Maj Gen Cleburns, the second line
"of Lt Gen Hardee but a great part of the
"right wing of Lt: Gen Polk on the opposite
"bank of the river.

"Brig Gen Jacksons Brigade having been
"assigned to your command, was sometime
"during the next day posted on the right of
"the Lebanon Road, a little in advance of
"Brig Gen Adams' right.

"On Tuesday, by withdrawing Jacksons
"Brigade from the East side of the Lebanon
"Road, you were enabled to advance your right
"about half a mile and still occupy the whole
"line between this Road and the ford over
"Stones River. But late in the evening the
"original line was resumed, with these excep-
"tions; Hansons entire Brigade had been ad-
"vanced to the hill held by Co^l Hunt which
"had already been strengthened by several
"pieces of Artillery added to Cobbs' Battery;
"Adams was moved to Hansons old position in
"rear of this, and Jackson took Adams' posi-
"tion with his right on the Lebanon Road.
"This evening the second line under Maj Gen
"Cleburn, was withdrawn and moved to the
"West side of the River, leaving us without
"support.

"On Wednesday morning, by 7¹/₂ O/c, the
"firing upon our left assured us that the bat-
"tle had begun. We could distinctly hear the
"rattle of the small arms and the cheers of our
"men as they swung round towards the Nash-
"ville Pike, driving the enemy before them in
"confusion and rout. Making a pivot of the
"strong position occupied by Gen Hanson,
"you now commenced to swing around your
"right in order to close in and complete the
"work so bravely begun by the left wing.
"Your right under Gen Adams had already ad-
"vanced one mile when an order was brought
"from the Comd'g Gen^l by Lt Co^l Buckner of
"your Staff, for you to send at least one Brig-
"ade to the support of Lt: Gen Polk. This
"order was promptly executed, the Brigades
"of Adams & Jackson passing without delay
"across the ford to the ground indicated. Our

"movement of closing in to the left was now continued with only three brigades, but in a very short time and before we had encountered an enemy, another order was received from the Com'd'g General, for you to take your whole force, excepting Hansons Brigade, to the West side of the River. The Brigades of Preston and Palmer were immediately put in motion in obedience to this order, and yourself and Staff hastened across the river. Upon your arrival on the West bank, you found that the Brigades of Adams and Jackson, in attacking a very strong position held by the enemy between the Nashville Pike and Stones River, had been severely repulsed and were falling back in some confusion. They were soon rallied however and reformed while Preston & Palmer were forming about one hundred yards to their rear. These Brigades now moved forward and passing between the files of the line in front of them soon came under a murderous fire from the batteries of the enemy planted in the strong position above referred to, but without faltering they pressed on, till, reaching a heavy cedar brake, to the right and front of which were drawn up the enemy's lines, by partially changing direction to the right the line was made parallel to that of the enemy and halted near the edge of the brake. Brigades of the Divisions of Cheatham McCown and Cleburn now came up and were formed in prolongation of the left of your line. Adams Brigade was also brought up and formed on the right of Preston. In this position our line remained until about One O'clock in the morning when an order was received from you (then at the H^d Qtrs of General Bragg) to move Palmers Brigade to the East side of the River and to a position about Eight hundred yards to the right and slightly in advance of Hansons right. Thus on Thursday morning, you stood on the right bank of the river, to guard the entire line upon which your whole command had heretofore been posted, but these two Brigades of Hanson and Palmer. At an early hour this morning while passing over the open field between these Brigades, we discovered that the enemy had during the night brought across the river and planted a Battery of Artillery about fifteen hundred yards in front of the line we now occupied. I was now convinced that quite a considerable force of the enemy had been thrown on this side of the River during the night, and while we had no force to oppose them but that of Hanson, which was fully a mile from the point at which they must have crossed, and whose position would have been greatly hazzarded had he advanced to contest the crossing.

"On Friday at about 2½ O'clock P.M. I was informed that you had received orders from the Com'd'g General in person, to attack the position I have just spoken of as occupied by one of the enemies' Batteries. You were to form your four Brigades in two lines, and after having swept the enemy from the hill with your infantry, to plant your Artillery upon it and enfilade their lines on the West bank of the River, it being supposed that this position commanded them. Your first line was composed of the Brigades of Pillow, (who had just been assigned to the command of Palmers Brigade) and Hanson, the former upon the right. The 9th Ky Reg'm't under Col Hunt was left to support Cobbs Battery on Hansons Hill. The Brigades of Preston and Adams, the latter now under command of Col Gibson, were withdrawn from the West side of the River and formed your second line, the former taking the right. In rear of your second line were the Batteries of Slocomb, Wright and Moses, the first of six, the others of four guns each. In their rear was a Battery of six 12 pdr Napoleon guns commanded by Capt Robertson who had been ordered to report to you with his own and Semples Battery of four 12 pdr Napoleons. This last named Battery was placed about fifty or sixty yards to the right of Prestons line. At Four O'clock the signal was given and the lines moved forward. Between them and the enemy was a corn field about five hundred yards in width, and no sooner had they emerged from the skirt of timber in which they had formed than our lines were under the fire of the long range small arms of the infantry on this side and of the Batteries on the other side of the River. Pushing forward under this fire which then became more deadly than any I have ever seen, our men drove the enemy, far superior to them in numbers, from the coveted position and to the other side of the River. As soon as the hill upon which it was desired you should plant your Artillery, had been cleared, all your Batteries except Capt Robertson's, which had not arrived, were under the supervision of Maj Graves, promptly posted, but it was soon found that instead of this position commanding the enemys lines, it was completely commanded from the other side of the River and that the enemy had there massed an overwhelming weight of metal. Under these circumstances, and having already lost Seventeen hundred out of the Forty Five hundred men with whom you had made this attack, you thought proper to retire to the cover of the wood in which you had formed your attacking lines. While this movement was being executed, the enemys

"infantry again crossed the River but were gallantly held in check by our Batteries on the hill, until our lines were reformed and quite ready to receive them. The Artillery in thus covering our retreat, necessarily sacrificed the lives of many brave men. Three of our pieces with their dead canoneers around them fell into the hands of the enemy.

"After our lines had reformed and the Artillery had fallen back upon them, the enemy appeared in force upon the hill which had cost us so dearly, but did not venture to attack us. About dark, and after the firing had ceased upon both sides, Brig Gen Anderson with his fine Brigade came up and reported to you. Shortly afterwards you moved the whole force to the line you occupied before this attack was determined upon, and in this position it remained till withdrawn to cover the retreat of Lt: Gen Hardee's Corps, on the evacuation of Murfreesboro.

"I am, General

"With Respect

"Your Obedt Svt

"Jas Wilson

"Maj & A. I. Genl

"Maj Gen BRECKINRIDGE"

4.—*Report of Major R. E. Graves, Chief of Artillery, Breckinridge's Division.*

"CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

"January 25th 1863

"GENERAL,

"I have the honor to submit a report of the operations of the Artillery of your Division in the late battles before Murfreesboro.

"The troops having been placed in line of battle on the morning of the 28th of December, the batteries of the Division were disposed as follows: Cobb's battery (four guns) was attached to Hanson's brigade and posted on the extreme left near Stone river; Moses' battery (four guns), commanded by Lt Anderson, was attached to Palmer's brigade and posted in a skirt of wood on the left centre of the line; Wright's (four guns) was attached to Preston's brigade and posted on the edge of a field on the right centre of the line; Slocomb's (six guns), commanded by Lt Vaught, was attached to Adams' brigade and posted on the right near the Lebanon pike. Lumsden's battery (four guns) came up with Jackson's brigade on the morning of the 29th, and on the same day Semple's with his battery of Napoleon guns reported for duty with the Division; thus making the total number of guns and howitzers in the command twenty eight. Of these Cobb, Anderson & Wright had each two 6 pr. guns and two 12 pr. how-

itzers; Vaught the same with the addition of two James' rifle guns; Lumsden two rifle guns and two 6 pr. guns, and Semple six Napoleons.

"Along the whole front of our line was an open space of undulating fields of an average width of some six hundred yards fringed with open woods. Immediately in front of Capt. Cobb and near the river was a small hill of some forty feet elevation above the surrounding country. As this position completely commanded Polk's right and Hardee's left, it was of the last importance that we should possess it. Accordingly Cobb's battery with a portion of Hanson's infantry was ordered forward on the evening of the 29th, the artillery to occupy the crest of the hill, the infantry directly in rear with a strong line of skirmishers in front of the battery. Towards nightfall Lt Genl Hardee visited the position and was of opinion that the command should be withdrawn, and he accordingly ordered it to fall back to the original line as soon as darkness should cover the movement. Before the order could be executed, however, the skirmishers were driven back upon the reserve. Capt. Cobb immediately called for reinforcements, but before they could arrive a strong body of assailants rushed to the crest of the hill and delivered a heavy volley of musketry at short pistol range. Fortunately the cannoneers were ordered to lie down, and thus escaped without injury, save one detachment which not hearing the order remained standing and were either killed or wounded, Lt James being among the latter. By the timely arrival of the 9th Ky Regt the battery was rescued. The command was then withdrawn. A few hours after an order came from Headquarters to re-occupy the hill at all hazards, and it was accordingly done about midnight by the 9th Ky & 41st Ala without opposition, Cobb's battery moving up and taking position a short time after.

"Early on the morning of the 30th the enemy deployed a heavy body of sharpshooters who attempted to dislodge us from the hill, but they were successfully met by the Kentucky riflemen. About 10 O'Clock A.M., the sharpshooters having failed in their attempt, a heavy fire was opened upon the position by the enemy's batteries, which was soon silenced by Cobb. About 10½ A.M. an order was given for the hill to be fortified. About 12 M. Brigadier General Chalmers, fearing an attempt would be made by the enemy to cross the river and turn his right, requested that a battery should be placed in the plain to the left and rear of Cobb to frustrate any such

"movement. Four rifle guns under command of L^t A. C. Gibson were accordingly posted for the purpose and remained in position during the day.

"In the evening Capt. Cobb, in attempting to prevent the occupation of the ground immediately in his front on the West bank of the river and to the left of Cowan's house, lost quite heavily.

"During the night of the 30th the four rifle guns (sections from Vaughts & Lumsden's batteries under command of L^t Chaleron and Tarrent respectively) which had been posted to the left and rear of Cobb, were ordered up to the hill, and Semple's battery took their place behind an earth-work which had been hastily thrown up under the darkness.

"At daylight on the 31st loud and continued cheering was heard all along the front of Hanson's line. Directions were given to the battery commanders to open with spherical case as soon as the enemy should make his appearance within proper range. Very soon the occasion presented itself for executing this order, and it was faithfully and effectively obeyed. As the rattle of small arms grew to one continuous roar on our left, and told that Hardee was pushing his victorious columns forward, dense masses of the enemy came in view on an extensive plateau directly in front of the artillery posted on the hill. Cobb, Chaleron and Tarrent opened upon them with great effect. Semple's battery was moved up to the hill and also bore an efficient part in this cannonade. Line after line of the enemy would come upon the plateau to be driven back a mass of broken and disorganized fugitives. Also as the retreating masses of the enemy, flying before our advancing lines, crowded upon this point, every gun upon the hill was brought to bear upon them with murderous effect. Thus did this portion of our artillery continue the contest throughout the day, sometimes sweeping away from before our lines the masses of the enemy's infantry, at others engaging his batteries with damaging effect, and contributing in a very material measure towards the general success of our arms in the great battle of the 31st of December. The batteries of Wright, Vaught, Anderson & Lumsden accompanied the brigades to which they were respectively attached to the West of Stone river. The reports of the brigade commanders will have informed you of the part taken by these batteries on that bloody day.

"The conduct of the artillerymen under a very severe and continuous fire from the opposing batteries was eminently satisfactory. Not in a single instance did any officer, non-commis-

sioned officer or private shrink from the performance of his duty. I desire particularly to commend to your notice the gallant & meritorious conduct of Captains Cobb and Semple, and L^t Chaleron & Tarrent. These officers were at all times present directing their commands with coolness energy and skill. Throughout this and the several preceding days I received efficient and valuable assistance from L^t Gibson and Spencer whose conduct on the field was marked by the highest courage. Corporals Smith of Chaleron's section, Hawes of Cobb's battery & Reoul of Semple's battery were conspicuous for their coolness and the excellent manner in which they handled their pieces. I cannot omit to mention an admirable feat of skill performed by Corporal Smith. Observing one of the enemy's ammunition wagons crossing the plateau in front of our batteries, I ordered the Corporal to explode it. He did it handsomely at the second shot.

"On the morning of the 2^d of January two guns of Capt Byrne's battery (which had reported for duty with the Division) under charge of the Captain were advanced to the front of Palmer's right and opened fire upon some houses occupied by the enemy's sharpshooters driving them from their shelter. Not having proper ammunition these guns were replaced by Vaughts battery, upon a charge was made but repulsed. At 12. M. an order came from you to cease firing and withdraw the battery.

"At 3 P. M. orders were given for the concentration of Wright's, Vaught's and Anderson's batteries in an open field some twelve hundred yards in a direction a little north of East of where the skirmish had taken place in the morning. The infantry of the Division was formed in two lines immediately in front of the artillery. Capt. Wright was posted on the right, L^t Anderson in the centre, and L^t Vaught on the left, each having two 6 pr. guns and two 12 pr. howitzers. Being summoned to your presence I was informed by you that the Commanding General had ordered you with your command to take a hill on the East bank of Stone river now some eight hundred yards in your front—that the infantry would first advance, and as soon as the crest of the hill should be carried the artillery should be moved up at a gallop and take position upon it. You further informed me that Capt. Robertson, commanding a battery in Withers' Division, had reported to you with his own and Semple's battery, and had been directed by you to post one battery on the right and the other on the left of the artillery of the Division. At 4 O'clock, at a

"given, signal, the infantry moved forward to the attack and had advanced to within some five hundred yards of the eminence when the enemy showed himself in force on the right flank of the Division in a wood. You ordered me to bring up a battery and place it position to dislodge him. Wright's battery was moved up and unlimbered under a very heavy fire within short range. The officers and men of this battery behaved with the utmost gallantry, but finding it impossible with this battery alone to dislodge the enemy, I rode to a battery some three hundred yards to the right and rear of Wright's position (which I found to be Semple's now under command of L^t Fitzpatrick. I asked him if he could not advance to within canister range. He replied that Capt Robertson had given him no orders or instructions; and that his battery was at my command. The battery was advanced to within four hundred yards of the enemy and opened with canister. By the combined fire of the two batteries the enemy was driven from his position with great loss. Here L^t Bell of Byrne's battery who had volunteered with me for the fight and who had borne himself most gallantly was wounded & carried from the field.

L^t Vaught & Anderson advanced promptly and taking the positions assigned them on the crest of the hill (which had cleared by the infantry) opened fire. L^t Fitzpatrick was ordered to a position directly in front of his second position. Capt Wright was moved up on the right of L^t Anderson, but finding the ground unfavorable went into battery on the left of Fitzpatrick. The infantry had by this time passed some distance beyond the crest of the hill and driven the enemy before them & across the river. The ground to the left of Wright & Fitzpatrick was rough and woody, that to the right was an extended field. The enemy's artillery on the west side of river swept the crest of the hill, the ground on which his batteries were placed being much higher. Moreover he had crossed the river below with a superior force which advanced upon our flank. Assailed by this force as well as by the enemy's batteries from his commanding position beyond the river, our infantry was compelled to fall back, which they did very deliberately. As the infantry retired the enemy's fire became truly awful, the air being filled with missiles of death. I called upon the officers & men as they passed through the batteries to stop & support the artillery. Most of them complied, but finding that this only subjected the command to an increased & ineffectual loss of life, I ordered all who thus rallied to fall back to the woods.

"Feeling that this was one of the cases when it becomes necessary to sacrifice one arm of the service for the safety of another, I resolved to maintain the artillery in its position as a barrier between the advancing enemy and our retiring infantry, although officers, men and horses were fast being shot down. It was now that the gallant Wright was killed. Tennessee offered up on her own bosom a sacrifice to our cause of inestimable value in this untimely fall of one of her most heroic sons. L^t Mebane of Wright's battery was also wounded & forced to leave the field. As the infantry passed back the enemy's lines were discovered to be within less than two hundred yards of the batteries. Fitzpatrick's Napoleons and Wright's howitzers greeted them with a bloody welcome. Their first and second lines and part of their third were driven. Rallying they again pressed forward & poured in a terribly destructive fire upon us. The ground was torn by minnie balls and bursting shells. Wright and a third of his men were killed and wounded. Fitzpatrick lost half of his officers and men. Still the batteries sustained the unequal contest; and it was only when the enemy was within pistol shot, and all our artillery ammunition was exhausted, that the order to limber to the rear was given. Three guns—one of Fitzpatrick's and two of Wright's—were lost there no one left to limber them up.

"I cannot speak in terms of too high praise of the behavior throughout this terrible conflict of the officers & men of the batteries of Capt. Wright and L^t Vaught & Fitzpatrick. I saw but little of L^t Anderson's fire. I did not see Capt. Robertson's battery during the engagement, nor am I aware that it took any part in it; nor did I see the Captain himself until proceeding to the rear in consequence of a wound which I received about the close of the action I met him three quarters of a mile from the battle field.

"I cannot close without mentioning the valuable services and distinguished gallantry of L^t William Gilmore who acted with me in this engagement, and who signalized himself by a brilliant courage which I have never seen surpassed.

"Very Respectfully, General,

"Your Ob^t Serv^t

"R. E. GRAVE;

"Major & Chf of artillery

"Maj. Gen. BRECKINRIDGE

"Comm^dg Division

"Tullahoma, Tenn."

5.—Letter from Captain F. H. Robertson to General Breckinridge, transmitting copy of the

special Report sent to General Bragg, on his requisition, February 18, 1863.

"SHELBYVILLE TENN. April 6th 1863

"Maj. Gen^l. BRECKINRIDGE

"Comdg Division

"GEN^l

"You will remember that in pursuance of my official duty I addressed you a report of the operations of the Artillery in the attack of the 2nd of Jan. 1863 after Maj Graves (your Chief of Arty) was disabled and left the field.

"Subsequently to my making that report I received from General Bragg a note, of which I enclose a copy, calling for a Special report 'to be made direct' to his Hd. Quarters 'of the operations of all the Artillery on that occasion.'

"I think it proper to furnish you with a copy of this report covering as it does details not embodied in the one before addressed to you

"Very Respectfully

"Your Obt Servant

"F. H. ROBERTSON

"Capt &c."

6.—Adjutant-general John A. Buckner's Letter to General Breckinridge.

"HEAD QUARTERS

"BRECKINRIDGE DIVISION

"May 20th 1863

"GENERAL.

"In recalling the operations of your Divⁿ in the engagements before Murfreesboro I can mention nothing of importance as having occurred previous to Wednesday the 31st of Dec. except the retaking of the prominent Hill on the East bank of Stone's river in front of your left wing.

"About dark on Monday evening the Enemy threw a large force across the ford immediately in front of the Hill and by a bold & rapid dash drove Cobbs Battery from its position, but by the promptness and coolness of Col Hunt, it was quickly retaken by the 9th Ky and 41st Ala. Reg^t and held throughout the subsequent engagements.

"The morning of the 31st of Dec^r found the approaches to Murfreesboro on the East bank of Stone's river, defended solely by your Division: consisting of Hanson's, Palmer's, Adam's, & Preston's Brigades; and the small Brigade (900 effectives) of Brig^l Gen^l Jackson, which had been ordered to report to you the day before.

"Your line of Battle extended from the Lebanon Turnpike to the bank of Stone river— You had but one line, and this was broken at intervals for Batteries of Artillery.

"Your front was covered by a Cavalry force

"under Brig^l Gen^l Pegram thrown forward of your line about one mile—

"While the battle was raging on the west Side of the river on Wednesday, you received frequent reports from this Cavalry that the Enemy were on the East side and were marching to attack you. A report to the same effect was sent you at an early hour on Wednesday by Gen^l Bragg, and it was not until you had sent forward two members of your staff, and the Captain of your Escort, for the purpose of watching the movements of the Enemy, that you were relieved from these frequent erroneous reports— About 11 O'clock A. M. you rec^d an order from the Gen^l Commanding to advance your Division to the front, and as promptly as possible, the line was put in motion, and had swung around about a half mile upon Hanson's Hill as a pivot, when you rec^d information that the Enemy was advancing on the Lebanon road, and you were ordered by the Commanding General to suspend the movement, and reoccupy your old position.

"The Enemy not appearing you remained in your original line until you rec^d the order from the Gen^l commanding to send at least one Brigade across the river to sustain Gen^l Polk's right, as He was said to be hard pressed. This order I bore you, & witnessed the prompt departure of Brig^l Gen^l Jackson's Small brigade and that of Brig. Gen^l Adams.

"About an hour after the departure of these Brigades you were ordered to send two more Brigades to still further reinforce Gen^l Polk's right.

"Leaving Hanson to defend the important Hill before alluded to, you led Palmer's & Preston's Brigades rapidly across Stone's river, and on arriving on the West bank, found the Brigades of Jackson & Adams falling back in considerable disorder, over the ground across which you were ordered to advance.

"As Soon as these troops could be cleared from your front, you moved forward across a level, open field about one thousand yards in width, which was raked by a cross fire from several batteries of the enemy massed on a slight eminence in our front. The troops moved forward in beautiful order until they reached the burnt ruins of Cowans House.

"Here the strong Pickett fence around the yard & garden, the walls of the House and the Rail road cut, checked your advance and separated the 20th, Tenn. from the balance of Preston's Brigade.

"The 20th Tenn advanced on the right of the Rail road & near to the river bank— After making a gallant charge in which they captured 25 Prisoners they retired before a very heavy fire of Artillery.

"The balance of your command; unable to advance in the face of so terrific a fire of Artillery and Small arms (concentrated just at the time the line was disturbed by the fences & ruins of the House just named)—moved by the left flank into a dense Cedar brake and held the position, although directly in front of a strong force of the enemy posted in an open field at short range—

"Shortly after you entered this covert of cedars you met Lieut Genl Hardee, with whom you advanced to the edge of the timber in close proximity to the lines of the Enemy— After this reconnoissance you both rode along the line of Infantry to our extreme left flank— The line was not in condition to advance, there being no reserves and the front being imperfectly formed.

"It was now after Sundown and on returning to the immediate vicinity of your command you established a Bivouac for the night.

"At about 11 O'clock at night you ordered your Staff across to the East side of the river and your old Head Quarters were resumed. Palmers Brigade having been ordered back to the east Side of the river, and having occupied a position in front of your old line, was fired on by a rifled Gun of the Enemy about 10 O'clock on Thursday morning—

"This disclosed the fact, that the Enemy had thrown a body of troops across the river while your command was on the west side, and the movement was evidently intended to protect the point against which his left flank was then resting; his whole left wing having been moved back to that point under cover of Wednesday night—

"On Friday the 2^d of Jan^y about 10 O'clock A. M. you were consulted with regard to firing a few Shots at this new position taken by the Enemy, for the purpose of developing his strength. Your consent was obtained, and after a few shots, without a single reply, the Battery of the Enemy was moved to the rear and out of Sight.

"A strong line of Skirmishers was developed extending along the bank of the river some eight hundred yards— While thus developing the force of the Enemy, an order from you was received to cease firing— and in a few minutes afterwards you appeared on the ground having received an order from the Commanding General to take the Hill by assault then held by the Enemy in your front— The balance of your Division having been removed across Stone's river to the east Side, the Four Brigades were formed as follows.

"The first line, composed of Hanson on the left and Pillow on the right, was some 250 yds

"in front of your Second line which was formed by Adams' on the left and Preston on the right. Brig^r Genl Adams being wounded, Col Gibson commanded his Brigade—

"The plan of attack as you several times repeated to the Brigade commanders was for the

"Artillery to move in rear of the Second line and as soon as the hill was cleared of the Enemy, to take position on the crest and hold it.

"You had Wright's, Slocumb's & Moses' Batteries attached to your Division, with Sample and Robertson's, reporting for the particular

"occasion— The movement was made precisely

"at 4. O'clock P. M upon the firing of one gun as a Signal; it having been determined that the Enemy should be engaged on the West side with Artillery, Simultaneous with your Attack, on the east side.

"The charge was the most brilliant I have ever seen in any engagement— The Hill was soon cleared and all the Batteries save Robertson's were quickly in position as you had directed— For this fine Battery of Napoleon guns you repeatedly enquired; and sent me twice to look for it, but it could not be found anywhere on the field—

"After the Infantry cleared the hill it became necessary for them to advance and drive the enemy across the river as the timber between the Hill and river afforded him excellent protection and the Hill could not have been held with Artillery until it was done. A large number of the Enemy's Guns had been massed on the west Side of the river on ground some Ten or twelve feet higher than on the east side— these guns bore directly upon the crest of the hill we were fighting for, and a more terrific fire of Artillery I have never been under than in this position. The Enemy was driven across the river and a part of our forces in the impetuosity of the charge pursued him to the opposite bank—

"The bend in the river at this point, caused the left of our line to crowd upon the center, and while thus divided and crowded together, two Divisions and a Brigade of the Enemy crossed above and came down upon our flank.

"Our troops were compelled to fall back, and in doing so, there was some confusion and disorder, but on reaching the skirt of timber from which the assault began, the line was reformed and remained; prepared to dispute the advance of the Enemy, until after dark.

"The Artillery attached to your Division under your Chief of Artillery, held the position we had won until all of the Infantry had retired & until the Enemy had advanced to very close range— In retiring three Guns were left, the Horses and men belonging to them being nearly all killed. In the same skirt of woods

"where the Infantry reformed, the Washington Artillery took position and aided in arresting the advance of the Enemy.

"About dark and after your new line had been formed, more than a half hour, and skirmishers were established in your front, Brig^r Gen^l Anderson reached the Scene of action with his Brigade.

"The fighting had ceased, and this Brigade formed the prolongation of your line, until some time after night, when you ordered the whole command to retire to a position 700 yards in rear, leaving Picketts thrown well forward to the front.

"In this repulse there was some confusion but I have seen worse in three Battles before, and quite as bad in the Wednesdays fight before Murfreesboro.

"Your loss was very heavy— the fire of three Divisions with not less than Fifty pieces of Artillery having been faced for one Hour & twenty minutes—

"Nothing of consequence occurred on the following day—

"Shortly after midnight on the night of the 3^d of Jan^r your Division was put in retreat covering the retreat of Gen^l Hardee's Corps on the Manchester turnpike—

"The Enemy did not pursue nor did anything of consequence occur after the retreat began.

"Respectfully

"JOHN A. BUCKNER

"A. A. Gen^l

"To

"Major Gen^l BRECKINRIDGE

"Com^ds Division,

"Army of Tennessee"

V.—EARLY RECORDS OF TRINITY-CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 288.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, NOW FIRST PRINTED.

[*, The words, in *Italics*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which were erased: the words, in *Roman*, enclosed in brackets, are those words, in the original manuscripts, which have been obliterated by time or accident.]

At a meeting of the Vestry in Newyork the 2^d day of May 1699

Present the reverend William Vesey Rector
Alderman Thomas Wenham, Church Warden
John Guest Esqr Cap^t Jeremy Tothill
Matthew Clarkson Esqr William Huddleston
Will^m Anderson Lieut^l John Hutchins
Cap^t Lancaster Simms Cap^t Ebenezer Wilson
James Evetts David Jamison
Will^m Morris

Ordered Alderman Thomas Wenham Do pay to the Widdow Dekey the sum of one hundred & eighteen pounds money of Newyork in full of the bond & interest due for two hundred pounds— which the Church had at the interest of Six per cent and that the s^d Alderman Wenham do take up the s^d bond & cancell it

At a meeting of the vestry of Trinity Church at Newyork the 21st day of June 1699

Present The Reverend Mr William Vesey Rector

Alderman Thomas Wenham Rector

William Nicoll John Gest Esq^r

Jeremiah Tothill Mathew Clarkson Esq^r

Thomas Burroughs Richd Willett

William Anderson James Evetts

Ebenezer Wilson William Morris

David Jamison

Peter Whites work about the Chancell at his request is referred to two workmen the Vestry choose John Ellis joyner & Mr White chooses his broth^r journeyman

Ordered in the mean time Peter White be paid fifteen pounds to answer his present occasion & the remainder be paid him when the reffer^s shall report under their hands what they do agree he may reasonably deserve

Mr ffarnley gave to the Church £3: 0:9

Mr ffinch - - - - - £1: 7:0

Mr Whigg - - - - - £0: 6:0

Mr Martin - - - - - £0: 6:0

Cap^t Syprian Southake - - - £1:11:1¹/₂

Mr Tothull & Mr Simms being collectors of the contributions for some time past with the above benevolence delivered in their amount of Cash received amounting to Sixty two pounds twelve shillings out of which is paid to Peter White fifteen pounds & to Captain Tothull in full of his account fifteen pounds one Shillings & Sixpence

Mr Wenham received into custody Seventeen pounds 7 Sh 7 pence & fifteen pounds the remainder is in Capt Simms hand to be paid to Mr Wenham when he comes to Town

Mr Wilson & Mr Morris are desired to proceed in the collection of the contribution

At a meeting of the Vestry of the Church at Newyork the 14th of July 1699

Present Thomas Wenham Esqr Church Warden

John Gest Esq Jeremy Tothill

Thomas Burroughs Thomas Jves

Lancaster Simms David Jamison

John Hutchins William Anderson

James Evetts William Hudleston

Thomas Clark William Nicoll

It is agreed that for the better Support of Our

minister M^r Vesey he be allowed and paid weekly out of the contribution made in the Church the summe of twenty four shillings money of Newyorke any former order for the disposition of [that] the money arising by that means notwithstanding

At a meeting of the vestry of Trinity Church in Newyorke the 5th of September 1699

Present Thomas Wenham Ch Warden

John Gest Esqr	Michael Howdon
Matth Clarkson Esqr	John Hutchins
Jeremiah Tothill	John Crooke
Ebenezer Wilson	David Jamison
William Morris	William Anderson
	Lancaster Simms

William Anderson delivered in of benevolence money the Sum of £11:8.10½ Viz^t

from M ^r flinch	- - - -	1.18.9
Doctor Tosor	- - - -	2. 0.0
M ^r Wick	- - - -	3. 7.1½
M ^r Butman	- - - -	0.11.0
Cap ^t Motts	- - - -	0.11.0
M ^r Stewart	- - - -	3. 6.0

£11.8.10½

Cap^t Wilson & Cap^t Morris brought in of eleven weeks contribution in the church from June 23 to the 3^d of Septem^r the Sum of £34.3.0 and the sum of £9.12^s pd M^r Vesey for 8 weeks

Mdm p^d to M^r Vanderburgh £54.12.10½

Viz^t By Cap^t Simms £ 4. 1. 0 a gift of M^r Sproud

By the Sectry £ 5. 0. 0 a gift of M^r Koyss (?)

In Cash 45.11.10½

54.12.10½

Cap^t Morris Cap^t Tothill Cap^t Simms & M^r Anderson are appointed to Collect the money for the pews in order to clear off our debts & a list given them accordingly

Ordered Rich^d Willett & Rob^t Lurting be Collectors in the Church untill further order.

Citty of } Att A Vestry of Trinity Church
N: Yorke } ss held On Thursday y^e: 19th day
of October Anno Dom 1699

Present the Reverend M^r William Vezey Rector
Thomas Wenham Church Warden

Rob ^t Lurting	} Vestry men	Michael Howdon
Ebenezer Willson		Lancaster Syms
William Morris		Will Huddleston
William Anderson		Thomas Burroughs
Jeremiah Tothill		
John Guest		
John Hutchins		

Order'd that M^r Wenham Church Warden doe pay to M^r Peter White the Sum of fifteen pounds Oarrant Money of New Yorke in full for his worke done for making of the Banisters & Wainscott of the Communion Table of Trinity Church which Compleats the Sum of thirty pounds, fifteen pounds having been Already paid him.

New York y^e: 14th October 1699

These are to Certifie that J Adam Balldridge doe Give my halfe parte of my Pew in Trinity Church Unto the Said Church to be disposed of as the Church Wardens & Vestry Shal! Se meet and Convenient for them. Wittness my hand

Adam Balldridge

William Morris Jeremiah Tothill Lancaster Syms And William Anderson Reporte they have paid to Direck Vanderburgh On Account the Sum of fourty three pounds & Order of Capt Wenham as Appears by his Receipt which is Allowed Accordingly

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church the 21st of Novem^r 1699

The Reverand M^r Vesey

Present Tho. Wenham	Thomas Burroughs
Jere Tothill	James Emott
Ebenezer Wilson	John Gest
Will Anderson	David Jamison
Will ^m Morris	John Crooke
Tho Jves	Michal Howdon
Rob ^t Lurting	

Ordered M^r Howdon & M^r Jves do oversee the getting of the paving stones from the Pmk Blossom & lodging them in the steeple being a gift of his Ldp of Bristoll to Trinity Church Cap^t Tothill did report that M^r Ellis joyner has agreed for eighteen pounds to make a pew with a canopy like to Coll fletchers pew in all things to finde Stuff nails and all workmanship which is approved by the Vestry

At a Vestry held the 2^d of January 1699-1700

Present the Reverend M^r Vesey Rector

Thomas Wenham	James Evetts
Rob ^t Lurting	John Crooke
William Nicoll	James Emott
Thomas Burroughs	Mich Howdon
Ebenezer Wilson	William Huddleston
Richard Willett	John Hutchins
William Anderson	David Jamison
William Morris	

M^r Lurting & M^r Willett did give an account of the contribution in the Church for Seventeen weeks amounting to £70.4.6^d of which p^t w

Mr Vesey £20 8^s for 17 weeks & to Cap^t Wenham £40:16^s:6^d

Mr Anderson & Mr Huddleston do serve to take the Collections till further order

It is agreed that Andrew Law Alex Stewart & Samuel Burgesse have the pew next the wall on the South Side the Church on the right hand of the Governours pew they paying for the same

Also that Richard Playsted & Wright have two thirds of the middle pew on the South Side between the South door & the Governours pew upon the Same terms

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry the 29th of March 1700

Present the Reverend Mr William Vesey
Thomas Wenham Ch W.

Matth Clarkson Esqr

Will Morris

Will^m Anderson

Lancaster Simms

Thomas Burroughs

Rob^t Lurting

Mr Huddleston & Mr Anderson returned of the Sundays collection from the 7th of Jan^y last to the 24th of March instant the Rector allowance being paid out of the same the sum of £28: 8^s: 10^d

William Morris Jer Tothill Lancaster Simms & Will Anderson do bring into the board moneys collected by them for pious & benevolence since the last sume brought in by them £72: 8^s: ½^d

Out of this $\frac{1}{2}$ order p^d to Cap^t Simms £7:15:8 for money sent for England &c

[Mem to Dirck Vanderbergh $\frac{1}{2}$ order]

brought in afterwards on account of Cap^t Shelley pew the sume of nine pounds

brought also by Mr Sharpas the sume of fifty shillings & three pence on account of William Taylor of Boston Merch^t being in full of his £5 gratuity to the Church

Payd out to Cap^t Simms on account of Dirck Vand^rburgh the sume of Sixty pounds

Payd to Cap^t Wilson $\frac{1}{2}$ order on account of Coll Heathcote thirty nine pounds Seven shill nine-pence halfe penny

Ordered that Cap^t Wenham do pay to Ebenezer Wilson the sum of tenn pounds twelve shill^s two pence halfe penny to make up fifty pounds pd to Coll Heathcote this being p^d by Cap^t Wenham there remains in his hands the balance of his account of Cash £14: 5^s: 6½^d

A ryall & ½ was lost upon bad money

At a meeting of the Rector Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church tuesday the 2^d of April in Trinity Church 1700

Harv. Mag. Vol. I. 28.

by majority of voices of
Thomas Wenham & Richard
Church Wardens for the year

William Morris J

James Emott J

Will^m Nicoll T

[Matth Clarkson] R

John Crooke R

Lancaster Simms J

Thomas Burroughs J

Will^m Huddleston M

Ebenezer Wilson J

Tho. Jves G

[George S P] D

are elected Vestry men

by the majority of voice

Mr Howdon & Mr Jves are
the Sunday contribution unt

At a Meeting of y^e Church
trety of Trinity Church

Present

Thomas Wenham

Rich^d Willett

Michael Hawden W

Jn^s Crook R

Ebenezer Wilson T

Rob^t Skelton R

William Anderson

Ordered y^e Ebenezer Wilson,
Baker being assisted wth Will
iam Anderson be a Com^{rs} to
in moneys for y^e Church till

At a meeting of the
Vestry of Trinity Church

Present the Reverend Mr

Thomas Wenham } Ch

Rich^d Willett }

Rob^t Lurting Th

Lancaster Simms Jo

Jeremy Tothill

Rob^t Skelton

David Jameson

Mr Wenham did report that
Merch^t batchelor had paid hi
£5:10^s towards his portion
pew

Ordered the s^d sume of five
ings be paid to Mr Ellis the
making the same pew

Ordered Mr Stoaks Mr Plays
& Mr Wright the tallowchan
most pew next the door on th
Church next before Mr Skelton

for the making the pew and proporsionably to the Church to make up £24.

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church September the 23rd 1700

Present

The reverend Mr William Vesey Rector

Thomas Wenham } Ch Wardens
Richard Willett }

John Tudor	Thomas Jves
Ebenezer Wilson	John Guest
Will ^m Huddleston	William Morris
James Emott	Michael Hawdon
Jeremiah Tothill	John Hutchins
William Anderson	Thomas Burroughs
Robert Lurting	John Crooke
Roger Baker	David Jamison
Lancaster Simms	

the Rector Mr Vesey did acquaint the board that His Excell the Govern^r did send for him last night and desire him to call together the Vestry and to signify to them that he desired he might have liberty to sett benches in the Isles of Our Church for the conveniency of the soldiers [*of the Garrison the Chapp*] there being no Chaplain at Psent to the Garrison

This [*board V*] board having considered that the late Chaplain is suspended and as no other [*apoints*] at present to officiate doe give consent that Benches be sett in the Isles for the accommodation of a Chaplain to the Garrison provided the Church Wardens be consulted in the ordering & placing of sd benches.

At a meeting of the Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church the 15th of Novemb^r 1700

Present the Reverend Mr Vesey Rector

Tho Wenham } Church Wardens
Rich^d Willett }

Ebenezer Wilson	Lancaster Simms
Michel Hawdon	David Jamieson
Tho Burroughs	William Anderson
Will ^m Huddleston	John Crooke
Rob ^t Lurting	Roger Baker
Rob ^t Skelton	
Jeremy Tothill	

It is agreed that fifty shillings of the [*money Given by Govern^r Nyhols*] poors money be laid out in provision & Given to John Perry being poor & having a numerous family of small Children

It is agreed that thirty shillings of Govern^r Nicholson's tenn pound sterling given to the poor be p^d to M^r Berryman being a poor widow woman & Communicant of the Church

Agreed that M^r Welsh the sexton be allowed

ninepence a quarter for cleaning the Church & pews from each family or person that is single frequenting the Church & having a settled place to sett in the Church

It is ordered tht Robert Skelton & Roger Baker after next Sunday do attend the Collection for two months next ensuing

Ordered Mr Tuthill do provide the sextons boy a Wastcoat coat breeches shoes & stockings & 3 neckcloaths

It is agreed between the board & John Ellis Joyner in manner following

Mr Ellis does agree to build a handsome gallery in the West end of the Church from the south door to the north according to a draft thereof made by Mr Evetts to furnish all timber & materials used by a joyner to build the pews therein to make a pair of stairs in the steeple handsome & large to make the door from the bell free into the gallery & to finish this worke against Aprile or May next

Jn consideracon whereof the Church Wardens & Vestry doe agree to pay M^r Ellis out of the Churches money eighty pounds this Country money when the worke is finished & the remainder being eighty pounds more at the end of one year next after the finishing of s^d gallery

The first eighty pounds shall be paid as the worke goes on locks and hinges are not to be furnished at the joyners charge

It is agreed that a letter be wrote to the Bishop of Winchester to Desire his Charity to send over the tenn Commandments & the Lords prayer & Creed to be hung up in the East end of Our Church

At a meeting of the Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church January the 22th [*of*] 1700

Present the Reverend Mr William Vesey Rector

Tho Wenham } Ch Wardens
Rich^d Willett }

James Emott	John Hutchins
Robert Lurting	Thomas Burroughs
William Morris	Ebenezer Wilson
Robert Skelton	David Jamison
Thomas Jves	Michael Hawdon

M^r Ellis joyner brought in his account for sundry services done in the Church & materials other than what is comprehended in his agreement whereof sixteen pounds is for building of pews in the Church his whole account amounting to £35:3:3 Ordered he be paid in full thirty one pounds the rest being abated

Ordered what moneys are in the hands of the Collectors of the Sundays contribution or otherwise be paid in to M^r Wenham in order to clear the accounts of M^r Ellis & others

At a meeting of the Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church this 25 day of febr'y 1700

Present the Reverend William Vesey Rector

Tho Wenham } Ch. Wardens
Rich^d Willett }

Ebenez^r Wilson John Crooke
Gab Ludlow Rob^t Skelton
Will^m Anderson Michael Hawdon
Roger Baker David Jamison

It is agreed that the gallery be divided into four pews by the length with two alleys each pew 9½ foot long

Ordered M^r Willson & M^r Anderson Do succeed in going about with the plate on Sundays

Att A Meeting of the Rector, Church Wardens & Vestry men of Trinity Church the Tuesday in Easter Week being the 22^d April 1701

Present The Reverend M^r William Vesey Rector

Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Richard Willett }

James Emott Rob^t Lurting
Lancaster Syms Michael Hawdon
William Huddleston John Tudor
Thomas Jves Gab^l Ludlow
William Anderson Jeremiah Tothill

Pursuant to the Directions of the Charter for the Incorporating the Inhabitants of the City of New Yorke in Communion of the Church of England as by Law Established the Inhabitants of the said City in Communion as Aforesaid did this day Conven'd together in Trinity Church According to publick Notice thereof And did then unanimously Elect the persons hereafter Named to serve in the Respective Offices of Church Wardens & Vestry men of the said Church for the yeare Ensueing.

Thomas Wenham } Church Wardens
Richard Willett }

William Morris John Hutchins
James Emott Roger Baker
William Nicoll Rob^t Skelton
John Crooke Rob^t Lurting
Lancaster Syms Jeremiah Tothill
Thomas Burroughs Michael Hawdon
William Huddleston John Tudor
Ebenazer Willson Gab^l Ludlow
Thomas Jves David Jamison
William Anderson Peter Matthews

Vestry
men

At a Meeting of y^e Wardens & Vestry of Trinity Church In New York June 2^d 1701

Present

The Rev^d W^m Vesey Rector

Tho. Wenham } Church Wardens
Rich^d Willett }

James Emot John Hutchins
Juⁿ Crook Roger Baker
Lancaster Syms Jerem. Tothill
Tho. Burroughs Mich. Hawden
W^m Huddleston John Tudor
Ebenr. Wilson Gabriel Ludlow
W^m Anderson Peter Matthews

The Vestrey Examined y^e Churches Library according to y^e Catalogue sent from D^r Bray & Returned y^e Same signed wth an Acc^t of what Books were wanting, & what were not in the Catalogue

Ordered That y^e Church Wardens wth y^e Assistance of whom of y^e Vestrey they shall think fit do draw up an address relating to y^e Churches affairs in Generall to be presented to y^e Governour & y^e in congratulate his safe Arrivall.

[Blank page.]

A Copy of y^e King's Letter

WILLIAM R

Right Trusty & Right Well beloved Cousin, We Greet you well

Whereas we are informed, that y^e Inhabitants of our Town of New-York in that our Colony, having at their Great Expence & Charge Erected & built a Church there, for performing divine Service, according to y^e Usage of y^e Church of England, & that they are under apprehensions of being dispossessed and deprived thereof, upon a pretence of a Flaw in their Grant or Charter, whereby they hold their said Church: We have thought [*thought*] fit hereby to Signify unto You, & Accordingly our will & Pleasure is, That in case any Suit be already Commenced, or shall hereafter be commenced against their said Charter, to y^e prejudice of their said Church, or any of y^e Rights or Revenues. thereunto belonging, that You do not proceed definitively thereupon, untill their said Charter, or an Authentick Copy thereof, together wth y^e whole State [*thereof*] of y^e Matter, be first transmitted hither, and laid before us in our Councill, And Our further Pleasure be thereupon signified unto You. And so we bid You heartily Farewell.

Given at Our Court at Hampton Court y^e 27th day of January 1700, In the Twelfth Year of our Reign

By his Ma^{ties} Command
C. HEDGES

To Our Right Trusty and
Right Wellbeloved Cousin Richard
Earle of Bellomont, Our Cap^t
Generall & Gouvernour in Chief
of our Province of New-York in
America

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VI.—"VERMONT CONTROVERSY."—

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 297.

A SERIES OF UNPUBLISHED PAPERS, CONCERNING THE RELATIONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE AND THE EARLY VERMONTENSE, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

- [24.—*Letter from the Convention of the "pro-testing members" of the Assembly of Vermont, assembled in Convention, to the President of the Continental Congress, denying the authority of Ethan Allen to represent the Vermontese before that body and delegating Colonel John Wheelock for that purpose.*]

WINDSOR ON THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE GRANTS
October 23 A D 1778

SIR

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

The Assembly of the State of Vermont had a report laid before them on the 13th Instant signed by Col: Ethan Allen purporting that Congress had received sundry matters of information or complaint relative to the proceedings of the N^w Hampshire Grants, and which they had determined to take into consideration; but at his solicitation were deferred, till opportunity might be had to communicate the intelligence to the people on those Grants, respecting which we beg leave in justice to our cause to remark that Col. Allen nor any other person (that we know of) has as yet been authorized by the people on these Grants to appear in their behalf at Congress (except those persons who preferred a petition which was dismissed last Year) & which measure they had omitted from an apprehension that Congress were desirous not to be troubled with the matter at present nor do we by this mean any thing further than to inform them that, on the above mentioned representation, and copies of Letters from the Honble the President of the Council of New Hampshire to their Members at Congress and to Governor Chittenden, the Assembly of Vermont in a Committee of the whole agreed on the enclosed out lines of a plan for settling all matters of controversy with New Hampshire

We apprehend we can, and are now in pursuit of measures to make it evident to impartial Judges that the New-Hampshire Grants on both sides of Connecticut River, are on the same footing, and ought never to be divided— On that principle the Committee above mentioned proposed and the Assembly agreed to the enclosed plan, as having in their opinion the most effectual tendency to support a union of the two sides of the River, and lay a foundation for an amicable settlement with the State of New Hampshire so that Congress may not have occasion to interpose in the matter.— Yet an apprehension,

arising in the minds of sundry Members of Assembly that such an Union (though in its nature reasonable and just) would through the influence of ex parte representation occasion Congress to come to such resolutions as might prevent the establishment of a State on said Grants, has been the Occasion of differing sentiments with respect to measures proper in the present Juncture, and which have arisen to such a pitch as to prevent a pursuit of the proposed plan in the channel pointed out by Assembly, by a protest and withdraw of near one half the Members who composed that body.— The protesting Members notwithstanding, desirous that the same plan might be persued, formed a voluntary convention who are in pursuit of measures whereby the whole of the Towns on said Grants may unite in such proposals to New Hampshire as we fatter ourselves will put an end to all disputes with that State.

An apprehension that measures will be attempted to procure an acknowledgment at Congress of a new State containing only part of the Grants which lie west of Connecticut River (which we conceive will be very disagreeable to a Majority of the Inhabitants on said Grants) is the occasion of our transmitting this by Col: Wheelock, whom we have also desired to inform Your Excellency or Congress more fully of the matter then the limits of this letter will admit, and request that nothing may be done at Congress which shall prevent the good effects of the measures now taking for an happy settlement with the State of New Hampshire—

I am, Sir, in behalf of said Convention with Great deference and respect.—

Your Excellencys most obedient
and most Humble Servant
JOSEPH MARSH Chairman

His Excellency
HENRY LAURENS Esq^r
President of Congress

- [25.—*Draft of President Wren's reply to the letter of Ethan Allen.*]

STATE OF NEW- } EXETER Novem^r 5th 1778—
HAMPSHIRE

SIR— I received yours of the 22^d ult. by Ira Allen Esq^r and at the same time a Letter from Thomas Chittenden Esq^r purporting a Resolution of the State of Vermont concerning their late Connection with some Towns part of the State of New Hampshire in the following words "That no additional Exercise of Jurisdictional Authority be had (by this State) East of Connecticut River for the time being— Which by no means expresses their future designs or intentions in the matter.

Nevertheless as you have been so full & Explicit in your own Sentiments I trust the Body of

your People will be of the same Opinion as I am Sure every Sensible person will, notwithstanding the blind design of some uneasy and never to be contented persons whose views must certainly be more detrimental to you than they possibly can be to New Hampshire— Whatever may be determined by Congress relative to the acknowledgement of your Independancy will be freely acquiesced in by New Hampshire—

Col^d ETHAN ALLEN

[26.— *Letter from Ira Allen, Commissioner from Vermont, to the Council and General Assembly of New Hampshire.*]

TO THE HONORABLE COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE NOW SITING AT EXETOR IN SAID STATE.
GENTLEMEN.

Persuant to my appointment (by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont) to wait on the Hon^{ble} Mesheg Ware Esq^r President of the Council of the State of New Hampshire with a letter from His Excellency Tho^s Chittenden Esq^r and as in the sd. Letter Reference was had to me for further Protocols Relative to the Union of Sixteen Towns on the East side of Connecticut River with the State of Vermont and as it has been the Desire of the Hon^{ble} General Assembly That I would Give them a short state of facts Relative to the said union &c— I Therefore Begg Leave to State the following as a Short and Consise State of the Matter (viz)

The first movement to forme the State of Vermont was from the West Side of the Green mountain in Consequence of which several Committees was sent to the then Counties of Cumberland and Gloucester to see if the People there would Unite with the People on the west side of the mountain to make one Body Politick— about Two years ago Col. John Wheelock, being Apprised of that movement went to the Town of Norwich where one of S,^d Committees were and Proposed to them for a number of Towns on the East Side of the River to Unite with Those towns on the west of S,^d River But was answered by said Committee that they were not acquainted with the situation of New-Hampshire Therefore they should do nothing about it. Last March after the Governor and Council was Declared Chosen and the assembly formed agreeable to the Constitution of S,^d State There Came in a Committee from the East side of the River s,^d to be Chosen by a Convention of Committees whereof M^r Estabrooks was Chairman and moved in behalf of the New Hampshire Grants East of S,^d River (as they were Pleased to stile it) for a Union with the State of Vermont in Consequence of which a Committee was Chosen from Both Houses to Confer with Said Com-

mittee and make Report of their Opinion thereon to the House, the Committee after all the Debates thereon Reported to the House as their Opinion not to Connect with Said Committee in no way or manner Whatsoever The House after mature Deliberation Voted to accept of S,^d Report; which Gave such Dissatisfaction to several of the members of the Council and Assembly that Lived near Connecticut River that they Declared if Them People (Meaning those on the East side of the River) were to be intirely Excluded from Connecting with S,^d State they would withdraw from the then State of Vermont and Connect with them People and form a New State. Then after Long and Tegious Debates the whole was Referred to the People at Large and to be brought before the Assembly again at thier Next Session in June Col. Payne and others of that Committee Then Publickly Declared that they Had Conversed with a Number of the Leading Members of the Assembly of N. Hampshire from the Eastern Part of the State who had no Objection to their Joining with the State of Vermont but some member in the western part of S,^d State was opposed to it But Gave it as their Opinions that New Hampshire as a State would make no Difficulty about it; this Last Idea was Carried to the people and under this Mistake of the matter a Majority of the Towns in the State Voted for the Union, which the General Assembly Could do no otherwise Than Confirm they being Prviouly Instructed so by their Constituants; the assembly then Proseeded to business amongst which there was an Order Given out for Each Town in the State that see fit to Chooas a Justice of the Peace and several Temporary Acts were Made all to stand untill the Rising of the Next Assembly

Sum Time in the month of Augs^t Governor Chittenden Rec,^d a Letter from the Hon^{ble} Mesheg Ware Esq^r President of the Council of N. Hampshire Shewing the Disapprobation of S,^d State to the Union

Sum Time in September Col. Ethan Allen was appointed to wait on Congress to see how the Political State of the State of Vermont was vewed by Congress who after the Assembly was formed in October Last Reported to the House that the Members of Congress was unanimously opposed to the Union of the Sixteen Townes Otherwise they Had none of them any Objection to the State of Vermont being a State (the New york members only Excepted) at the Session in October last Several members from the East side of the River Took their seats in Consequence of the union Before Mentioned Then the Assembly Proseeded to Business But there appeared such Divisions and Debates Relative to the Union that for about thirteen Days there was Very little Business Done at which Time three

has been given by the State of New-Hampshire to the Militia of said State, in addition to their Continental pay when in such service; which pay has been cheerfully received by the Militia of said Towns.

Thus Gentlemen I have given you a short state of facts, agreeable to the best information I can get, by which you will observe that the State of New-Hampshire are willing that the State of Vermont should be a State in its first described limits west of Connecticut-River.

I have also to observe, that by several authentic accounts lately received from the Honorable Continental Congress, that the Delegates are willing that the State of Vermont should be a State within its first described limits, (the Delegates of New-York are accepted) which fully appears from that Honorable Body's not passing any Resolves against any of the proceedings of the State of Vermont since its first formation, altho' often requested by New-York.

Having met with several printed papers published by order of those gentlemen that withdrew from the General Assembly of this State, at their Session in October last: But as I did not design this Letter for an answer thereto, shall make but few remarks thereon.

In the course of which papers there is a request to all the Towns on the Grants on both sides of the River, whether united with the State of Vermont or not, to send members to form a Convention to consult and agree upon measures whereby we may all be united together, by being and remaining a distinct State, on such foundation that we may be admitted into Confederation with the United States of America, and under their protection, &c.

A very large part of the Towns on the Grants west of the Mason Line, and east of Connecticut-River, are Represented in the General Assembly of New Hampshire, and consequently they are Represented in Congress: therefore they cannot withdraw from New-Hampshire, and connect with any other body politick, and present themselves to Congress to be taken into Confederation with the United States, for they are already taken into Confederation by the way of New-Hampshire—The way them Towns could act were they to send members to said Convention, would be to act on the latter clause of the Warrant, which is to claim the antient Jurisdiction of the Government of New-Hampshire, and in that way defend ourselves against the pretended right of Jurisdiction of any other State, and thereby become one entire State according to the extent of New-Hampshire Province as it stood before the Decree of 1764 took place—But whether that is the design of the Convention or not I leave the candid reader to determine.

I appeal to every person's own conscience in the State of Vermont, whether, when the Inhabitants on the west and east sides of the Green Mountain, first connected together to become one body politick, they did it under a view that the Grants east of Connecticut-River would join them, and if it had not been for that, they would not have joined in said plan.

All those that did unite together in one body politick to form a State west of Connecticut-River, will, I doubt not, on due consideration, pursue that desirable object; (if any difficulties should arise so as unhappily to separate those Towns east of Connecticut-River from this State) for in that view of the case we should then enjoy all we first expected; and as the Constitution of this State is so happily calculated to preserve inviolable the rights of the people; and as in it there is ample provision made for the propagation of the gospel, together with proper Seminaries and Schools of learning which are among the greatest blessings God in his wisdom ever bestowed on the fallen race of man.

By what has been already elucidated, it appears that the State of Vermont is in favor with the United States of America: therefore, if the people in said State are, and continue steadfast to maintain the same, they will without doubt support the Independence of said State, as long as the United States do theirs.

Since the choice appears to be in the breast of the good people of this State whether they will be governed by the agreeable Constitution they have made, or lay that a side and seek for connections with a neighbouring State which is some in debt, and whose known plan of representation is by numbers, so that it would take five or six of our new Towns to send one member, and when we consider that those infant plantations have gone thro' numberless fatigues and expences to defend their just rights from the arbitrary power of New York; and since this present contest we have been a frontier to three neighbouring States, our inhabitants have been obliged to flee before their enemy, our Soldiers often called forth by alarms, who have fought and bled nobly in the field for the defence of their country—Is there not a much greater probability that we should be considered for those extraordinary difficulties, by the Honorable, the Grand Council of America, in defraying the expence of this unnatural war, than by the legislature of any State whose private interest would be nearer connected with ours.

I doubt not but every reasonable person will, on due deliberation determine that it is best, wisest, and cheapest for the good people of this State, to steadily pursue their plan of government, which will transmit to posterity the blessings of a free State.

*I am, Gentlemen, with due respect,
Your most Obedient,
Humble Servant,*

DRESDEN, November 27th. 1778 IRA ALLEN

N. B. The Laws of the State is come to hand, and will be ready for Sale in a short time.

[*B.—Extract from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the "protesting members" of the Assembly of Vermont and their friends, assembled in Convention, at Cornish, December 9, 1778.*]

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES OF A CONVENTION HELD AT CORNISH December 9th 1778.

Voted first that the Members of this Convention will unite together for the Purpose of Pursuing such Legal & Regular measures as may have attendancy to secure to ourselves the benefit of Government without any Regard to the Distinction made by the arbitrary Line drawn on the western bank of Connecticut River by the King in Council in the year 1764

2^d a major Part of the Committee appointed to draw at Large a Declaration Proposed in the Report of a Committee of Assembly of Vermont on the 17th of Oct^r last Laid before this Convention a Pamphlet drawn by them in Pursuance of Said Appointment which was Repeatedly Read and unanimously Approved Whereupon Voted that 1500 of the above mentioned Pamphlets be Printed and Transmitted to Congress and other States and to all the Town on the New Hampshire Grants agreeable to Report—

3^d Whereon notwithstanding the above mentioned request for this Convention but few of those Towns whose members Continued to Act with Said Assembly after the Protesting members had withdrawn have Sent members to this Convention and the Conduct of the Assembly in Passing the Votes and Resolves Contained in their Printed Journals the Protest remarks &c have rendered it impracticable to Carry said resolve into execution by said Assembly as therein Proposed which Difficulty will Continue so long as Said Votes Stand in force— and the People in Those Towns by Justifying the Conduct of the a-sembly in Violating the Constitution will thereby Desolve the Solemn Compact which they entred into by the Consideration and the People Consequently become Discharged from their Oaths of Allegance—Therefore Voted that the following Proposals be made to New Hampshire in Pursuance of Said Resolves

1st to agree upon and Settle a Dividing line between New Hampshire and the Grants by Committees from both Partys or otherwise as they may mutually agree

2^d if That is not Complied with that the whole Dispute with New Hampshire be submitted to the Decision of Congress in such way and manner as Congress and the Parties may agree always

Providing the Grants be allowed equal Priviledges in espousing and Conducting their Cause in the Tryal with the other Party

3^d That we will agree with them mutually to a point and Constitute a Court of Disinterested Judicious men of the three New England States for the Purpose of Hearing and Determining the Dispute if Neither of the foregoing ways Can effect the Settling of the Controversy in Case New Hampshire and we Can agree upon a Plan of Government we will Consent that the whole of the Grants Connect with N. Hampshire and become with them one entire State as it was Limitted & Bounded before the Settling of Said line in 1764— and Untill one or other of the foregoing Proposals be complied with we Shall endeavour to Defend Ourselves in every lawfull way and trust our cause with the all wise Governing providence to Succeed us

and that the Inhabitants of those Towns on the Grants in the State of Vermont who have not sent a representative to this Convention and whose members joined with a Majority of Said Assembly in Passing said Votes be Requested to direct their members to Rescind the Same and joine in said Proposals

4th That all the Other Towns on Said Grants be request to joine us in making the foregoing Proposals to New Hampshire and that those Towns agree to joine us therein be requested to Transmit Copies of their Votes to Governor Marsh M^r Woodward Col Morey Maj^r Childs Col. Payne and Gen^l Baley a Committee Appointed by this Convention for Resciving them and Carriing the fore Going Votes and Prosedings into execution so soon as the Towns on the Grants Can have Opportunity to joine us therein

5th In case those Towns whose members Continued to act with the Assembly of Vermont Still remain firm and Steadfast in Supporting and Continuing the Votes of the Assembly which are Complained of as Unconstitutional and neglect to joine in Carriing into execution said report their Committee we Shall make Overtures to joine with New Hampshire on the last Article in Said Proposals

6th That Said Committee be impowered to Call a Convention from the Towns on the Grants whenever any thing Shall Arise which Shall in their Opinion render one necessary—

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—Mr. W. I. Norris lately presented to the Philadelphia Historical Society, a collection of documents relative to the early history of Pennsylvania.

—Washington's watch has turned up in Indiana, and Napoleon's in Ohio.

VII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—*Ed. His. Mag.*]

TWO NOTABLE BELLS.—It is not a pleasant task to spoil a good story; but the cause of truth requires a correction of a fine local item, in the *Petaluma Argus* of Wednesday, concerning the history of a notable bell which graces the belfry of the Baptist Church, in Petaluma.

The *Argus* assumes that this is the veritable bell which summoned the people to the Plaza, during the exciting times of 1851, and says: "The first occasion on which its tones struck terror to the bands of organ 'Hounds' of California, was on the tenth day of June, 1851, when one John Jenkins paid the penalty of safe stealing, by hanging from a projecting beam of an old adobe building that then stood upon the Northwest corner of the Clay-street Plaza. As sentence of death was being passed upon the criminal, this bell, which had only a few hours before given the signal for the assembling of the Committee, tolled; and its solemn sound, at that unusual hour, (midnight) filled the anxious crowd with awe. This first summary execution of Jenkins succeeded in frightening some of the more timid rogues from San Francisco. But this exodus was not complete; and the remaining and more desperate ones soon gathered courage to renew their career of crimes. The old bell continued to summon together this self-organized band of men, who had taken upon themselves the task of executing convicted criminals, until the eleventh day of July, in the same year, when its customary taps rang out the life of another murderer—James Stewart. Again, on the twenty-fourth day of the following month, this ominous bell tolled the death-knell of Whittaker and McKenzie, whose careers of crime are familiar to most of our readers."

All this is true, but not of the bell in question. The Petaluma people probably have the bell which was used in 1856, the year of the most notable "Vigilance Committee" ever organized. That bell was probably sent to Petaluma; and, as related by the *Argus*, became, in 1867, the property of the Baptist church of that city, and was hung in the steeple, where it remained, until the Fall of 1862, when a difficulty arose among the members of the church, and the bell was removed by the party owning the controlling property in it. The quarrel was not of long

duration. A compromise was effected; and the bell again found its way to the church steeple, where it still remains, though badly cracked, in consequence of a foul blow given to it, at midnight, by some persons apparently not satisfied with the manner in which the church quarrel had been settled.

The "Original Jacobs" bell—the bell of 1851—which summoned the hosts that witnessed the execution of Jenkins, is now in possession of the Pioneers, and bears a plate on which is the following inscription:

"Presented to the Society of California Pioneers, September 9, 1863, by Monumental Engine Company. The first fire-alarm bell erected in San Francisco."

This bell is also cracked; but it is claimed to have been in use, during the year 1851, when the first execution referred to, took place.—*San Francisco Bulletin*.

WILLIAM TELL, AT HOME.—It is painful to every mind susceptible of poetic feeling to be forced, by the incontestible evidence of historical records, to abandon belief in cherished traditions, long accepted as literal truth, and to exchange for them dry narratives around the moral foundations of which there is no garment of romance.

The Historical Society of the Old Cantons—that is, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zurich—which was founded thirty years ago, and which has conducted its inquiries in the most cautious spirit for the last twenty-seven years, under the presidency of the historiographer of Lucerne, Joseph Schneller, has rendered pre eminent services in investigating the early history of Switzerland. The honor of having first penetrated into this field of research and of having torn off the legendary veil which hid the true history of the liberation of the forest Cantons, is undoubtedly due to the lamented Professor Eutychias Kopp, of Lucerne. No doubt, about one hundred years before him, the Genevese preacher, Uriel Freudenberger, made an attempt, in an essay devoted to the subject, to shake the historical foundations on which the story of Tell rested. He was not, however, in a position to convince historical students that the details of the Swiss Revolution were mythical. This book, however, did attract attention, for it was publicly burned under the gallows, in Altorf. Kopp was more successful. He brought forward positive evidence to show that the received version of the events which led to the foundation of the Swiss Confederation were at variance with historical fact. His conclusions were these; There never was a Landvogt Gessler nor a William Tell.

Tell never refused to lift his hat; never fired at an apple placed on his son's head, although the very cross-bow with which the deed was done is exhibited at Zurich; he never crossed the Lake of Lucerne in a tempest of wind and rain; he never boldly jumped upon the Tell-platte; never spoke his speech in the defile at Kussnach; and never shot the Landvogt. What is more, the inhabitants of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden never met, by night, on the Rûch.

Johannes von Müller, the great historian, adopts the mythical story and tells it in his *History of Switzerland*, as if absolutely true; but the chroniclers of the period knew nothing of William Tell, and the story appears, for the first time, a century and a half later. Kopp skillfully separates the legendary matter from the historical facts; and, with the records in his hand, estimated at their true value the fables which were first dressed up, as historical narratives, by Tschudi. Those who know with what affection the Swiss cling to the story of Tell and all the romantic incidents which belong to it, will not deny that much personal courage was required to say plainly, to them, that there was no truth in traditions so intimately interwoven with all their thoughts and feelings and with all their political institutions. Professor Kopp displayed this courage; and the Historical Society has based its inquiries on his labors.

By the publication of a number of valuable papers, on local history, in the *Friend of History*, and by addresses delivered at the annual Society meetings, new light was spread on the early history of the districts surrounding the Lake of Lucerne. The Society held its thirtieth meeting, in this month, at Zurich; and, from the numerous sittings, it is evident that great interest was felt in the proceedings. Addresses were delivered by Herr Joh. Schneller, Dr. Casper Kaiser, and Choir-master Aubi. The medieval history of the district was not the only subject discussed. There were exhibited a number of objects found in the newly discovered pile-dwelling, in the Bladdegger Lake. Herr Schneller, the Chairman of the general meeting, who, for the last twenty-seven years, has presided over this Society, expressed a wish to retire in favor of a younger member. The meeting, however, would not hear of his resignation; and he was again unanimously elected President.—*Cologne Gazette*.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ANNISQUAM.—Hon. J. J. Babson of Gloucester, Massachusetts, in an interesting historical sketch of Annisquam, read before the Essex Institute, remarked, upon the ministry of Rev. Ezra Leonard: "I look

"upon the conversion of this Pastor and his people from the ancient faith of the New England churches, to the doctrine of universal salvation, as one of the most remarkable events in the history of the town. Here is a Minister, a graduate of Brown University, educated in the strictest doctrines of Calvinism, and settled over a church which has for many years listened to him as the expounder and advocate of these doctrines, who announces to his people that a great change in his religious belief has taken place, and that he must, if not there, elsewhere, henceforth, preach a doctrine he has all his life been laboring to destroy; and these people, after serious deliberation, conclude that it is better to change their religion than to change their Minister. This action was a striking testimonial to the superiority of Christian character over sectarian profession; and the result of it was an abundant harvest of religious harmony and joy, throughout the twenty years of his continued ministry. The memories of these people are, even now, forty years after his death, full of the kind words and good deeds of this honored and beloved Pastor. The description of the good Minister, in Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, will apply to him. 'E'en his failings leaned to virtue's side;' so, at least, must have thought the poor, ill-shod woman whom he met in the road, as he was walking home, one wintry day, and to whom he gave the pair of shoes, which, to supply an urgent need of his wife, he had been to the harbor to buy."

THE OLDEST RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPER.—I am a great stickler for accuracy in the presentation of historical facts, and this leads me to call your attention to an error in an article on page 48 of the General Assembly's *Journal*. The article commences, "After no inconsiderable discussion, it is now admitted, on all hands, that the first religious newspaper, as such publications are now known, was the *Weekly Recorder*, established by Rev. John Andrews, at Chillicothe, Ohio, on the fifth of July, 1814."

Now, Mr. Editor, I have lying on my table, a file of the *Religious Remembrancer*, a weekly religious paper, the first number of which was published in Philadelphia, on the fourth of September, 1813. This paper was issued weekly, until August, 1818.

The history of the origin of this newspaper is thus given by Doctor Archibald Alexander, when a Pastor in Philadelphia. He says: "In considering the wants of the people and the difficulty of reaching the multitude with re-

"religious instruction, I conceived the plan of a religious newspaper, a thing at that time unknown in the world. But as the thing was new, I mentioned it to none but two or three of my Elders; and it met with approbation. It was suggested that we had a printer, who was a well-informed young man, John W. Scott. I conversed with him, and he drew up a well-written but rather florid address, to accompany a prospectus. Before the plan was carried into effect, I was removed to Princeton; but Mr. Scott went forward with the enterprise, and published, for a number of years, before any other work of the kind was thought of, the *Religious Remembrancer*."

I think Doctor Alexander was in error as to this being the first religious newspaper ever published, one having appeared in New England, long before. The *Religious Remembrancer* was a four-paged quarto, published every Saturday, and was in every respect a weekly-religious newspaper. Therefore the *Weekly Recorder* fails to establish its claims.

—*Evangelist*.

HISTORICUS.

GENERAL MEADE'S DREAD OF POLITICS.

The *Philadelphia Age* has printed a note which the late General Meade addressed to its Editor, in March, 1871:

"I am glad to hear you say that, notwithstanding your long acquaintance with me, you are not able to define my party character, because this has been the position I have always endeavored to maintain; and though I am not without my own private views on public questions, I have never given any utterance to them, in public, or allowed them to influence my official action as a soldier.

"I should esteem a nomination for the Presidency a misfortune. I am, and only desire to be, a soldier. I have always objected to politicians making themselves soldiers, for political ends, and equally condemn soldiers becoming politicians, so long as they are soldiers. I am in favor, as between politicians and soldiers, of each shunning on their own side."

If more of our soldiers had the same dread of politics, it would be much better for the service; but, unfortunately, too many of them make the profession of arms but the stepping-stone to political preferment.

STAGES AND RAILWAYS.—The first stage-coach in America started from Boston, from the site of No. 90 North-street, in 1661. The first line of stage-coaches between Boston and New York, was established in 1732—a coach

leaving each city once a month; fourteen days were required to complete the journey. In 1802, the mail stage started from Boston, for New York, on Monday morning, at eight o'clock; and was due, in New York, at noon, on Friday.

On the seventh of April, 1834, the first train of railway passenger-cars started from Boston, for Needham, to which place the Worcester Railway was then opened; the Western Railway was opened to Albany, on the thirty-first of December, 1841. Railways did not cross the Mississippi-river until 1851; and on the tenth of May, 1869, they reached the Pacific.

GENERAL LEE.—The *Nashville Union and American* gives the following account of General Lee's room, in the Washington and Lee University, Virginia: "The private room in the University, which the General occupied, has been left just as it was when he went out of it the morning he took to his bed, and from which he never arose. The General went into his room, at the usual hour, that morning; put on his slippers; took a seat near the window, from which he drew the curtain partially back; and began reading a copy of the *Nashville Union and American*. He had been complaining of feeling unwell; and, after reading a short time, he laid the paper on the table and left the room, never more to return. To-day, the visitor to the University is shown the room, which he is allowed to enter, but is prohibited from touching anything. On the dust-covered table he sees the paper as it dropped from the hand of the chieftain, and near the chair, which is partly turned around, his slippers. The curtain is in the same position which the General had placed it; and the inkstand is the deeply corroded pen, just as it had been left when last used. A guard is mounted at the door, every day, to see that nothing about the room is disturbed by any one visiting it."

SCRAPS.—*Dodd's Register* gives the origin of the name of Stable Point, on the East Haven shore, as follows: "After they" [*East Haven residents*] "returned to their former connection with New Haven Society, Deacon John Chidsey, John Potter, and John Austin obtained liberty, of New Haven, to buy one quarter of an acre of land of the Indians, at the ferry-place, to build housing for their horses, when they went to New Haven. They obtained a deed for the land, on the fourth of March, 1686, which was signed by the Narranshanott, George Sagamore, Wang, and Rebow. They

"paid six shillings for it; and it was afterwards called Stable Point."

—An interesting literary relic is announced for sale in London. It is Oliver Goldsmith's *Political View of the Present War with America upon Great Britain, France, Prussia, Germany, and Holland*, an original autograph manuscript, forty pages folio, believed to be unpublished, which came from the library of Isaac Reed, to whom it was presented by George Stevens, who had it from Hamilton, the printer.

Mr. Hawes's account of Goldsmith's use of James's powders, in his last illness, which was printed in 1774, accompanies the manuscript.

—The bedstead upon which President Washington slept, when he visited New Hampshire, is still shown in the mansion where President Weare lived, at Hampton Falls, in a chamber where can be seen paper hung with nails, in the olden style.

The table-cloth used for state dinners, by President Weare, is still kept in a well-preserved condition, by one of the President's descendants, a lady of Portsmouth; while other descendants, resident in Salem, cherish like keepsakes of their celebrated ancestor.

IX.—NOTES.

JOHN SMYTHE, ESQ., OF PERTH AMBOY.

From my father, John Moore's, family record:

"My Grand Fathers (Col. Jno. Moore) third daughter, Susannah, married the truly amiable John Smyth Esq." of Perth Amboy, a man that had not an enemy before the year 1775. "The rage of the times which succeeded, his placid & engaging manners notwithstanding, created him, as they did every Loyalist, a host of illiberal foes. He was clerk to the Board of last Jersey Proprietors, & Treasurer of the Province, when the Revolution commenced. He remained at Amboy till the evacuation of the whole Province by the Kings Troops, which took place in July 1777, when the ill judged & fatal expedition against Phil^e left N York. Mr Smyth, wife & son Andrew, with Fanny, the daughter of my Uncle Charles, who had lived with them since her infancy, and my aged Grand Mother Moore, with her two maiden daughters, were obliged to quit their delightful residence & property, and removed to New York, & they all lived with me free of expence to them for some time. He was then appointed Treasurer to the fund raised from the houses of the disaffected inhabitants, who had most un-

"wisely left the city the preceding year, on the British army's first invasion.

"Mr. Smyth was proscribed by the States of New Jersey & New York, and by a base & inhuman Law of New York, called the Treason Act, made amenable to the State for all the monies he had so collected for the support of the Alms House, all of which was most faithfully applied to its intended use by Commissioners appointed for that purpose. "He was therefore obliged to fly with his family to England in 1784, where he died, broken hearted, with character irreproachable, in 1790. The British Gov^t allowed him during his life £100. stg a year, & his Widow during her life half that sum, but all the compensation he rec^d for his property confiscated in New Jersey was not, I believe, above one thousand pounds. His Widow, son Andrew, & Fanny her Neice, returned to N York in 1791."

Andrew, the son of John Smythe, married first a daughter of James Parker, Mayor of Perth Amboy—had no issue. His second wife was a daughter of Philip I. Livingston, of Throggs Neck, Westchester-county, by whom he had two children—Francis, married to Mr. Aldis, an English gentleman, and John, married to a daughter of Mr. Coggell.

You will, of course, understand that John Smythe married Susanah Moore as his second wife.

NEW YORK CITY.

T. W. C. MOORE.

THE MOVEMENT ON DANBURY, 1777.

The Americans having formed extensive magazines at Danbury and other places on the borders of Connecticut, a detachment of the Seventeenth (*Light Dragoons*) formed part of the force sent from New York, under Major-general Tryon, to destroy the stores. Sailing from New York in transports, the troops arrived, on the evening of the twenty-fifth of April, 1777, off Norwalk, landed without opposition, and commenced their march at ten o'clock that night for Danbury, where they arrived about two in the afternoon of the following day. On their approach the American soldiers fled; and as no carriages could be procured to bring off the stores, they were destroyed by fire; the flames communicating to the town, it was also destroyed. On the following morning, the British commenced their march back to their shipping, but had to fight their way through troops assembled to oppose them. They overthrew one body of Americans at Ridgefield, routed another party at the Mill of Compo, and afterwards embarked without

molestation for New York.—*Historical Record of the Seventeenth Regiment of Light Dragoons, Lancers—London, 1841—pages 19, 20.*

CONGREGATION "SHEARITH ISRAEL," *Anglice*,
"THE REMNANT OF ISRAEL," IN NEW
YORK.

The first Minutes of Congregational affairs now in our possession, are written in Spanish on the twentieth of Tishree, 5489, (1729) and have reference to certain wholesome rules and regulations made about the year 5466, (1706) by the Elders of the Congregation, "to preserve peace, tranquillity, and good Government among them and those after them." The following names are affixed: Moses Gomez, Daniel Gomez, Benjamin Mendez Pacheco, Abraham Riviero, Mordecai Gomez, Nathan Levy, Isaac d' Medena, Joseph Nunez, Doctor Nunez, D. Costa, Abraham Francks, Baruch Judah, Jacob Franks, and Moses Gomez, Jr. Ten years afterwards, the following names were added: J. Myers Cohen, David Gomez, J. R. Rodrigues, Judah Hays, Judah Mears, and Solomon Hays.

Before the erection of a regular Synagogue, prayers were read in a frame building, in Mill-street, in the First Ward, about one hundred feet East of the lot on which the first Synagogue was built, in 5489 (1729). This place of worship was taken down and re-built, on the same site, in 1817, the Congregation, in the interim, worshipping in a large room, in an engine house, in Beaver-street, a few doors West of Broad-street.

During the prevalence of yellow-fever, in 1822, service was performed in a school house, corner of Henry and Oliver-streets. In the Spring of 1833, the property in Mill and Beaver-streets was sold, and the Synagogue removed to Crosby-street, the Congregation worshipping, in the meantime, in a room over the New York Dispensary, corner of White and Centre streets. This Synagogue was removed to Nineteenth-street, in the year 1860.

The first Jews arrived here in 1654, but were soon expelled by Stuyvesant. In the year 1655, Jews came here, from Amsterdam; and obtained a burying place from Governor Stuyvesant, in the year 1656. Its location is not known. The first Jewish Cemetery known was on the corner of Madison and Oliver streets, purchased in 1681, on a high hill, adjoining the ground purchased in 1729, extending to Chatham-street, then called "the King's High-way." Another one in Gold-street, (lots 80 and 82.) unknown, at present, and perhaps never used.

Interment having been prohibited by the Common Council, a portion of the first ground was sold to the Tradesmen's Bank, and the entrance to the ground containing the dead was made in Oliver street, facing Henry-street. The Cemetery was then removed to Eleventh-street, near Sixth-avenue; then to Twenty-first-street, near Sixth-avenue, in 1829; then to Cypress-Hills, in 1851.

These are the Cemeteries connected with the Congregation "Shearith Israel;" and do not include those of other Congregations.

With Doctor FISCHEL's Compliments.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF OLDEN TIME.

It may be amusing and entertaining to have some account of the customs and manners of living of the people, sixty-five, seventy-five years ago. As to what took place in airport towns and places which had a dense population, I can give no account; but, in the town where I was brought up—which I suppose was not materially different from the general state of other country towns—I will attempt to describe. In the Winter season, the dinners were generally uniform; the first course was a dish of broth, generally called porridge; these, generally, had a few beans in them, and some dry Summer Savory scattered in. The second course was an Indian pudding with sauce; the third was a dish of boiled pork and beef, with round turnips for sauce. Potatoes were then a scarce article, three bushels being considered as a very large crop; and I was a considerably large lad before I ever saw a potato as large as a hen's egg. For suppers and breakfasts, they generally had a dish of the same broth. Those who had milk—which were not many in the Winter—had that with toasted brown bread or roasted apples, for breakfast, and hasty pudding, for supper. For an exchange, they sometimes had a basin of sweetened cider with toasted bread in it, with a piece of cheese. On Sabbath day morning, they generally had chocolate, coffee, or bobba tea; the chocolate and coffee sweetened with molasses, the tea with brown sugar; with it they had pancakes, doughnuts, brown toast, some sort of pie—some of all of them. Dinners they had none; but, immediately after the afternoon service, they had a supper, a roast goose or turkey, a roast spare rib, or a stew pie—and this was the common course, through the Winter season. In the Spring and Summer, they generally, on week days, had milk for supper and breakfast. For dinners—then potatoes were generally gone and round turnips were too pithy to eat—they used French turnips.

greens came; and then greens were used for sauce all peas and green beans were ready for use. As for flour, it was a thing unknown; at that time I doubt there ever having been a barrel of flour in the town. Every farmer broke up a piece of new ground and sowed it with wheat and turnips, and would raise from five to fifteen bushels of turnips. This when, by the help of the sieve, was a substitute for flour.

In general, men, old or young, who had got their growth, had a decent coat, vest and small clothes, and some kind of fur hat; these were for holyday use, and would last half an age; old men had a great coat and a pair of boots, the boots generally lasted for a life. For common use, they had a long jacket or what was called a fly-coat, made something like our surtouts, reaching down about half way to the thigh; a striped jacket to wear under it; with a pair of small clothes like the coat. These were made of flannel cloth, fulled, but not sheared; flannel shirts and stockings and thick leather shoes; a silk handkerchief, for holydays, which would last ten years. In the Summer time, a pair of wide trousers—now out of use—reaching half way from the knee to the ankle; shoes and stockings were not worn by the young men and but by few old men, in farming business. As for boys, as soon as they were taken out of their petticoats, they were put into small clothes, Summer or Winter. This continued until long trousers were introduced, which were then called *tongs*; they were but little different from our present pantaloons. These were made of tow cloth, linen or cotton; and soon were used, by old men and young, through the warm season; at last, they were made of flannel cloth and of thick cloth; and were the general costume of the Winter. Young men never thought of great coats, and surtouts were then unknown. I recollect a neighbor of my father's who had four sons between nineteen and thirty years of age; the oldest got a pair of boots; the second a surtout; the third a watch; and the fourth a pair of silver buckles. This made a neighborhood talk, and the family were considered as on the high road to solvency.

As for the women, old and young, they wore flannel gowns, in the Winter; the young women wore, in the Summer, short wrappers or shepherdesses, and about their ordinary business did not wear stockings and shoes; they were generally contented with one calico gown, another of cambric; and some had them made of poplin. The sleeves were short, and did not come below the elbow; on holy-days they wore one, two, or three ruffles on each arm, the deepest of which were sometimes nine or ten inches; they wore long gloves coming up to the elbow, secured by what were called "glove tightens," made of black

horse hair. Round gowus had not then come in fashion, so they wore aprons, made of checked linen, cotton, and, for holy day use, of white cotton, long lawn, or cambric. They seldom wore caps when about their ordinary business; but they had two kinds, one of which they wore when they meant to appear in full dress; one was called "strap cap," which came under the chin and was there tied; the other was called "round cord cap" and did not come over the ears. They wore thick leather, thin leather, and broad-cloth shoes, all with heels an inch and a half high, with peaked toes turned up in a point at the toe. They generally had small, very small muffs, and some wore masks. The principal amusements of the young men were wrestling, running, and jumping, or hopping three hops. Dancing was considered as a qualification of the first importance, especially step tunes, such as *Old Father George*, *Cape Breton*, *High Betty Martin* and the *Rolling Hornpipe*. At their balls, dancing was a principal exercise; also singing songs and a number of pawn plays, such as breaking and setting the pope's neck, finding the button, etc.

At the time I allude to, a young woman did not consider it as a hardship or degradation to walk five or six miles to meeting; there was no chaise, or any sort of wagon or sleigh in the town. I recollect the first chaise that passed through, and it made a greater wonderment than the appearance of a mammoth. People were puzzled for a name, at last they called it a "cal-ash." A horse that would fetch forty dollars was considered as of the first quality; and a horse more than nine years old was considered as of little or no value. A farmer generally killed from three to five swine which would weigh from five to eight score each; but it was an extraordinary hog that would weigh nine score.

Acute fevers then were much more frequent than at this time. The principal fevers then were what was called the long or slow fever, which would run thirty-five, forty, or fifty days before it formed a crisis; there was also the slow nervous fever, which ran generally longer than the long fever. But consumptions were much less frequent than now, unless it was with very old people. In the year 1764, a young man fell into a consumption; he was between twenty and thirty years of age, and it passed for a wonder that a young man should fall into a consumption.

[Where or when the above was written, we cannot tell: we have had it in our scrap-book about forty years.]

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.]

X.—*QUERIES.*

MARTIN GERRITSEN'S BAY.

Martin, Matthew, or Matta Gerritsen's Bay—where was it, and by what name is it now known?

We have been, many times, puzzled to locate this bay, which was, undoubtedly, on the North shore of Long Island, between the western bounds of the town of Huntington and the eastern bounds of the town of Flushing; but whether it is known, to-day, as Little Neck-bay, Manhasset (or Cow) Bay, Hempstead-harbor, or Oysterbay-harbor, is the question.

In the Kieft Patent of the town of Hempstead, granted the sixteen of November, 1644, we find their West bounds begin at the head of "*Mattaw's Gerritsen's Bay*;" and the same is repeated in an Indian Grant to the town, in 1658, as well as in the Dongan Patent of 1685. This bay is now known as *Little Neck bay*.

In a paper entitled *Information relative to taking up land in New Netherland in the form of Colonies or private boweries. Delivered in by Secretary Van Tienhoven, on the 4th of March, 1650*, we find the following description of the bays of Long Island:

"*Oyster-bay*—so called from the great abundance of fine and delicate oysters which are found there—is about a short league across, or in width, at the mouth; deep and navigable, without either rocks or sands; runs inland, nearly West; and divides itself into two rivers, which are broad and clear, on which lie some fine maize-lands, formerly cultivated by the Indians, some of which are still worked; they could be had for a trifle. This land is situate on such beautiful bay and rivers, that it could, at little cost, be converted into good farms, fit for the plough; there are, here, also some fine hay-valleys.

"*Martin Gerritsen's Bay*, or *Martinne houc*, is much deeper and wider than Oyster-bay, and runs westward in, divides into three rivers, two of which are navigable: the smallest stream runs up in front of the Indian village, called Martinne-houc, where they have their plantations. The tribe is not strong, and consists of about thirty families. There were, formerly, in and about this bay, great numbers of Indians Plantations, which now lie waste and vacant. This land is mostly level and of good quality, well adapted for grain and rearing of all sorts of cattle; on the rivers are numerous valleys of sweet and salt-meadows: all sorts of river fish are also caught there.

"*Schout's Bay*, on the East River, is also very open and navigable, with one river running into it. On said river is a very con-

venient hook of land, somewhat large,* enclosed by a large valley and river, where all descriptions of cattle can be reared and fed, such convenience being a great accommodation for the settlers, who otherwise must search for their cattle frequently several days in the bush."

As Van Tienhoven was in command of the party of soldiers who were sent by Governor Kieft, in May, 1646, to break up the English settlement then forming in Schout's-bay, we should suppose he would have been pretty well informed as to the situation of these bays, particularly of the latter, which he visited.

Although there are several points in his description on which doubts might be raised; yet we think there is sufficient evidence to identify his "*Oyster-bay*," with the present Cold-spring and Oyster-bay-harbor—the former opening into the latter, "in a westerly direction."

His description of "*Martin Gerritsen's Bay*" would not altogether agree with a description of the present Hempstead-harbor; yet Hempstead-harbor lies next West of Oyster-bay harbor, and "is much wider and deeper than Oyster-bay." Though Hempstead-harbor has no streams tributary to it which would now be classed as "rivers," yet it has three considerable streams "two of which are navigable"—Glen-Cove-creek, and the stream on which the village of Roslyn is located. A third, and smaller, stream runs in, near the little village of Glen-Wood.

The name of "*Martinne-houc*" may have been confounded with, or perhaps written for, *Matinecock*—the name of quite an extensive tribe of Indians who claimed the lands lying along the North shore of Queens-county; and who had considerable tilled lands and several settlements along the shores of Hempstead-harbor, perhaps answering for Van Tienhoven's "Indian Plantations" and "Indian Villages."

If this bay is identical with Hempstead-harbor, there can be but little doubt that "Schout's Bay" is now known as "Manhasset Bay," or, a few years since, as "Cow Bay"—on the eastern shore of which, Thompson, in his *History of Long Island*, says, was made the attempted settlement of Lieutenant Howe and party, in the Spring of 1640.

In 1659, Governor Stuyvesant patented, to Govert Lockermans and others, "a parcel of land situate in *Martin Gerritsen's Bay*, called, in the Indian tongue, '*Martinecough*,' or Hog's Neck, or Hog's Island, it being, in times of high-water, an island." This island was sold, in 1665, to the Town of Oyster-bay, and still insist in locating it in "*Martin Gerritsen's*"

* Great Neck, formerly Mad Man's Neck?—J. T. B.

"Bay," though it lay in *Oyster-bay-harbor* and only half a mile from the village of *Oyster-bay*, which had been settled in 1658.

From the foregoing memoranda it will be seen that the name "*Martin Gerritsen's-Bay*" had been applied to the present *Little-Neck-bay*, by Governor Kieft, in 1644; to the present *Hempstead-harbor*, by Van Tienhoven, in 1650; and to the present *Oyster-bay-harbor*, in 1659, by Governor Stuyvesant.

In these early times, boundaries must have been described as represented by the applicants for Patents—the Governors having but a vague idea of their situation. Secretary Van Tienhoven, however, had been to "*Schout's Bay*," and was, probably, as well, if not better, informed of its location, as well as the location of both the other bays named, than any of the Governors. Until we find evidence to the contrary, we shall conclude that *Hempstead harbor* was the true "*Martin Gerritsen's Bay*."

Can any one inform us as to how the name of "*Martin Gerritsen*" came to be associated with this bay, or further information as to its location?

GLEN COVE, L. L.

J. T. BOWNE.

NAMES OF LOCALITIES, IN ASIA AND AMERICA.

When and by whom did the lakes *Ladoga* and *Onega*, in northern Russia, receive those names? They do not occur in Keith Johnson's *Ancient Atlas*, that comes down to the eighth century. In Koeppen's *Atlas of the Middle Ages*, in the maps of the fourth century, no name is given to either. In that of the beginning of the sixth century, the western one is *Aldoga*, the other has no appellation. On that of the times of Charlemagne, neither one is named. That of the second half of the tenth century, has *Aldoga* changed to *Ladoga*, and the other is yet nameless.

In the time of the Crusades, we have *Ladoga* and *Owega*. At the end of the fourteenth century, *Ladoga* and *Onega*, as now, are found. Are they Slavonian or to what language do they belong? Latham says that they, i. e., the Slavonians, at one time, extended from the Adriatic to the Arctic sea. The Mongol Tartars had possession of Russia, from 1224, for a long time. These names attract attention from the fact that they are so different from the general run of geographical names in all that part of the world; and from the fact that they are so similar to a great many of the Indian names in this country—Conewago, Owego, Oswego, Tioga, *Ladoga*, *Neoga*, *Witoga*, *Conestoga*, etc.

So in Japan, *Atago*, *Tonago*, *Tanega*, *Nagasaki*, etc. Can they all have had a similar origin, and that Tartaric?

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

HIS. MAG. VOL. I. 24.

THE OPERATIONS ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER, IN THE LAST WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Why did the Americans give up all their successes, blow up Fort Erie, and evacuate the peninsular of the Niagara, after the waste of blood and treasure thereon, to obtain a foot-hold?

GROSVENOR LIBRARY,
BUFFALO, N. Y.

ALEX. SHELDON.

XI.—REPLIES.

"HEATHCOTE."—[*H. M.*, III., i., 245.]

Your favor of the third of April—postmarked the fourteenth—with enclosure of correspondent's inquiry, in reference to "Heathcote Ward" of this city, came to hand; and I am glad to be able to give you the desired information. It may be found in a book so well known as Stevens's—Rev. William Bacon, now Bishop of Pennsylvania—*History of Georgia*. I presume your correspondent has not access to this book, for he would naturally look to it for information.

In the Appendix to the first volume, you will find in the list of "Trustees of Georgia, appointed by the Charter"—the fifth on the list—the name of "*George Heathcote*, M. P., Alderman of London, and, in 1740, elected Lord Mayor, but declined." In the list of "Trustees elected in 1788"—the thirtieth on the list—occurs the name of "*Sir William Heathcote*, Bart, M. P. He married the only daughter of the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. Sir William was a Member of Parliament, and died in 1751." This latter is the person from whom "*Heathcote Ward*" is named.

Stevens—Vol. I., pp. 99–100—says: "Accordingly, on the 7th of July, [1733] the emigrants met in a body on the bluff, before his [Oglethorpe's] tent; and having joined in offices of prayer and thanksgiving, imploring, upon themselves and the Colony they were to found, the blessing of God, they proceeded to name the Wards and assign the lots. One square was laid out, which, in honor of the Governor of South Carolina, they named Johnson Square. Four Wards were marked off, to which were severally given the names of "*Heathcote*, *Percival*, *Derby*, and *Decker*, to commemorate the valuable services of Lord Percival, the first President of the Trustees, the Earl of Derby, *Sir William Heathcote*, and Sir Matthew Decker, large benefactors to the design."

"These four Wards were divided into sixteen *Tithings*, of which fourteen bore the names of the following Trustees, viz.: Derby, Car-

"penter, Frederick, Tyrconnel, More, Hucks, "Town, *Heathcote*, Eyles, La Roche, Vernon, "Belitha, Holland, and Sloper."

Heathcote Tything is named, not from Sir William Heathcote, but from *George Heathcote*, one of the original Trustees, as I infer from the fact that the other Tithings are named from his associates, appointed with him, under the Charter. What relationship, if any, existed between these two, I am unable to say.

SAVANNAH, GA.

WM. S. BOGART.

MARSHAL GROUCHY.—[*H. M.*, III, i, 302.]

In *The National Register*, for January 30, 1819, [iii, 80] will be found a letter from the Marshal to Messrs. Frick & Co., dated "SMYB—MA, DEL., Jan. 28," promising "a refutation "of the errors," concerning his conduct, near Waterloo, which had been published in London, a short time previously, by General Gourgaud. His whereabouts, at that time, will be seen from that letter.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

HON. WILLIAM DARLINGTON, M.D.—[*H. M.*, III, i, 32-34, 243.]

The series of historical sketches referred to, entitled *Notæ Cestriensis*, was the joint production of Doctor Darlington and myself, and was undertaken at my solicitation. About three-fourths of the numbers were written by Doctor Darlington, and the remainder by myself—the latter being indicated by my initials. I am gathering materials for additional sketches, and design to prepare the whole for publication, in book-form, at no distant day.

WEST CHESTER, PA.

J. S. FUTHEY.

MILES STANDISH.—[*H. M.*, III, i, 56, 251.]

I.

Mr. Drake substantiates the point that he never joined the Church in Plymouth, the which is now in the State of Massachusetts. If my information is correct, the Standish family are now, and have been, from before the Reformation, Catholics; and so far as Miles had not embraced any other Confession of Faith, is probably regarded, in the family archives, as a Catholic.

ELIZABETH, N. J.

J. G. S.

II.

I ask the indulgence of the readers of the Magazine, while I call their attention to some features of Miles Standish's character and as-

sociations which, hitherto, have not been noticed.

The family of Standish is a very ancient one. In 16 Edward I. Jordan de Standish held the manor of Standish of the Earl of Ferrars; but it is uncertain whether the ancient castle of that name gave name to the family or the family that to the castle. In 1381, Rafe Standish assisted William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, to disperse the insurgents headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw; and was knighted for his services and loyalty. In 12 Richard II., Robert de Standyshe was High Sheriff of Lancashire; and, three years later, that office was held by Sir Ralph Standish. In 1482, Sir Alexander Standish was created a Baronet for gallantry on the battle-field of Haddon-field. Henry Standish, D.D. Sir Alexander Standish's second son, was Bishop of St. Asaph and one of Queen Katharine's Counsel, in her defence against the bill filed by her husband, Henry VIII., for divorce. From that period until the accession of William and Mary, the family was active in the employ of the Crown.

From the beginning, until now, the family has been Roman Catholic in its church relations. Henry Standish, the Bishop of St. Asaph, of whom mention has been made, was a Franciscan; Guardian of the Convent of that Order, in London; and Provincial of his Order; and the archives of the English College, at Rome, (*Volume I, Page 29*) indicate that he was one of the "Pilgrims from England to Rome," in May, 1506. John Standish, another of the family, was a noted writer in opposition to the Reformation; Thomas Standish, another of the family, was a Captain in the Royal Army against the Parliament, and was killed at Manchester. Ralph Standish married Philippa Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, one of the most influential of the Catholic families in England; and Mr. Baines, in his elaborate *History of Lancashire*—iii., 505—says "The 'Lancashire Plot' "of 1694, which had for its object the de-thronement of William III. and the re-establishment of the family of Stuart and the Catholic religion, is supposed to have been concocted in Standish Hall; and a reward "was offered, by Royal Proclamation, for the apprehension of Mr. Standish, one of the alleged conspirators, but without success."

Speaking of Standish Hall, the ancient seat of the family, Mr. Baines says—*History of Lancashire*, iii., 505—it "is a large brick house, "irregular in form, to which is attached as "ancient Catholic chapel, still used for that "purpose."

Duxbury, the seat of a younger branch of the same family, is in the same parish of Standish as Standish Hall, the seat of the eldest branch;

and no one pretends that the same religious sentiments do not prevail in both these family residences.

Those who shall desire to learn more on this subject, are respectfully referred to Baine's *History of Lancashire*, iii., 502-519; Britton's *Beauties of England and Wales*, ix., 174, 175; *Colletanea Topographica & Genealogica*, v., 72, 74; Playfair's *British Family Antiquity*, vi., Appendix, xxxviii.; etc.; and all such will concur with us in the conviction that the Standishs have been Roman Catholics, from the beginning, and still remain so—an excellent reason for the failure of Miles to "join the church," in Plymouth Colony, if he was really a Standish, and an admirable illustration of the toleration which "the Pilgrim Fathers," unlike their "Puritan" neighbors, at Boston, freely extended even to Roman Catholics.

But there is another feature in this matter of Captain Miles Standish which will bear investigation. Mr. Baines—*History of Lancashire*, iii., 519—and Mr. Playfair—*British Family Antiquity*, vi., Appendix xxxviii—both give elaborate pedigrees of the Duxbury branch of the family; and there is no such name as "Miles," in any part of either of those pedigrees. I must be pardoned, therefore, if I express a doubt concerning the origin of the celebrated Captain Miles Standish of New England reputation. If he was a legitimate Standish, he was, evidently not of the Duxbury branch, as hitherto pretended; and if not of that branch, after what has been said of him, it may be reasonably doubted if he was, legitimately, a Standish at all.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

COLONEL JEDEDIAH PREBLE, IN THE OLD FRENCH WAR.—[*H. M., II., 2., 113.*]

Mr. Choate is mistaken in saying that, in my *Genealogy of the Preble Family*, 48, I conjectured that my grandfather, Colonel Jedediah Preble, was in command of the Provincial troops, under Wolfe, at Quebec. If he will turn to my book, he will find I endeavor to convey a very different impression. After stating that it is a family tradition that he was present at the siege of Quebec and near Wolfe, when he fell, and was wounded in the action, I say: "I am led to doubt his being present and wounded in that battle, as I can find no account of any large body of Provincial troops being engaged; and had he been, his rank as a Brigadier-general would have made him a prominent actor in the battle," etc. I then, in a foot-note, state that of the sixty-eight hundred men raised by Massachusetts for the invasion of Canada,

twenty-five hundred served in the garrison at Louisburg; several hundred in the Navy; three hundred joined Wolfe, before Quebec; and the remainder served under General Amherst, etc.; and—*Query*—"was General Preble the Brigadier commanding the Provincials under Wolfe?"

General Wolfe fell on the thirteenth of September, 1759, and Jedediah Preble's commission, as Brigadier-general of Provincial troops, now in my possession, is dated March 12, 1759.

It is now rendered certain, by the very interesting Journal of a Provincial officer, in 1758, which Mr. Choate has communicated to your Magazine, that Jedediah Preble was the second Colonel, in point of seniority, in the expedition under General Amherst; and which is confirmed by his commission, now in my possession, as "Colonel of a Regiment of foot raised by me [*Thos. Pownall*] for a general invasion of Canada," dated "March thirteenth, 1758." Copies of both the commissions, above referred to, will be found in the *Genealogy of the Preble Family*, pages 117 and 118.

BOSTON, MASS.

G. P. H.

SACRAMENTAL TOKENS.—[*H. M., III., i., 57, 246.*]

At the close of the War, in 1865, I purchased a lead Sacramental token from a negro lad; and, on tracing its origin, I found that, in the year 1800, the Scotch Presbyterian Church of Charleston had dies engraved, in England, from which silver tokens were struck, having on them the name of the church and the representation of a communion-table. About the year 1820, tokens in lead were struck for the use of the colored membership of the church. The Rev. John Forrest, D.D., is the Pastor of the church, and is fully acquainted with the history of these tokens. The one that I purchased, and which is the only one that I have seen, is now among a valuable collection of coins and medals belonging to the late James H. Taylor of this city.

CHARLESTON.

WILLIAM G. WHILDEN.

STROUDWATER.—[*H. M., II., iv., 144.*]

The querist finds among the names of subscribers to Prince's *Chronology*, published at Boston, in 1736, that of Mr. Richard Fry of Stroudwater, and asks, "can any one give any particulars of Mr. Fry; or say where Stroudwater is or was?"

Stroudwater is a little hamlet in Westbrook, Maine, near Portland. It is located upon a small stream known as Fore River, but which,

in early days, was called Stroudwater, and still retains the name among the older residents of the place. I have no doubt it was named after the Stroud, in England.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. ISAAC B. CHOATE.

CONNECTICUT ON THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES.—
[*H. M., III., i., 246, 308.*]

For a history of the Prudence Crandall case, let "J. F. S." consult the following works: *Life of Arthur Tappan*, published by Hurd & Houghton; and the Rev. S. J. May's *Recollections of our Anti-slavery Conflict*, published by J. R. Osgood & Co.

NEW YORK CITY. L. S. M.

MOBLEY'S MEETING-HOUSE.—[*H. M., III., i., 243.*]

Being at Chesterville, a few days since, with Hon. James Hemphill, I learned of your inquiry, from him, about the affair at Mobley's Meeting-house, in Fairfield county, in this State. Meeting with a reference to it, in a paper formerly published in this place, I have had it re-published in the *Southern Presbyterian*, and enclose it to you. Mobley's Meeting-house is about twelve miles, in a direct line, North-east, from Winnsboro, on the South Fork of Little-river, a tributary of Broad-river, which unites with the Saluda, and forms the Congaree-river, at this place.

COLUMBIA, S. C. GEORGE HOWE.

MRS. GENERAL ARNOLD AND THE SHIPPEN FAMILY.—[*H. M., II., viii., 363.*]

In a foot note—HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, December, 1870—you say "E. Burd, afterwards married a sister of Mrs. Arnold."

Colonel Burd, of this County, married Sally Shippen, sister of Mrs. Benedict Arnold. His son, Major Edward Burd, married Elizabeth, daughter of Chief-justice Edward Shippen, brother of Mrs. B. and Mrs. A.; consequently, Edward's wife was his cousin german.

The whole story is a curious and interesting one. It ruined the high standing of my grandfather's old neighbor and friend, Colonel James Burd, of Tinian (modernized into "High Spire") Dauphin-county.

HARRISBURGH, PENN. A. B. H.

SCRAP.—An engraved likeness of Ethan Allen, copied from a painting, made Trumbull of Connecticut, in 1872, has recently been brought to light in New York. Until its discovery, no portrait of that Revolutionary leader, was known to be extant.

XII.—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

IS IT MALFEASANCE, OR SOMETHING ELSE?

A body corporate, organized for certain specified purposes, with certain specified duties imposed upon it, and prohibited, by the organic Statute which created it, from extending its attention or employing its franchises or properties to any other object, cannot assume any other duties nor devote its energies to any other purposes than those defined in its Charter, without positively violating the written law of the land; its officers cannot employ its property, nor any part of it, for any such forbidden purposes without becoming malfeasant; and both the corporation and its officers, thus violating the law, expose themselves to those penalties to which, as offenders, they are, by law and by propriety, equally made liable. It is true that eminent respectability in the offenders, or their abundant means, may shield them from the doom which inevitably awaits those who are less respectable and encumbered with smaller pocket-books; but the offence is the same, and the penalty *should* be equally so, whether the offender is luxuriantly seated in a free-stone edifice which is screened from the tax-collector or in a tenement-house, from which the taxes are squeezed, to the last farthing, from the anxious mudsills who seek shelter, under its roof, from the peltings of the pitiless storm.

On the tenth of February, 1809, the Legislature of the State of New York passed an Act entitled *An Act to incorporate the New York Historical Society*, in the Preamble of which Act—Preambles were then in fashion, in such cases—it was stated that the persons thus made one, in a body corporate, had "formed themselves into an association * * * for the purpose of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of this State in particular," and had asked the Legislature to make them a body corporate, "that, thereby, such the purpose and design of the said Society, may be the more effectually subverted and promoted." No other "purpose and design" was alluded to or insinuated, as those of the proposed Corporation, than those, concerning the "History of the United States, in general, and of this State, in particular," which we have described; and to secure the State from

any possible mistake—for those were the times when Legislatures sometimes faced one direction and rowed in another—the fifth Section of that Act provided “that in case the aforesaid Society shall, at any time, appropriate their, or any part of their, funds to any purpose or purposes other than those contemplated by this Act, and shall be thereof convicted by due course of law, that, thenceforth, the said Corporation shall cease and determine, and the estate, real and personal, whereof it may be seized and possessed, shall vest in the PEOPLE OF THIS STATE.”

When this Act was passed, Daniel D. Tompkins was Governor of the State and Matthias B. Hildreth, of Montgomery county, the Attorney-general, while De Witt Clinton and Nathan Smith headed the delegations from the city of New York in, respectively, the Senate and the Assembly; and, with the record of the Manhattan Company and some other bodies recently incorporated by the State before them, neither the Legislature nor the Executive was disposed to create another body which, under the disguise of historical literature, was really to be devoted to something else. Whatever might be done, without positive infractions of the law, by other Corporations, this, certainly, should be confined, in all its operations, to the interests of students of the history “of the UNITED STATES, in general, and of THIS STATE, in particular;” and whatever should be accumulated by the Corporation, whether of real or personal estate, was, by the organic law, sacredly devoted to the cause of AMERICAN history.

When that Act was passed, the respectable gentlemen who were the incorporators, honestly intended to respect the law, in its spirit as well as in its letter. It never entered into the schemes of Egbert Benson, Bishop Moore, Rev. Doctors Mason and Miller, De Witt Clinton, and their associates to do more, in this connection, than to “discover, procure, and preserve whatever,” in the line of the “history” of the United States, in general, and of this State, in particular,” they could honestly lay their hands on; and there is no evidence, as far as we know, that they ever either did more than that or tried to do so. There was not, then, any more taste, among the multitude, for American history, than there is, to-day; but the mission of the young Society was an humble one—it was only to get all it could, in its line, and to keep all it thus obtained, for the use of others as well as of itself; and if it was not to be very brilliant itself, certainly, might become very useful.

Years rolled around, and the Corporation still lived and discharged its modest duties, as

imposed by the Statute. It had had its dark days as well as its light ones; but sometimes through one instrumentality and sometimes through another, it really had “discovered, procured, and preserved” some of the most important of the materials for American history which the student of that history can hope to enjoy. A new era, however, was opened in its history by the advent, some twenty or thirty years ago, of a new controlling power—a power behind the throne which was destined to be stronger than the throne itself: a power, in fact, which, for some time, at least, not only inspired the throne, but elevated and depressed its occupants with all the skill of a master workman. A new system was gradually introduced into the Society; and, after the fashion of the Puritan fathers of the Bay Colony, those who assumed the government, in these new days of the Corporation, quietly obeyed the law, where it suited their purposes, and as quietly disregarded it, where it interposed a bar to their schemes. What was a law of New York to those who were of purer blood? Why should those who were following the star of empire, westward, as the shepherds of Judea followed the star of Bethlehem, trouble themselves or allow others to trouble them, concerning the heathen whose cabbage-gardens they might invade, while pushing forward toward the Great South Sea? Why should not a “higher law” than that of the Commonwealth—the law of expediency, as defined by the party in interest—be that which should occupy the first place in their respect? A FREE LUNCH, therefore, was established in the institution—the prototype, we believe, of those other “free lunches” of which the flaming show-cards tell the passers-by of many a gin-mill, in New York, and, undoubtedly, for the self-same purpose of drawing custom—and “their funds,” to that extent, at least, have been “appropriated” and expended, from that day to this, in all the necessary arrangements and provisions which such an entertainment demands. Indeed, for the “purpose of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general and of this State in particular,” more than one-half of one of the floors of the Library-building, now occupied by the Society, has been “appropriated” to a reception-room for guests, while lunching, to a restaurant, in which several hundreds take their monthly “historical choo-olats,” and for a kitchen, in which the viands are prepared for the hundreds, members of the Society and strangers, who resort there, on the occasion of the regular monthly meetings. Next, it was evidently thought that AFRICAN ART should be included in its attractions—just

as Tom Riley used to think that relics of Washington would increase the attractions offered in his Fifth Ward bar-room—and nearly the whole of another floor of the Library-building was “appropriated” to the “purpose” of exhibiting various mummies—men, bulls, and cats—and various other monstrosities, more or less *Egyptian*, and more or less relating to “the national, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the *United States* in general, and of this *State*, in particular.” Next, a *PICTURE-GALLERY*, it was evidently thought, would “popularize” *American* history; and so another floor of the Library-building was “appropriated” to a display of ancient and modern *European* pictures, more or less, genuine; and crowds of noisy visitors, *come to look at the pictures and some FOR PURPOSES LESS CREDITABLE IN CHARACTER*, have been permitted to “appropriate” that portion of the Society’s property to everything else than *historical* scholarship.

With one floor mostly occupied for *gastro-nomic* purposes, with another floor mostly occupied with specimens of more or less *African* art, and with a third floor occupied wholly with pictures mostly of *European* origin and nearly all of *European* subjects, the real “purposes” for which the Society was constituted are crowded into a Lecture-room—which is shared, for a consideration, with a respectable church—two small store-rooms, a small Committee-room, and one floor, occupied by the Library. Its collections of books, thus displaced from the space, within the Society’s building, which the law of the State has wisely appropriated to them, are in heaps, in store-rooms and elsewhere, very many of them uncatalogued, and not often accessible to those who ask for them; its collections of coins and *American* curiosities are absolutely inaccessible even to students of *American* numismatics and ethnology; its splendid collection of manuscripts, without having been catalogued, *except for private use*, are absolutely inaccessible to the great body of historical students, unless they shall happen to know of the existence of a particular paper and ask for it, specifically; its income is “appropriated,” largely, for gas-bills and attendants made especially necessary by the injection into its “purposes” of *African* and *European* art and for equipments, and attendants, and groceries, for the conduct of its system of free-lunches; and three full-grown men, with little time for their more legitimate duties, are required to police the establishment and keep it running—all for “the purpose,” it is gravely pretended, “of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the

United States, in general, and of this *State*, in particular!!”

No one has ever heard of the New York Historical Society encouraging a student of American history, by subscribing for his proposed publication. No one has ever seen the New York Historical Society among those, rich and poor, whose subscriptions were found necessary, and given, to secure the publication of choice historical monographs. No one can go to its desk and ask for a dozen ordinary American historical publications and find one half of them—not even a manuscript catalogue of the additions to its Library, during the last dozen years, in to be found on its desk, or elsewhere, unless it has been very recently put there, Article XX. of the By-Laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

Will any one pretend to assert that free lunches, and African art, and pictures of other than American subjects can possibly be construed, honestly, as more connected with the history of the United States, in general, and that of this State, in particular, than the matters above referred to, or better entitled to enjoy the Society’s patronage? Will some one, in authority, be so kind as to tell the world why, if they are not so, the matters last referred to, above, have been thus criminally neglected, while other matters, neither American nor historical in their character, have been allowed to absorb the “funds” of the Society, in open violation of law?

The By-Laws of the Society (*xviii.*, page 21) declare that the Treasurer of the Society shall deposit “the FUNDS” of the Society, “in some Bank,” in New York; and that those “funds,” thus deposited, “shall be drawn thence on the check of the Treasurer, for THE ‘PURPOSES of the Society ONLY.’” We have seen what those “purposes” are specifically defined to be, by the Statute; and we have seen, also, that the Society is specifically forbidden, by law, to expend those “FUNDS” for any other than the “PURPOSES” thus specifically designated in the Statute. There is a remarkable coincidence, too, in the technical terms employed, respectively, in the Statute and the By-Laws of the Society—“PURPOSES” and “FUNDS”—and there is, also, a scrupulous similarity in the spirit of the Charter and the By-Laws of the Society. But there the similarity ends. *The Treasurer of the Society, evidently, either by checks or in some other manner, HAS NOT CONFINED HIS PAYMENTS, as required by the Charter and the By-Laws of the Society, alike, TO ‘THE PURPOSES OF THE SOCIETY, ONLY.’ as those ‘PURPOSES’ are specifically defined in the Statute; and it will be a question, some day or other, whether or not, to the amount of those illegal expenditures, at least, the Treasurer is not indebted to the Society more than, by his books and*

accounts, he now appears to be; and whenever that question shall arise, with a resolute man behind it, it will have to be met and answered agreeably to the Statute incorporating the Society and the By-Laws of the Corporation, whether it shall please or displease the eminently respectable gentleman who, more than the excellent Treasurer himself, runs the finances, as he runs other portions of the corporate machinery, agreeably to the promptings of that higher law of which he is, himself, the author.

There are some persons whose New York education and New York associations have led them to suppose that, in New York, an Act of the Legislature of "this State," on such a subject as that under consideration, is the supreme law; and they have been so little enlightened by the Puritanic sunshine with which they have been favored that, in their ignorance, they regard an offender against the provisions of that law as a fit subject for judicial notice and executive punishment. They know no difference, in such a matter, between the most insignificant and the most eminently respectable of their neighbors; and they insist that a law-breaker is an offender against the peace of the Commonwealth and entitled to be chastised by her authority, therefore, quite as much, if he is an LL. D., as he would have been had he been only a fiddle-de-de. The attention of the learned Attorney-general of the State, therefore, has been called to this case of eminently respectable law-breaking, and requested to take measures for an early inquiry, before the Supreme Court, concerning the way in which the property and the franchises of the New York Historical Society have been employed; and we shall probably be enabled, some time, through the official light which that gentleman and the Court shall throw on the subject, to learn exactly what authority, in law, the Treasurer of that Society has had for his expenditure of a very large portion of its funds; whether or not the Society and its controlling power are not, now, and have not been, for several years, open violators of the public laws of the State and subject to their just penalties; and exactly what relation there is between mummied cats, and grotesque altar-pieces, and very poor ham-sandwiches, on the one hand, and the "discovery, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States, in general, and of this State, in particular," on the other.

"Fly swiftly round, ye wheels of time,
"And bring the welcome day."
We propose to notice, in our next, another branch of this eminently respectable mode of running The New York Historical Society.

XIII.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG, & CO., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*The Holy Bible according to the authorized version (A. D. 1611), with an explanatory and critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church.* Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. II. Joshua—Kings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 624. Price \$5.

We have already noticed this excellent work; and we return to the subject with pleasure, on the appearance of the second volume.

There is, in this work, no elaborate display of varied learning, such as we see in Lange; and yet it deals with the translation as well as with the meaning of the text. It is a plain, compact, and yet a comprehensive, exposition of the Scriptures; and, although the comments are such as prominent members of the Established Church of England may be expected to write, they will, nevertheless, be widely welcomed by plain, old fashioned people, of all denominations, and be as widely useful.

The work is printed from English plates and is very handsome.

2.—*Systematic Theology.* By Charles Hodge, D. D. Volume II. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. xi., 752. Price \$4.50.

Systematic Theology. By Charles Hodge, D. D. Vol. III. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. viii., 880. Price \$5.

We noticed the first volume of this elaborate and learned production, some months since; and, now, we have pleasure in noticing the second and third of the series.

In the original prospectus of the work, it was announced that the first of these volumes would be devoted entirely to *Anthropology*; and the cover of the volume seems to indicate a continued intention to have that proposed arrangement carried out. But, on examination, we find that only three hundred and eight of the seven hundred and thirty-two pages in the volume are thus occupied; while four hundred and twenty-four are assigned to *Soteriology*, which, under the programme, belongs to the third instead of the second volume.

We do not know why this change has been made, in the two volumes; but it is very evident that a radical change has been made in the author's system, since his work has been in progress—the Second Part, devoted to "Man; his

"origin, nature, primitive state, probation, and "apostasy," having, meanwhile, in some of its parts, experienced an unexpected collapse. Has it been in his original ideas concerning the *Origin of Man*, or in those which, originally, portrayed his views concerning the *Unity of the Human Race*?

The third Part, which has found a place in the second and third volumes instead of in the third only, embraces the leading subjects of "God's purpose and plan, in relation to the salvation of men; the person and work of the Redeemer; and the application of that work, by the Holy Spirit, to the actual salvation of the people of God"—the whole of which are grouped as "Soteriology."

The fourth Part, which is wholly in the third volume, relates to the state of the soul of man, after death, to the second coming of Christ, to the resurrection of the body, to the general judgment and end of the world, and to the theories concerning heaven and hell.

The plan of the author embraces an examination of the theories of those who are antagonistic to himself—in which, not unfrequently, he is more diligent and profuse than in any other portion of his undertaking—as well as in a definition and establishment of his own particular belief; and, as far as his mere plan goes, these volumes afford to their readers every thing which can be desired in a body of divinity. But, as we have said, the author seems to have been vastly more anxious to tear down the structures of others than to construct his own; he has hunted his opponent, however humble, wherever he could find him, with the zeal and malignity attributed to an Inquisitor; and he seems to have taken for granted, too often, that, having overcome his opponent, in his *ex parte* contest, his work has been accomplished—that it is not necessary to bring his own creed to the test of that standard which is "the only rule "of faith and practise." In short, the mode of the author is that of an old hen with a brood of chickens—vastly more ready to fly at a passing stranger, who had no thought of troubling her or her little ones, than to stay near them, for their immediate comfort and protection.

The faulty mode of which we have spoken, has led the author into the error of becoming a mere partisan, rather than such a seeker for the truth, *per se*, which a learned divine, engaged in such a work, should have been. It would become us very poorly were we to start out, in any of our literary undertakings, with pre-conceived theories to which all the testimony we could collect and all our conclusions thereon must, necessarily, be bended; and, what is true in a writer of history is equally true in a writer of theology. An honest man, whether an his-

torian or a parson, will find frequent reason for modifications of his pre-conceived theories, if he discharges his duty with fidelity—new evidence or old evidence, then first seen, will necessarily produce such a result in any one who does not arrogantly conceive that he has learned, already, all that need be learned—and those who refuse to be thus controlled by credible evidence, whether historian or parson, is unworthy of respect, because he is dishonest. Now Doctor Hodge, with all due respect to his cloth, on our part, has recklessly written "at a "mark," throughout his entire work; and when the testimony has conflicted with his original notions, the testimony has been made to fit the notions without disturbing the notions, themselves. In brief, it is the work of a partisan, evidently written for partisan purposes, and will produce only the result of partisanship—the confirmation of Princeton theology among Princeton theologians, without either convincing the judgment or commanding the respect of those who are not of Princeton, and who prefer the authoritative "Thus saith the Lord," to anything other evidence.

The three volumes already published, have evidently left the author where he does not desire to be left—without having closed his story, in the form in which he desired to leave it. It is announced, therefore, that a supplemental volume is in press; and we will await the completion of that, before examining and referring to those partisan inconsistencies and partisan misrepresentations which we have noticed in the work.

As specimens of book-making, these volumes are very handsome—they come from the Riverside Press, and are fair specimens of the good work of that noted establishment.

2.—*Zell's Descriptive Hand Atlas of the World*. By J. Bartholomew, Geogr. Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell. Sine anno. Quarto. Nos. 11-16.

We have already noticed this work, generally; and, with the concluding numbers before us, we return to the subject, with pleasure.

The maps, as we said before, are very elegant; and the arrangement of marginal letters, by means of which and accompanying tables, any name given on the maps may be found without difficulty, is very convenient. It is proper for us to say, however, that, in the maps of the United States and of the several States, the Publisher has evidently overlooked that excellent promise which he made, at the beginning of the undertaking, that the maps would be constructed on a scale, larger or smaller, "according to their relative importance from an "American point of view;" and has given,

instead, maps of the United States and of each of the States, on a much *smaller* scale than those of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The result is that it is made to appear that our own country is less important, "from an American point of view," than several others, on another continent; and we have, too, maps of our own country—more important than any others—projected on so small a scale that they are less useful, for every-day reference, than those in some of our better school-geographies, such as Colton's and Guyot's. We are sensible of the cause of this mistake; but the Publisher should either have withheld the promise to which we have referred or, by the expenditure of a little more money, have more carefully fulfilled it and more completely discharged the contract which, at the beginning, he made with his subscribers.

The general introduction is interesting and useful; but the general index of *all the names on all the maps*, with references to the marginal letters on the maps as well as to the maps themselves, is a feature of this work which will command the attention and respect of our busy and not always intelligent countrymen, and ensure for it that hearty and extended support which, after all, is more welcome to the Publisher than any mere excellence, unappreciated by the world and unproductive of its dollars. It is a solid good feature; and the Publisher deserves an ample reward for adapting it to his work with so much good judgment.

4.—*Our Flag. Origin and Progress of the Flag of the United States of America, with an introductory account of Symbols, Standards, Banners, and Flags of ancient and modern nations.* By Geo. Henry Preble, U.S.N. Albany: Joel Munsel. 1872. Octavo, pp. x., 8-585.

This long-looked for volume has come at last; and, both for its own sake and for that of its excellent author, it is welcome.

It is very much larger than we expected; and, although we had a right to look for more than ordinary beauty of typography, from the Munsel Press, our expectations in that respect—with some exceptions—are also fully realized.

The first Part of the work is devoted to *The Standards, Flags, Banners, etc., of ancient and modern nations*; and in it is discussed and presented nearly every feature of that abstract subject, interspersed with references to American subjects. The Second Part treats of the discovery and exploration of America and the flags which were probably displayed at that time; of the Colonial and Provincial era, and the flags which belong to it; and of the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary periods, until the adoption of the "stars and stripes." The Third Part relates to *The Stars and Stripes*, in all their varied forms, from their origin, in 1777,

until 1818, when their present form was established. The Fourth Part relates to the same *Stars and Stripes*, from 1818 until 1861, when the recent War opened a new era in everything that was American. The Fifth Part embraces the history of the flag during the War and until 1872. The Sixth Part forms an *Appendix*, in which are descriptions of the several naval and military flags and of the Seal and Arms of the United States; as well as of the several Yacht-club flags; closing with "our National Songs," and a good Index.

From this survey of the contents of the volume, it will be seen that the title of the work hardly describes the exact character of the many subjects which the author notices in the course of his narrative. It is, indeed, a history of the origin and progress of the flag of the United States; but it is also very much more than that—very often considerable space is occupied with interludes in which "the flag" was only incidentally presented; and not unfrequently the thread of the author's story is disturbed and weakened by a parenthetical anecdote or narrative which unduly directs the attention of the reader from the subject to which the volume is especially devoted.

We know how faithfully Captain Preble searched for information which illustrated, even remotely, the subject to which he had devoted his attention; and we know, too, how conscientiously he employed that material, in the construction of this volume. But we incline to the belief that two distinct volumes—one devoted to *Flags, their history and uses*, the other to *Our Flag, its history and employment*—would have been better than one. The history of "Our Flag," in that case, would have been made accessible to a greater number of readers—the size of the volume and its cost forming an element in limiting the circulation of such works—while those who desire to know more of the general subject of "Flags, their history, and their uses," would not be deprived of the opportunity afforded by a volume especially devoted to that subject.

The typography of the volume is very handsome and—except where some difference of taste in the use of capitals and italics has marred the narrative—it will meet the reasonable expectations of every reader. The illustrations, both wood cuts and lithographs, are appropriate and very neatly executed.

5.—*History of the Press of Maine*, edited by Joseph Griffin. 1872. Brunswick: From the Press, established A.D. MDCCCXIX. Octavo pp. 284.

"At the close of half a century's labor, in Maine, the writer, under the impression that he

"had been established in business, as a printer, publisher, and bookseller, for a longer period than any other person in the State, thought it might be a pleasure, possibly a duty, to devote himself to the business of gathering up, while they could be gathered, the fragments for a History of the Press in Maine." In that commendable work—certainly an appropriate one for the termination of a life of honorable and honored labor—the author accordingly embarked; and, in the volume before us—from his own pen, generally, but, sometimes, assisted by those of others—we find the result of his well-directed enterprise, in that unusual occupation of old age. We have, indeed, a *History of the Press of Maine*—both the newspaper press and the book-press of that well-to-do offshoot from the old Commonwealth of Massachusetts—and very little, if anything, has now been left, ungarnered, in that hitherto ungleaned harvest-field of Maine's bibliographical history.

The first Press established in Maine was, evidently, that of Benjamin Fitcomb, at Falmouth, now Portland; and the first newspaper published in that State was *The Falmouth Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, established in January, 1785. In 1801, the number of the newspapers published in the District had increased only to five: in November, 1872, there were sixty-eight secular and four religious sheets published in the State. In the volume before us, the history of that press, from 1785 until 1872, is presented, County by County, with remarkable precision, in great detail, and, evidently, with great care and accuracy, interspersed, of course, with much local history, many biographical sketches, and not a little well-directed criticism of men and matters—the newspaper press, of course, occupying the greater proportion of the space. This series of local histories, is followed by a very extended *Bibliography of Maine*, arranged under the heads of the several publishers—not often giving the dates, but generally the sizes of the volumes, and sometimes illustrated with biographical and other notes—and a brief *Appendix* completes the work.

As we said, some portions of the work are from other pens than Mr. Griffin's; but there is, in all of them, the same sharp precision of statement, the same absence of waste words and merely "ornamental" accompaniments, the same abundant intelligence, directness of style, and earnestness of manner. Every part of it is evidently the work of business men, "meaning business," and doing it; and, when contrasted with some volumes of vastly more pretensions, it commends itself, without a word of praise from anybody.

There is a feature of this work, besides its literary peculiarities, however, which entitles it to especial notice. It seems to have been "set up" at the same "cases," if not "worked off" on the same press, which were presented to the venerable author, *forty five years before* (after the Philistines of the law had spoiled his original office and closed it)—from which, also, "all his "books" have been printed—and we incline to the belief that the greater part of the work has been done, also, by his own hands. The venerable workman certainly headed the workmen, and we suspect his own hands did the greater proportion of the work. Long may he live to enjoy the fruits of his long-continued and earnest toil; and may the *Supplements* which he has more than half promised become the welcome messengers, conveying to his many friends the tidings of his continued health, good-spirits, and prosperity.

As a specimen of book-making, the volume is a pattern of neatness: as a specimen of accurate proof-reading, we wish some others could equal it.

6.—*The Corwin Genealogy (Curwin, Curwen, Corwine) in the United States.* By Edward Tanjore Corwin. New York: S. W. Green, Printer. 1872. Octavo, pp. xxiv., 324. Price \$3.

In the preparation of this volume, its author has not followed the ordinary system of management, and, probably, will not satisfy the demands of those who are adepts in that branch of knowledge; but we find his system as convenient for reference as any other, and not more unintelligible to those who are not accustomed to this class of literature.

The volume opens with an *Introduction* devoted to the name, "Corwin;" the origin of the family of Matthias Corwin, who, about 1630, emigrated to America, and founded the family, here; a sketch of Matthias, the great original; the origin of the family of George Curwen, who founded the Curwens, of Salem, Mass., with a sketch of George's life; and notices of Samuel Corwine, Thomas Curwin, John Curwen, Malcolm Corwin, and Charles H. Curwen, respectively heads of other families, bearing those names, in America. The *Genealogy* follows, filling two hundred and thirty-two pages, and an *Appendix*—devoted to various papers illustrative of the subject—and elaborate *Indices* complete the work.

As this family, in its various branches and offshoots, is widely scattered and, very often, prominent in society, this carefully-prepared record of its members will be widely read; and those who collect this class of works, as well as those whose lineage makes it interesting to them,

will be interested in the knowledge of its publication.

It is very neatly printed, and is sold by its author, at Millstone, New Jersey.

7.—*Americanisms; the English of the New World.* By M. Schele de Vere, LL.D. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 635.

In our number for February, 1872, we noticed this interesting volume, as it originally appeared; and we have greater pleasure, now, in calling the attention of our readers to a revised edition, in which the author has profited by criticisms from friend and foe, and corrected all the errors that have come to his knowledge, in the hope that the work will thereby be improved in its character.

It should find a place on the work-table of every one who pretends to authorship and of every one who pays any attention to the peculiar features of American conversation and of social life in America.

It is very neatly printed, on very thin paper.

8.—*Princeton College during the Eighteenth Century.* By Samuel Davies Alexander, an Alumnus. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. Sine anno. [1872?] Octavo, pp. xv., 2 unpagged, 336.

This beautiful volume is composed of short biographical sketches of six hundred and forty-six out of eight hundred and ninety-four gentlemen who graduated at Princeton, during the eighteenth century; and, while it records the early history of the College, as that history is read in the lives and services of her sons, it also presents to the working student of American history and biography, one of the most useful of the books for reference with which he has been favored.

Princeton is more generally known as a Presbyterian institution; but such sturdy Baptists as President Manning, Joseph Clay, and Hezekiah Smith; such Reformed Dutch as Theodore D. Romeyn, William Linn, and John N. Abeel; such Congregationalists as John Lathrop, Samuel Spring, and Joseph Eckley; and such Episcopalians as Robert Blackwell and Bishops Claggett and Hobart, were educated there; and, whether Presbyterians or not, the institution which, in fifty two years, could turn out such men as President Joseph Reed, Richard Stockton, David Matthews, Jonathan Odell, Domine Lydecker, James Jauncey, Doctor Benjamin Rush, Ebenezer Hazard, Tapping Reeve, President Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Kirkland, David Ramsey, Chief-justice Oliver Ellsworth, David Howell, Luther Martin, John Sergeant, Colonel Francis Barber, Hugh N. Breckenridge, Philip Freneau, Presi-

dent James Madison, Aaron Burr. "Light-horse" Harry Lee, Governors Mogan Lewis of New York, Tichenor of Vermont, Giles of Virginia and Davie of North Carolina, Aaron Ogden, Chancellor George M. Bibb, John Pintard, James A. Bayard, Edward Livingston, Robert Goodloe Harper, Judge Smith Thompson, John Wills, John Forsyth, John McPherson Berrian, Silas Wood, Jacob Burnett, Mahlon Dickerson, Richard Rush, and Doctor David Hosack—men who were not born to die and be forgotten—needs no other monument than an honest record of its scholars.

These sketches are necessarily very brief; but, if they are reliable, this collection of them will be at once acceptable and useful.

As a specimen of book-making, this is a very handsome one.

9.—*The English in Ireland, in the Eighteenth Century.* By James Anthony Froude, M.A. In two volumes. Volume I. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. xiv., 688. Price \$2.50.

Whatever may be the animus of Mr. Froude, in writing history, no one can honestly say that he writes it carelessly, without reference to unquestionable authorities, or, at least, the appearance of a desire to ascertain the truth and to tell it; and we confess that, with care, in the use of words, due diligence in the examination of evidence, a disposition to ascertain just what the truth is, and a fearlessness in enunciating it, on his side, we care nothing for the motive which prompted him, nor in whose employ he may have been, while he wrote. A fact is not changed in its character simply because it was published for questionable purposes; nor is it necessary that an employee shall, in all his relations of life, be subject to his employer. It will require other evidence, therefore, than any which we have seen to sustain a charge against Mr. Froude's writings of infidelity to the truth, simply because he *may have been* actuated, in writing, by malice or avarice, of which motive, by the way, we have not yet seen an atom of evidence.

In the volume before us, after briefly surveying the relations of England with her sister kingdoms and Wales, Mr. Froude glances at the Norman Conquest of Ireland and its consequences, the Civil Wars in England and their consequences, and the condition of Ireland under the Tudors, the Stuarts, and the Commonwealth of England; and, in the "Second Book," he opens the record of "the penal era" of Ireland, of Protestant administration of Irish affairs, of the progress of centralization and union with Great Britain, of Irish internal dissensions, of Irish reckless defiance of the law

of the land, and of Irish anarchy, until 1760. It is a sad record—a record of the working of that “higher law” which recognizes, on the one hand, the sovereignty of man, and, on the other, the sovereignty of “the Government,” both, alike, disregarding the sovereignty of “the State,” which is another term for the sovereignty of “the People;” a record of the practical operation of forcing on an unwilling community a form of government which is distasteful to it and to which it will not give its “consent;” a record of the mischievous effects of centralization, contrasted with the more wholesome effects which a local self-government might have produced. It is a record, too, which appeals, very forcibly, to those who are “governing” the Southern States of the Union, to-day; and it is a record from which every thinking man who respects the old law of “like produces like” may gather wisdom, very usefully. The record of Irish lawlessness, in their dealings with their neighbors, and that of Irish infidelity to Ireland, when individual interests have stood in the way of Irish interests, as we have said, is a sad one; and it is one which may be studied, usefully, by all, of every nationality, who have Irish fellow-citizens and Irish neighbors.

The volume is a very handsome one, the work of the Riverside Press.

10.—*Columbus, Ohio: its History, Resources, and Progress.* With numerous illustrations. Jacob H. Studer. Octavo, pp. 594.

We have received from Messrs. Robert Clarke & Co., of Cincinnati, a copy of the volume which, under this queerly-arranged title-page, tells of the capital of Ohio, “its history, resources, and progress.”

We suppose it is by Mr. Studer; but the title-page does not say so; and, although the title-page is studiously silent on the subject, we suspect that Mr. Studer is, also, the publisher of the work. At any rate, Messrs. Clarke & Co. sell it—a matter of some interest to some of our readers.

As a record of the history and resources of Columbus, the work seems to have been prepared with commendable care. It embraces all branches of the subject; notices all the minutiae; and really seems to have left little to be desired which has not been done. But, with the peculiar ill taste which he has displayed on the title-page of the work, the publisher has not contented himself with forming a supplement of advertisements, following the text of this history and statistics, but has thrust more than a hundred pages of those advertisements into that text and even covered three out of four

of the margins of his map of the city with the same unusual additions. A really useful local history and a very neatly printed volume, therefore, has been mutilated by what might, just as usefully, have been collected at the end of the text; and glaring advertisements of quack-medicines and lager-bier, corpse-preservers and gin-mills, lawyers and grocers, burst upon the eye of the reader, uninvited, on the turning of a leaf, breaking the connection of the narrative, and compelling those who resort to it, for either amusement or information, to “skip a page,” every minute, or two, in order to keep the run of his story.

The publisher who respects the good taste of his readers as little as the publisher of this volume, has not yet learned all that can be learned of his business, as his correspondents in Cincinnati can surely tell him.

As we have said, apart from this serious blemish, the volume is a very neat one and worthy of a wide circulation.

11.—*The Reformation.* By George P. Fisher, D.D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. xxxiv., 690.

Opening with an inquiry concerning the origin and significance of the Reformation, the author of this volume next traces the rise of the Papal hierarchy and its subsequent decline, to the establishment of William and Mary, on the throne of England. Of course, in the latter portion of his subject, the Reformation is especially presented, in its character, origin, instrumentalities, events, and consequences—in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, Scandinavia, Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and America—and in the discharge of that important duty, the author has displayed excellent judgment, unusual impartiality, and an independence of thought and expression which is truly refreshing. Temperate in his judgment of those who differed from himself, in religious faith—Roman Catholics, Baptists, Unitarians, Separatists, etc.—and evidently cautious in his dependence on the writings of those who preceded him, in this field of historical labor, he nevertheless grapples with all the great questions involved in his subject, manfully disregarding what, in the conclusions of his predecessors, he considers to be erroneous, and bravely insisting, very often, that those who have been, hitherto, condemned without a saving clause, have been dealt with too harshly and were not nearly as bad as they may seem to have been. The spirit in which the work is written is admirable; the care with which it is written is evident, even in its less-important parts; and the rigid impartiality of its author is no where more dis-

tinctly displayed, than in his unselfish description of the character and conduct of the fathers of the American Colonies—the Pilgrim Separatists, the Puritan churchmen, the Baptists of Rhode Island, and the Roman Catholics in Maryland.

We heartily commend this work to our readers and, especially, do we congratulate those who shall resort to it on the admirable index with which the volume is furnished.

II.—*Anti-Slavery Opinions before the year 1800.* Read before The Cincinnati Literary Club, November 16, 1873. By William Frederick Poole. To which is appended a facsimile Reprint of Dr. George Buchanan's Oration on the Moral and Political Evil of Slavery, delivered at a public meeting of the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, Baltimore, July 4, 1791. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 84, 90.

The readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, during the year 1867, will not fail to remember the aspirant for authorial honors, at Boston, who, over the signature of "P," boldly and publicly accused Mr. Brodhead of "deliberate and malicious falsehood," when that distinguished scholar stated, before the New York Historical Society and in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, that, in the days of the Puritan fathers of Massachusetts, only members of the established Church of the Colony were allowed to vote for public officers and on the public business; and they will not forget, too, the response which was made to that impudent allegation, by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, in its widely read exposition—II., i., 176–178—of *How they put things in Boston.*

Others of our readers will remember, also, the unprincipled misrepresentation of the Colony which, in 1607, under Chief-justice Popham, was planted at Sagadahoc, in Maine, which, soon after the assault on Mr. Brodhead, proceeded from the latitude of the Athenæum in Boston—HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, II., i., 184–187—and all will remember the barefaced attempt which was made, in the same vicinity, at a still later day, to fasten on the uncertain pen of an ILLITERATE carpenter, in Woburn, the authorship of *The Wonder working Providence*, with a hope, thereby, to detract from the merit of Gorges and to inflict a blow on the supporters of Maine's claims to priority of settlement, which only a willing bearer of false testimony would have attempted to inflict on any one.

The aspirations of "P" to become famous, where so many were famous before him, found little favor, however, in Beacon-street, Boston; and "P" subsided and, soon after, was seen in Boston no longer—Boston has, since, recovered her breath, notwithstanding he has left her, and

Maine still lives; while only "P" has yet discovered—if, indeed, he has—that J. Romeyn Brodhead was a falsifier of the records of any Colony and unworthy of credit, and that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE was only an organ of rebels.

We say "P" subsided, soon after his assault on Mr. Brodhead and THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and disappeared. He probably went out to grass, with his shoes off, like other distanced and broken-down hacks of which we have heard; or, like a mammal of another species, he may have dropped below the surface, in order to escape from those who pursued him, and, "down below," awaited a fair opportunity to return, unobserved, and safely blow again. Whatever was the cause of his long silence, "P" has been silent, we believe, since 1867, until, last November, he thrust his head above water again, in Cincinnati.

In the beautiful volume before us, the discomfited traducer of better men and the manufacturer of bogus historians—"good enough Morgans until after the election"—to whom we have referred, has again emerged from his authorial obscurity, in order to tell the world what he had told the Literary Club, concerning *Anti-Slavery Opinions before the Year 1800.* He had discovered an old tract, in which, under the date of 1793, some anti-slavery opinions were declared; and he must needs make a noise about it, as if it were something wonderful. He had learned, also, that a Convention of Abolition Societies was held, at Philadelphia, on the following New Year's day—news that are too stale to be regarded as noteworthy, by any one who pretends to any knowledge whatever of the anti-slavery movement—and he must needs fly into print, as if he had discovered another Continent. He had read Mr. Moore's *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* and talked with its author—which was no great feat, since both are perfectly accessible to every body—and he had learned, from *those sources*, that there were "anti-slavery opinions," before 1800, in various quarters; and he must needs repeat the oft-told and better-told story. In short, he evidently supposed that Western men and Western women needed light on the anti-slavery movement, prior to 1800—which is not impossible—and he impudently thrust before them, instead, a trashy re-hash of what Mr. Moore had already published, *in extenso*, with a flourish of trumpets about an old pamphlet of 1793, which all the anti-slavery men in Boston had seen and, very sensibly, considered unworthy of special notice. If the West asked bread, Mr. Poole has given them a stone; and nothing but an undue thirst for notoriety, at any cost, could have called forth so bald an imposition.

But there is yet another feature of the subject which deserves attention. This Oration of which Mr. Poole says so much, was delivered on the fourth of July, 1791; was very coldly received by the Society before whom it was delivered, as the Resolutions of the Society on the subject clearly indicate; and was not printed until 1793—two years afterwards—nor then by the Society nor in Maryland, but by somebody else—probably by the author of it, himself—and in a distant State.

If the Oration possessed as much novelty as Mr. Poole is inclined to assume for it, will he oblige the world by just finding the evidence of it, either in the Resolutions of the Society, concerning it, or anywhere else? Will he just show that anybody besides himself has ever discovered anything, either in the Oration or the delivery of it, which was very startling or productive of even a ripple in the current of events in Maryland? Let him try his hand at the job; and then we shall see how much or how little credit he is entitled to, and how much of the elegant typography which his publishers have so generously lavished on his bantling, that bantling really merits.

The truth is, Mr. Poole has found a community, in the great West, where, he supposes, he can spread himself and his shallowness, with a better prospect of success, than he can in Boston or New York; and he has made the impudent attempt. The superlative littleness of the poor fellow's supply of historical knowledge and capacity to acquire it is seen, however, on every page of his volume; and if, with this evidence before it, Cincinnati does not very soon take the full measure of the man, as Boston did, and put the proper estimate on both him and his capabilities, also as Boston did, that intelligent community has been very much over-estimated for shrewdness and is a fit subject for imposition.

With "the Ohio Valley Press" to help him, Mr. Poole has certainly turned out a handsome volume; and there the merit of the thing begins and ends.

18.—*Boston Illustrated*. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. Square octavo, pp. 124, 44.

Strangers' New Guide through Boston and its vicinity. A Supplement given away with *Boston Illustrated*. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. Square octavo, pp. 32.

This, we believe, is the last-published hand-book of the city of Boston and its vicinity; and, unquestionably, it is one of the handsomest—indeed, we do not think that, as a specimen of handsome book-making, for general use, it can be excelled.

As a very important Boston "local," the attention of our readers who collect such works, is called to it.

14.—*The Foreigner in Far Cathay*. By W. H. Medhurst, H. B. M. Consul, Shanghai. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. vi., 304.

This is, certainly, a very out-spoken work on the real character of the Chinese, in China; and it, certainly, grapples with the story-tellers, concerning that remarkable people, with a boldness which is really interesting, because it carries with it an air of candor and fidelity to the truth, which is as unusual as it is useful. Such works will do good service in leading to a better understanding of our "coming man;" and prepare us to receive him and his political power with becoming humility, whenever he shall assert his "equality before the law," in the imperial West.

The volume is a very neat one.

15.—*Memoir of Ulric Dahlgren*. By his father, Rear-admiral Dahlgren. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 308.

A memoir of Colonel Dahlgren by his father may be very accurate, as far as dates go; but it cannot be supposed to be very impartial. The volume before us, therefore, is little better than an eulogy; and, as far as our judgment is concerned, it possesses little value, either as a faithful biography or as material for history.

There is no doubt that Ulric Dahlgren was a very dutiful son, a very gallant soldier, and a very estimable young man; but it is quite as true, notwithstanding Admiral Dahlgren has not told it, that he was visionary, rash, and indiscreet. As we happen to know from one of the most distinguished of them—who is, also, a valued friend of our own—he was urged, by his best friends, to remain in camp, not only because of the utopian character of the proposed enterprise, but because of his own physical disability to withstand the fatigue which it would necessarily impose upon him. But, with the rashness—the recklessness we might say—of unbridled youth, he preferred to seek death in that way; and he found it. He drew the sword, and he died by the sword; and all that the Admiral has said of *assassination*, in his death, is mere clap-trap, unworthy of the pen of one who was, himself, of the profession of arms. Of the robbery of his ring, no honorable man, anywhere, will say a word of apology or withhold a word of unalloyed censure; but War is barbarism, at best, and barbarians are not to be counted as Christians, in such cases.

The Admiral affects, too, to despise the papers which were taken from Colonel Dahlgren's body—those which indicated what were those "certain purposes" (carefully concealed on page 210) for which his command of picked men was detached from the main body engaged in

the raid. But the story of those papers is too plainly told by the papers themselves, as they have been carefully presented to the world, in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for December, 1869, and April, 1870, by General Fitzhugh Lee, to be thus waived out of sight by a motion of the Admiral's pen; and if he were only aware of the fact that his own words, in this volume, serve only to strengthen the condemnation of his son which those papers indicated, he would have said less on that subject and more on some others.

There is little doubt that Colonel Dahlgren was wronged, while he was engaged in that rash adventure, where Death overtook him; but the wrong-doer who most deserved the name, was he who led him into danger and then abandoned him. If his own countrymen and associates in arms thus maltreated him, what might an armed enemy, in time of war, in the enemy's own country, be expected to do for him, but to cut him down? And if that enemy—whom he would himself have cut down had he enjoyed an opportunity to do so—is to be charged with "assassination" because of his employment of the better opportunity which he enjoyed, what is to be the measure of condemnation, in the minds of honest men, every where—none the less, too, because the Admiral is silent on that subject—of him whose duty it was to cover the retreat of Colonel Dahlgren from the danger into which he had rashly thrust himself, but who ran away without doing so, and left the stripling and his command to be destroyed?

But we have said enough. As an eulogy, we have no objection to this volume: as either biography or history, it is simply unworthy of the dignity which attaches to those subjects.

The typography of the volume is excellent, as are all the works bearing the imprint of this well known house.

18.—*Oriental and Linguistic Studies. The Veda; the Avesta; the Science of Language.* By William Dwight Whitney. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. vii., 417.

During several years past, Professor Whitney has contributed various papers, on Oriental Literature and the Structure of Language, to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, the *North American Review*, and other periodicals; and it has been considered proper to collect these papers and re-produce them in a volume, for the use of those who are interested in those studies.

The volume is a very handsome one; in the well-known brown binding which this house has made peculiarly its own; and, to a limited number of scholars, it will be very acceptable.

XIV.—CURRENT EVENTS.

DELAWARE BATTLE-FLAGS: THEIR PRESENTATION TO THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

WILMINGTON, DEL., April 22. [*Special Despatch to The Inquirer.*] This evening, the battle-flags of the Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Regiments of Delaware Volunteers were presented to the State Historical Society, at the Grand Opera House, in the presence of the Wilmington Post, Grand Army of the Republic, the Historical Society, and a large audience.

A number of prominent strangers, civil and military, were present, including Major-general W. S. Hancock; General Adam King, Naval Officer at Baltimore; General Harry Bingham, ex-Postmaster of Philadelphia; Doctor S. Emmerman, of Philadelphia; Doctor William Cummings, of Smyrna, Delaware; Alexander Fulton, Esq., of Dover; Colonel J. Hoffman; and others.

The building was well filled, in every part, with the fashionable people of the city, as well as residents from other parts of the State. The stage was beautifully and artistically set with a fine camp view. At eight o'clock, the officers and invited guests filed in upon the stage, while the City Cornet Band played a lively march.

Hon. Willard Hall, ex-Judge of the District Court, and ninety-eight years of age, the President, then assumed his position, in company with Doctor H. F. Asken, Doctor L. P. Bush, and Doctor R. C. Porter, who acted as Vice-presidents. Major-general Hancock, who had been selected to deliver the presentation speech, at this point, appeared upon the stage, accompanied by General Adam E. King, and was received with an outburst of applause.

Immediately following, came the bearers of the bullet-riddled flags; and, taking up a position in the rear of the stage, another round of applause was given by the audience.

The exercises of the evening were opened with an eloquent prayer by Rt. Rev. Bishop Lee, after which letters of regret were read from Governor Dix, Admiral David Porter, Governor Hartranft, Governor Ponder, General O. E. Babcock, Colonel John W. Forney, John H. B. Latrobe, President Maryland Historical Society, John W. Wallace, President Pennsylvania Historical Society, and others.

General Hancock was then introduced, and presented the colors to the Historical Society, in the following speech, during the delivery of which, he was frequently interrupted by applause:

"MR. PRESIDENT: When I look upon these "tattered banners, so gallantly borne by the "Regiments of this State, through the bloodi-

"eat battles of our great War, I feel, very keenly, that lack of eloquence which would enable me, fitly, to express my own emotions, or to portray to this audience the host of glorious memories which they call forth, and which shall cling to them so long as the story of chivalrous courage and duty, nobly done, shall find a place in the records of our nation.

"These flags were borne to the battle-field by men moved by the highest motives of patriotism, by the truest love of country. They fought not for gain, not for conquest, not for military renown, but for the integrity of the Union of these United States, the maintenance and supremacy of the laws and the Constitution, and the existence of the Republic, as a great and honored power among the nations of the earth.

"Animated by these high purposes, they abandoned their peaceful pursuits, and, leaving all that was most dear in life, cheerfully encountered the toil, privations, and dangers of War.

"A vast number did not live to see the end of the prolonged strife; but the honored graves of these attest their fidelity to their country, in her time of need.

"Many others, some of whom are now before me, returned from the field, stricken and maimed by wounds, which tell more forcibly than words, of the manner in which they performed their parts in battle; and here I may state that, during the War, it was my fortune to command a portion of the Delaware troops, and I therefore speak from personal knowledge, when I say that their soldierly conduct and intrepid bearing reflect the highest honor upon their State as well as upon our whole country.

"Many distinguished soldiers of Delaware fell during the War, and the heroic deeds of some of them, are well known to me, from personal observation, as they served in my command. I should like to record, here, the names of those gallant dead; but as I cannot, from lack of accurate data, do this in reference to Regiments not commanded by me, I prefer to specify none, by name, lest I should omit some who could not justly be omitted from such a list.

"These, and many others like them, living and dead, were soldiers of the sternest valor, patriots of the highest type, whose names and fame remain, legacies of glory and honor to the gallant State which sent them forth, to represent her, when her best and bravest were called to the front.

"It is understood that, in some instances, these flags were received by the Delaware troops, from the hands of the fair ladies of the

"State, which fact alone would be a powerful incentive to those chivalrous men, to bear them defiantly where fire was hottest, the contest most deadly; to protect them with their lives; and to return them proudly to their State, with the consciousness that, war-stained, faded, and torn, as they are, they would be treasured among her most precious possessions.

"To the keeping of the Historical Society of the State of Delaware, I am now instructed to confide them, as a proper custodian, feeling well assured that they will be preserved with jealous care; and that, in long years hence, when all now present may have passed away, these honored banners will, by the glorious memories and deeds they symbolize, incite coming generations—should our country again be imperiled by War—to emulate the actions of the men who bore them through the great struggle which called them forth."

William C. Spruance, Esq., then responded, on behalf of the Historical Society.

He reviewed, to some extent, the opening of the War for the Union and the prompt and hearty response that came from Delaware, to the call for men. When the conflict had continued for three years, this little State had eighteen thousand men in the field; during which time, the Legislature of the State was hostile, and never appropriated a dollar towards the common cause, while the Executive manifested the same spirit, except when Governor Connor was in the chair. Those flags have been rent by the bullets on many a fiercely contested field; and, at Spottsylvania, the colors of the Second Regiment were taken by the enemy, but recaptured.

The speaker called to mind several other instances of the bravery of the Delaware troops, and concluded as follows:

"We will keep these banners with tender care; and, when time shall have destroyed all that the storms of battle have left, the story of the dead and their achievements will be read by generations yet unborn."

General Adam E. King was then introduced, and delivered a stirring and patriotic speech, which provoked several hearty rounds of applause.

General Hofmann, of Maryland, followed, with an address; and General Henry H. Bingham, of Philadelphia, concluded the exercises, with a brief speech.

The guests then marched to the Clayton House, where they were entertained by a grand banquet, tendered by the Historical Society of Delaware.—*Philadelphia Inquirer*.

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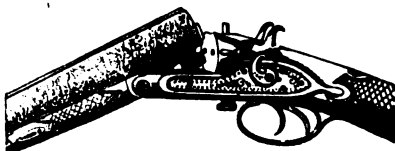
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United States Circuit Court, for
the Southern District
of New York.**

Hon. Judges NELSON and SHIPMAN, Presiding,

Reported by A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,

And corrected by the Counsel.

OCTAVO pp. cxi, 385. NEW YORK, 1862.

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other work have those principles been so thoroughly or so ably discussed.
The arguments of Counsel, both those for the United States and those for the prisoners, and
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THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,
AND
NOTES AND QUERIES.
CONCERNING THE
ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY
OF
AMERICA.

VOL. II. THIRD SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.
HENRY B. DAWSON.
1878.

PREFATORY

After a long and tedious delay, arising, primarily, from the inability to present to the readers of the Magazine the contents which we had intended, and we do so with unusual pleasure, both because of the interest of the subject and of the promise which we have of opening the minds of our readers to a new and more extensive field of knowledge than they have ever before enjoyed.

We thank our readers for their indulgence, and continued support ; and we promise, as far as our impaired health will permit, to make the Magazine more acceptable than it has hitherto been.

MORRISANIA, June 20, 1874.

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CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

July, 1873.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We are obliged to throw ourself on the indulgence of our subscribers, on the matter of the Index of the last volume, which was promised to be sent with this number. The making of Indices is a work which has always seriously tried our nervous system; and we have not felt strong enough to complete the same before us, in season for this number, without hazarding too much. We are, however, very anxious to send you the delay until the issue of the August number, and we are confident that it will be complete.

This number contains the second of Major Douglass's Lectures on the War on the Niagara frontier, embracing a graphic description of the Battle of Lunty's Lane, with an elaborate Map. It will also contain a continuation of Mr. Randall's *Reminiscences of Chenango-county, New York*; of General Tuttle's elaborate paper on *The Western States of the Great Valley, and their Prosperity*; and of General Ethan Allen's *Essay on the Universal Plenitude of Being and on the Nature and Immortality of the Human Soul*, together with other historical papers of interest and importance.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. THIRD SERIES.]

JULY, 1873.

[No. 1.]

I.—*REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814, ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.*

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE DAVID B. DOUGLASS, LL.D., FORMERLY CAPTAIN OF ENGINEERS, U. S. A.; COMMUNICATED BY HIS CHILDREN, FOR PUBLICATION IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

[The author of the following Lectures, Major DAVID B. DOUGLASS, was a native of Pompton, New Jersey, where he was born on the twenty-first of March, 1790. He was graduated at Yale-college, in 1813; entered the Army, as Second-lieutenant of Engineers; and was stationed at West Point. In the Summer of 1814, he was ordered to the Niagara frontier, and arrived just in time to take part, as a volunteer, in the Battle of Niagara. In the subsequent defence of Fort Erie, in August and September, he distinguished himself, and was, at once, promoted to a First-lieutenancy, with the brevet rank of Captain.

He was ordered to West Point, on the first of January, 1815, and made Assistant-professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy.

In 1819, he acted, during the Summer recess, as Astronomical Surveyor of the Boundary Commission, from Niagara to Detroit; and, in the Summer of 1820, he accompanied Governor Cass, in a similar capacity, to the Northwest. In August, of the same year, while on this duty, he was promoted to the professorship of Mathematics, in the Military Academy, at West Point, vacant by the death of his father-in-law, Professor Andrew Ellicott, with the rank of Major in the Army. In 1823, he was transferred, at his own desire, to the Professorship of Civil and Military Engineering.

The science of Engineering was then new, in this country; and few great works had been executed. He devoted himself to it, with unsparring energy, and soon acquired a wide reputation. Many advantageous offers were made him; but he chose to remain at West Point. He was, however, employed by the State of Pennsylvania, during the Summer recesses, from 1826 to 1830, as a Consulting Engineer, and charged with the surveys of several of the more difficult parts, in its system of public works.

In 1831, he resigned his professorship, and became Chief Engineer of the Morris Canal, residing in Brooklyn.

In 1832, he was appointed Professor of Civil Architecture, in the new University of the City of New York, and prepared the designs for its building, opposite Washington-square.

HIS MAG. VOL. II. 1.

In June, 1833, he commenced his surveys for the great work of supplying the city of New York with water; and, in November, he submitted his first Report, demonstrating the feasibility of such a supply, and showing how to obtain it, from the Croton-river. He reviewed his surveys, in 1834, and prepared plans and estimates for the city authorities; and, the next Spring, it was determined, by a vote of the citizens, that the aqueduct should be built. Water Commissioners were appointed; and Major Douglass was, at once, elected Chief Engineer, and proceeded to lay out, minutely, the line of the Aqueduct, and to complete his plans. He had accomplished his preliminary work when he was superseded.

In 1839, he planned and laid out Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn.

In 1840, he was elected President of Kenyon-college, Ohio, and removed to Gambler, in the Spring of 1841. He withdrew from this office, in 1844, and returned to the vicinity of New York.

In 1845-6, he laid out the Cemetery, at Albany; and, in 1847, he was employed in developing the landscape features of Staten Island. In 1848, he laid out the Protestant Cemetery, at Quebec; and, in the same year, he was elected Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, in Hobart-college, at Geneva, New York. He accepted the office, and entered upon its duties, in October; and, on the nineteenth of October, 1849, he died.*

These Lectures were prepared with great care and first delivered, in 1840, before the Mercantile Library Association of New York. In the Winter of 1845, after a rigid revision, they were repeated before the Young Men's Association, at Albany; and, afterwards, at the request of "numerous members of both branches of the Legislature," they were again delivered, in the Assembly-chamber, in the Capitol, in the same city. They were also delivered at Troy and at New Haven, during the same Winter. In the early part of 1849, they were delivered at Buffalo; and it is believed that they were read elsewhere, at different times.

The introductory remarks, preceding the first Lecture, varied as the audiences varied; and, sometimes, the locality called out, from the author, some allusion to the past, either of the place or of some of its inhabitants, preliminary to the Lecture itself. The particular "Introduction" which has been employed in this publication is that which was used at New Haven, in the Spring of 1845.

* We are indebted to Appleton's *New American Cyclopaedia* for the above sketch of Major Douglass's life and services.—EDITOR.

It is believed that few papers, concerning the War of 1812, possess greater interest and importance, as material for history, than these Lectures; and it affords us much pleasure that THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE has been permitted to present them to its readers, in the first publication of them.—EDITOR.]

LECTURE FIRST.

At the request of the Managers of the Young Men's Institute, I am to give you, in this and the following Lectures, some account of the military scenes and events of the Campaign of 1814, on the Niagara.

And, in recurring to these reminiscences of my early professional life, I must be permitted, in the outset, to express the deep emotion with which I find myself in the presence of a New Haven audience; for it was here, in this city, in the midst of associations which I dearly love to cherish, that I first conceived the idea of becoming a professional soldier, and received a large portion of the impressions which, whether in that profession or out of it, have given a character and coloring to my whole subsequent life.

It was in the Summer of 1813, during the pendency of the War—those will remember, whose recollections go back to that period. Large armies, drawn from the population of different districts of our country, were in the field; nearly the whole of our immense frontier was the theatre of actual War; the mails were loaded down and the press teemed with the stirring events of both pleasing and painful interest passing around us. A very high degree of military feeling pervaded the whole country. Even this city, threatened with attack from the British Squadron blockading New London and, sometimes, making its appearance further down the Sound, had its *élite* organized for instant service; and the streets wore an appearance not unlike that of a frontier town. It is not surprising that, under such influences, and with a mind naturally predisposed to military enterprise, I should have adopted *that* as the profession of my life.

With an education much superior to that of most aspirants of that period, I aspired, of course, to the higher department of the service—the Corps of Engineers; and my application was so favored, by this circumstance, that, thirty days after I received my degree from President Dwight, in the Church across the Green, I was a Second-Lieutenant of that Corps. Nearly all the events then of which I am to speak, happened within a short year from the termination of my College-life; and, amidst the strange vicissitudes of that eventful year, how often did my thoughts revert back to the quiet retreats of Yale-college, scarcely able, in so

great a change of scene, to realize my own personal identity.

The human race, it has been philosophically remarked, may be regarded, in a certain sense, collectively, as an individual man; having had its infancy, in the early ages of the world; its progress from youth to manhood, marked by the gradual development of its intellectual and moral powers, in after times; and its full maturity consummated, or yet to be consummated, at some later period. Whether the race is destined still to go on, progressively, to some ulterior state of advancement, or, like its parallel, in human life, to sink, back again, through the phases of a descending scale, to a second childhood; and whether, in the latter case, it has, or has not, yet passed its grand climacteric, are questions which time only can solve. The analogy might not hold good, in every particular, and yet be true and instructive, as undoubtedly it is, in the main.

But there is another and more obvious application of the same idea, not to the race, collectively, but to the particular States and Nations into which it has been distributed. This is a most natural thought. The mind, of its own accord, and almost without any external suggestion, invests Nations with the attributes of individual and personal character. We trace the time and circumstances of their birth; we follow them, in their growth and progress, from the weakness and imbecility of infancy, to the strength and vigor of mature age; we contemplate their gradual improvement in knowledge, refinement, letters, and the liberal arts; we discriminate among them, as among individuals, diversities of character; and we are not slow in detecting those particularities of circumstance and condition which may have operated in producing those diversities. Finally, we follow those that have passed it, through the period of their greatest development; and, finally, too, through the successive stages of the inverted series of their decline and fall; and only turn from the contemplation, at last, when, as in the case of individuals, passed from the stage of life, the places which once knew them know them no more.

Regarding, in this aspect, the individuality of the social and political state, it follows, naturally—and history abundantly sustains it, as part of the constitution of things in which we live—that nations, like individuals, are here in a disciplinary state. In the earlier periods of their existence, they are, as it were, in the hands, and sometimes under the rod, of the school-master, receiving, in some sense, for good or for evil, an education; having before them opportunities, to be improved or neglected, for the culture of the powers and susceptibilities

of the common mind; for the cultivation of right moral impulses—right practical habits; and, in short, for the formation of a moral and intellectual character, suited to the responsibilities and dignity of after life. Even at mature age, instruction is not discontinued. The whole of the life of an individual man is but an education; and a Nation, with its own experience and the experience of other nations to guide, instruct, reprove, and warn, can never be without something to learn. Nor can such lessons be neglected, nor such opportunities abused, with impunity, any more by nations than by individuals. The retributions of the former are, indeed, temporal, but not, therefore, the less certain.

The interest of these remarks, on the present occasion, arises from their application to our own particular circumstances, as a nation. In the scale of history, we have passed but a very brief period since the beginning of our political existence—not more than sufficient, ordinarily, to have brought us across the threshold of our pupilage—and yet we are already filling no inconsiderable place in the community of nations. This rapid acquisition of power, station, and influence suggests a peculiar necessity for our looking well to our ways, and treasuring up, only the more carefully, the fruits of our past experience, for our guidance in future. And yet it is to be feared that, like other children of prosperity, we are more inclined to exult in the brilliancy of our success than to draw a moral lesson from it—like them, too apt, in the ardor of our pursuit of what is present and future, to forget what is past. A single fact in connection with the subject matter of which I am to speak, will illustrate the truth of this remark.

A few years since, I was requested by an institution, in the city of New York, to throw together, in the form of a Lecture, my personal reminiscences of the Niagara Campaign. As I was very young, at the epoch of that Campaign, I naturally looked around, with a view to meet this request, for such documents and memoirs as, it was reasonable to believe, had been published on the subject; and, to my amazement, I found none—except the brief and hasty despatches of the different commanders, written at the moment, there was nothing. Not only the Niagara Campaign, but the whole War—I speak of its *military* events—was already passed, or rapidly passing, into oblivion, except to those who had been personally connected with it. To myself, the events of the Niagara Campaign were, generally, very familiar; but, having derived my knowledge of them from my participation in them and my personal intercourse with my brother officers, I was not,

until I made the inquiry, aware how very great was the deficiency of historic records to the world at large.

Surely there was something wrong here: there must have been some defect, either of national feeling or of historic interest, to account for such a deficiency. The War was not a small one. It was fought against one of the most powerful nations on the globe; it occupied three Campaigns; it called forth the active energies of the whole country; and led to the organization of our whole inland and maritime frontier. Military operations of great scope and compass were embraced in it; many desperate battles fought—sometimes attended with defeat, it is true, but not the less valuable and instructive, as matter of experience, on that account; while, on the other hand, there was no inconsiderable number of contests well sustained, and some fairly to be claimed as victories gained.

There was surely no lack of interest in the subject; and yet, after an interval of thirty years, no historian had been found to record these events, either for the honor of the country or its guidance in a future War. Even the Regiments which fought on our side had been dismembered, broken up, and scattered, and the record of their respective achievements utterly lost; while those that fought against us had been enriched with every species of armorial honor; and, even to this hour, in every part of the world where they appear, to be quartered, they are paraded under the historic memorials of our NIAGARA, our FORT ERIE, our PLATTSBURG, and our BALTIMORE, in common with those of VITTORIA, SALAMANCA, and the PYRENEES.

There are some, perhaps, who find an excuse for the indifference, to which I have alluded, in the errors and disasters of the War, as if the national pride might be wounded by an impartial narrative. Such a sentiment has, not unfrequently, been expressed in my hearing; but can it be needful to repel it, on this occasion and before this audience? If it were well-founded, how weak would it be to shut our eyes to the lessons of experience from any consideration of this kind. In the discipline of common life, our most useful lessons are often drawn from our most painful experiences; and, in the complicated operations of War, neither the *esprit de corps* nor the higher tactics are to be acquired without severe conflicts and some humiliating trials of disaster and defeat. If the fact were, indeed, as the objectors represent, it would be the *more* necessary for us to make it matter of history, that we might be guarded against the like disasters, in future—for history is the memory of the State.

But the fact is not so: the early Campaigns of the War were, undoubtedly, disastrous; but could it have been expected otherwise? A Peace, scarcely interrupted for thirty years, had, in a great measure, neutralized the experience acquired in the War of the Revolution; so that we had not only soldiers to raise and train, and stores to provide, but Staff departments, of all kinds, to create; arsenals and depots to organize; frontiers to entrench and fortify; and, above all, to acquire that systematic unity of action, which is indispensable to the success of military operations of the State. These things are the work of much time. A resolve of Congress may call into service a hundred thousand men; and a very short time would suffice, with good drill-masters, to give them elementary discipline. But of what avail would it all be, without the higher discipline and the mature experience necessary to provide for all their multifarious wants and to direct, and move, and marshal, and use them with advantage, at the precise point of time and place, on so vast a field of action as ours? I confess, when I look at the great superiority of our late enemy, in all these respects—his long experience; his habitual and perfect organization; his veteran Battalions, disciplined in the War of the Peninsula, and coming hither, flushed with victory—I am rather astonished that the War was not tenfold more disastrous than it was. Captious criticism may doubtless find errors enough, and the critic may employ himself, if he choose, in magnifying and distorting them; but I defy him to make a case of national dishonor, even if it were admitted that the first two Campaigns were disastrous, when the third found us front to front with those very Battalions, coping with them, with crossed bayonets, in such a strife as that of Lundy's lane.

The history of the War, if written at all, must be written soon, as the time of collecting materials is rapidly passing away. The substantial matter must be drawn chiefly from personal sources; and these, I am grieved to say, are every day becoming fewer and fewer. Even now, I look round me, in vain, for the groups of gallant men with whom it was my privilege to be associated, in the Niagara Army. Of the Engineer Corps of that Army, I am the only survivor; and of the chosen circle, to the number of twenty, from various Corps—kindred spirits, who used, nightly, to assemble at the Engineer mess-room, at Fort Erie—only two or three remain. To my mind's eye, indeed, I find it not difficult to recall, at pleasure, the living, breathing forms and lineaments of my old comrades and friends; but, to my corporal sense, they are gone.*

* In the manuscript, at this place, there is a line of as-

Before speaking of the events of the Niagara Campaign, in particular, I must request of you a moment's attention to some of its external relations; the military attitude of the frontier, at the time it was fought; and the particular train of events which led to its organization.

The political circumstances under which the War was declared involved, as a sort of moral necessity, an imperfect state of preparation, on our part. Whatever may have been the preponderance of public opinion, in its favor, there was, in the differences of political sentiment or in the antagonisms of party, at the time, enough of opposition to defeat any formal measures, in anticipation of it, so long as the chances of its occurrence were only contingent. Even after it became, in the eye of the sagacious and far-reaching statesman, inevitable, the country was slow to realize its approach—slow, even then, to make any prudent preparation for it; nor did they so, in fact, till the question was irretrievably settled by the actual declaration of War. The Rubicon once passed, and all possibility of retreat thus excluded, then, for the first time, seriously and in good earnest, we began the work of preparation.

Our enemy, however, in the mean time, was, by no means, thus dilatory. Greatly our superior, then, at least, in the personal organization and discipline of his forces; more accustomed to the active enterprises of war; and, habitually, more prompt and decisive in all his military movements; he was enabled, while his numbers were yet inconsiderable, to anticipate us, not only in the points of attack, but in the time and mode of the assault. A character was thus given, at the outset, to the military policy of the first two Campaigns. Instead of being active and aggressive, as they were intended to have been, they became eminently *defensive*; and, for a long time, even as late as the middle of the second Campaign, the energies of the country, which should have been directed to a regular systematic invasion of Canada, were almost wholly absorbed in measures for repelling petty partisan attacks.

On the remote North-western frontier, our exposure to this species of warfare was particu-

lar, which indicates the fact that, on the subject last referred to, in the text, Major Douglass was in the habit, while lecturing, of extemporizing further than he wrote.

It is to be regretted, since they are now matter of history, that the portraits of those who were thus assembled, in commands of greater or less importance, on the Niagara frontier, in 1814, as those portraits were thus presented by so capable a hand, have not been preserved for the benefit of those, coming after, who shall incline to the study of the history of that yet unfashionable subject.—
EDITOR.

larly great. The vast border country, on that quarter, was inhabited by numerous and powerful tribes of Indians, through whose territory the jurisdictional limits of the two powers had never been defined, and whose allegiance, in point of fact, had been secured, by a long course of protection and friendly policy, exclusively to the British Government. To overawe these Indians, probably more than to operate extensively upon Canada, at that remote point, the expedition of General Hull had been put in motion, even before the declaration of War; and, having a considerable force of Militia, concentrated at Detroit, soon after that event, it crossed the river and commenced an invasion of Upper Canada, at that point.

The theory of this movement was, undoubtedly, correct; and if its legitimate object had been reached by a reasonable amount of enterprise and skill, in its execution, it would have ensured safety and peace to the scattered frontier settlements, for whose protection it was designed, and put an end to the War, in that quarter. But, unfortunately, in this respect, it was a failure. It retired, timidly, before the first demonstration of hostile force; and the disgraceful capitulation of Detroit, which followed, soon after, placed those settlements in a far worse position than they would have been, if this movement had not been attempted.

The enemy, by this and other advantages obtained, in the same neighborhood, immediately acquired possession of the whole Indian territory, including our own peninsula of Michigan, and, with it, a more unlimited control than ever over its savage population; while we, on our part, were not only thrown upon the defensive, but obliged to marshal our line of defence far within our own territory.

The organization of that defence, on the remote frontier of Ohio, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and discouragement, is one of the brightest passages in the history of the War. In the depth of an inclement Winter, at a distance from any settlement capable of affording aid or supplies, in the presence of an enterprising enemy, crowned with success, hitherto, and daily increasing in force and self-confidence, by the most extraordinary efforts, forts and intrenchments were built; roads opened; troops levied, and brought from remote places into line; and supplies of arms, munitions, and stores collected and transported, hundreds of miles, on pack-horses, through the wilderness. All this done, and, in the short space of two months, such an attitude of defence attained, that the most desperate and determined assaults of the hitherto victorious enemy were wholly unable to make any effective impression upon it. The tide of War, in that quarter, was thus,

at length, turned; and, towards the Summer of the second Campaign, the British Commander, having been foiled, with great loss, in all his attempts upon the positions of his adversary, abandoned further operations, and fell back to Malden and Detroit, to wait the event of the approaching contest on the lake.

On the tenth of September, 1813, was fought the memorable naval-battle of Lake Erie, in which, in the chaste and beautiful language of Commodore Perry's despatch, "It pleased the Almighty to give to the arms of the United States, a signal victory over their enemies on that lake." This event, besides giving us the naval ascendancy on Lake Erie, changed, entirely, the relative situation of the contending parties, on the land. General Harrison, having now no apprehension of danger to his right flank, assumed the offensive and compelled his antagonist, in turn, to retreat. The recapture of Detroit and the capture of the Canadian posts, on the opposite side of the river, was a thing of course; and the complete overthrow of the hostile Army, in the battle of the Moravian towns, in Upper Canada, on the fifth of October, following, restored the Indian tribes to their rightful jurisdiction, and gave a triumphant termination to the Campaign and all further hostilities, on that frontier.

Looking, now, at the corresponding operations, on the lower part of the frontier, we notice, that, while the War of nearly two Campaigns had been thus brought to a successful close, in the Northwest, down to the date of its final and decisive battle in October, no strategical movement, in the proper sense, had taken place on any other part of the line. Troops and levies were collected in considerable numbers, particularly on the Niagara border, in 1812; and, in the latter part of that year, several attempts were made to gain a footing, on the Canada side of the Strait. The assault upon Queenston Heights stands conspicuous among these, as an example of determined bravery, on the part of those engaged in it; but, like all other attempts of the like kind, it was ultimately unsuccessful; and the Campaign closed without any advantage really gained in the prosecution of the War, and without any movement of a more general character.

The commencement of the year 1813, found a naval armament organized on Lake Ontario, and a large land force, of different arms, collected at Sackett's-harbor; and, in the month of April, of that year, a combined expedition of land and naval force was fitted out and directed against the post and depot of Little York, the seat of government of Upper Canada. The capture of this post was effected in the face of a strong force, though not without severe loss;

and, the works and stores being destroyed, the expedition united with the troops at Fort Niagara, and, with them, made a forcible descent upon the peninsula of Upper Canada, at that point. The British forts were captured, on the twenty-seventh of May, and a large American force took possession of the country, in advance of Fort George; but, as the opposing Army was strongly reinforced, about the same time, they failed of accomplishing any ulterior aim, and merely occupied their intrenched camp, at Fort George, through the Summer.

This expedition, from its imposing character, in point of force, the range of its operations, and the success of its *first* enterprises, may be considered an interesting episode to the Campaign of 1818, and, doubtless, had some influence, at first, upon the tone of public opinion; but, as it seems to have had no manifest reference to the systematic prosecution of the War, and really made no essential change in the relation of the belligerent parties, I have not considered it an exception to the remark, heretofore made, although it occurred before the termination of General Harrison's Campaign. In the eye of strict military criticism, it must be regarded as a desultory operation, however distinguished it may have been, in examples of courage, discipline, and personal achievement.

Of a very different character, however, in its design, as well as in the force organized for its accomplishment, was the expedition set on foot, towards the close of this Campaign, for the invasion of Lower Canada and the capture of Montreal. According to the project of that expedition, two Armies, taking their departures, respectively, from Sackett's-harbor and Plattsburg—one near the outlet of Lake Ontario, and the other at the nearest adjacent point of Lake Champlain—were to advance to a common point, on the St. Lawrence, at some distance above Montreal, and, there, unite, and proceed, with great force and promptness, to the ultimate object of the expedition—the occupation of Montreal.

The command-in-chief, on the Canada frontier, had recently been assigned to General Wilkinson, whose long experience in service was thought to give him a claim to this distinction; and, by him, the organization and movement, at Sackett's harbor, was personally superintended; while to General Hampton, another officer of the old Army, were assigned the corresponding arrangements of the Plattsburg Division.

Towards the latter part of the month of October, the Sackett's-harbor column, strengthened by the junction of the Niagara Army and the disposable force, from all the intervening posts,

to the number of about seven thousand men, was organized and equipped with means of transport, for the descent of the St. Lawrence; and, on the twenty-fifth of that month, it was accordingly put in motion. The descent of the river, although opposed, of course, by every means which the enemy could bring to bear upon it, appears to have been well ordered and, for the most part, skillfully managed; and, although the flanking parties and guards were frequently engaged in skirmishes requiring strong reinforcements—in one instance amounting to a pitched battle—the main body of the Army succeeded, without serious loss, in passing all the garrisons and strong places of the route; and, on the eleventh of November, reached a point, near St. Regis, at which the co-operation of the right column was expected to commence.

The movements of that column, in the mean time, having converged to within seventy or eighty miles of the point of junction, had been suddenly suspended by its General, on the ground that the aggregate of stores and supplies, in the two Armies, would not be sufficient for the subsistence of the whole, in the meditated enterprise; and, without awaiting further orders, after stating this opinion, the column was immediately put upon a retrograde march, and conducted back to Plattsburg. The Commander-in-chief being thus deprived of the expected co-operation, after counseling with his officers, abandoned the attack upon Montreal, and retired into Winter-quarters, at French Mills; and the expedition, upon which so much labor and means had been expended, and from which a decisive result had been so confidently expected, was thus terminated, by causes within ourselves, in utter failure and defeat.

It would not be consistent with the object of this brief outline, to assign the responsibilities or to analyze the delinquency of the parties in this extraordinary failure. It would be impossible, however, for any well-regulated mind to contemplate, without repugnance, the breach of military subordination, if not the culpable negligence, connected with it; nor is it very easy to account for their occurrence, except with a knowledge of the fact—which ought, doubtless, to have been previously considered—that the two Generals were on terms of bitter personal hostility with each other.

It would be difficult for any one, whose personal recollections do not go back to the period of which I am speaking, to realize the feeling of disappointment and regret which came over the country, by reason of this failure.

Two seasons of the War had transpired, not inactively, but without any direct tangible result tending towards its termination; the

public mind, naturally becoming impatient and dissatisfied under these circumstances, had caught, with avidity, the first development of the present enterprise, and watched it with no common interest, as it advanced. In proportion as it seemed to approach its object, expectation became more and more intense; and when, at last, in direct opposition to the popular assurance of its success, the news of its failure arrived, and when it was found that the elements of this failure were among ourselves, the state of public feeling can better be conceived than described. Investigations and Courts Martial were, of course, instituted, and a long series of recriminations, fruitful in nothing but bad feeling and personality, ensued; but, as they are irrelevant to the present occasion, we pass them without further notice. The public mind, indeed, had scarcely time to dwell upon them, before it was diverted to a new train of events, on the Niagara frontier.

The military occupation of that frontier, in the early part of the Campaign, had naturally led to the formation of a strong opposing Corps, on the part of the enemy; and a portion of that Corps remained, after our troops, except garrisons in the forts, had been withdrawn. These garrisons were composed chiefly of levies and volunteers, engaged for various and uncertain periods; and not being always regularly replaced, as their times expired, the aggregate strength gradually diminished, until it became necessary, at last, to abandon the forts on the British side. In doing this, the commanding officer, under a mistaken apprehension of his orders, set fire to and destroyed the neighboring village of Newark; and, in this inconsiderate and unjustifiable act, as it gave a pretext for a barbarous and inhuman retaliation, originated, as we shall see, the Niagara Campaign and, to a very considerable extent, the subsequent policy of the whole Canada War.

The act was promptly disavowed by the superior authority, and by the Government; but the disclaimer seems to have had no effect in allaying the feeling of hostility which had been kindled; and, unfortunately, the occasion of retaliation was not long in presenting itself. The evacuation of Fort George took place on the tenth of December, Fort Niagara being left, with a moderate garrison, at the same time, without any apprehension of immediate danger. On the nineteenth of the month, however, a strong detachment of the enemy, under cover of night, and presuming, doubtless, upon the assurance of security, on our part, crossed the river, near Lewiston; approached the fort, without opposition; and took it, by surprise, after a short conflict. Large bodies of Indians and Volunteers crossed, immediately after, and com-

menced, at Lewiston and Youngstown, the work of devastation; and, before the end of the month, the whole line of the frontier, from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, was, in the hands of these marauders, a scene of indiscriminate conflagration and cruelty.

Such was the melancholy termination of the eventful and varied year of 1813. And, having followed the main line of its military policy, without regard to incidental events, I shall recapitulate the condition in which it left the different portions of the frontier, as follows: The North-western wilderness, with its Indian hordes subdued and held firmly in check by the decisive victories of General Harrison and the triumph on Lake Erie; the North-eastern border, nearly as at the beginning of the Campaign, except a much larger force in the field, a higher state of discipline and *esprit de corps*, and some experience in the more difficult sciences of military administration and the tactics of Campaigns: between these extremes, the Niagara frontier had been snatched, momentarily, from us and desolated with fire and sword.

With these preliminaries, we may now approach the Campaign of 1814, prepared to appreciate the circumstances under which the Niagara portion of it was planned, organized, and executed. The cruel barbarity which had been introduced, on that frontier—repugnant to common humanity, as to the laws and usages of all civilized warfare—the individual injury sustained, in person and property, by thousands of unoffending and peaceful citizens; and the general feeling of insecurity and alarm, created along the whole New York frontier, rendered it imperative upon the Government that some measure of reparation should be adopted, without delay—not, indeed, to retaliate outrage with outrage; but, on the contrary, to put an end to this miserable strife; to re-assert the rights of humanity, in the conduct of the War; and to give to the peaceful citizen some assurance of domestic safety and protection. Thus much was required in the cause of humanity; but there were other considerations also to be regarded, in the organization of that Campaign. It was of no small consequence, in a military sense, to re-occupy the captured posts, particularly Fort Niagara, at all hazards. The attempt to do this would, of course, operate as a *diversion* in drawing the troops of the enemy from his positions, below; and, when the time for taking advantage of that diversion should come, experience had shown how easy it would be, by a proper concert of action between the land and naval forces—we having possession of the lake—to snatch away the Division thus employed, on the Niagara frontier, and use it in a

combined attack upon Kingston and Prescott. And this was the theory of the Niagara Campaign: Firstly, to re-occupy that frontier, in force; Secondly, to divert the enemy from his lower posts; and, Thirdly, to be in a position, if necessary, to take advantage of that diversion, whenever the time should arrive or the occasion offer for so doing.

The first suggestion of these considerations appears to have come, on the spur of the occasion, from the Executive of New York. Addressing the Secretary of War, on the second of January, immediately after the news of the Niagara outrages reached him, and in anticipation of others, of the same kind, Governor Tompkins thus wrote: "To counteract these Winter expeditions of the enemy, it will be indispensable that our Army be in motion. I would throw out for consideration, whether the whole force at French Mills and Plattsburg ought not to be removed to Ogdensburg or Sackett's harbor, and, acting in concert with the force at the latter place, attack Prescott or Kingston; or whether, if that be deemed impracticable, twenty-five hundred of the Army cannot be conveyed to the Niagara frontier, and, with the Militia and Volunteers—I pledge myself there shall be five thousand Volunteers, provided the above number of Regulars be associated with them—make a diversion from Kingston and Prescott, whilst the residue of the Army, with Commodore Chauncey's force, assails one of those places."

The last of these suggestions was adopted, and began immediately to be acted upon, by the Secretary of War. General Scott, then a Colonel, but, soon after, promoted to a Brigadier, was first put under orders, and, within thirty days after the burning of Buffalo, had already commenced the formation of a Corps for that frontier. General Brown was simultaneously detached from French Mills, with a force of two thousand Infantry and a proportionate Corps of Artillery, to reach Sackett's-harbor, by a forced march, in the depth of Winter, and, afterwards, to proceed also to the same scene of action. Other officers of distinguished merit and gallantry were understood to be detailed for that service; and the report soon became current, in the circles of the Army, that a strong corps of picked troops was to be formed, on this frontier, under the command of Major-general Brown, seconded by General Scott and others of the same stamp, to be employed in the recapture of the forts, and such other active enterprises as the fortune of War might place within its reach.

The expectation that the capture of Fort Niagara would require the operations of a regular siege, bringing into use the arm of Engineering, in its most important and responsible character

—an opportunity seldom enjoyed in our service—created no little interest among the officers of Engineers to whom it became known; and, when it was further rumored that two of the most eminent and distinguished members of that Corps—Major, afterwards Colonel, McRee, and Brevet Major Wood—were to be included in the detail, for this high duty, the desire to participate in it, so far as the circumstances became known, was intense.

During the pendency of these interesting movements, in the latter part of the month of January and the beginning of February, it was my peculiar good fortune to enjoy the society and friendship of the last-mentioned officer, at West Point, he having just returned, with great éclat, from the scenes of the North-western Campaign; and I, a junior Subaltern of Engineers, preparing myself, by study and military exercises, for active duties to come.

West Point was not, then, as it now is, during the Winter, a place of studious enterprise and zeal to an organized Corps of Cadets. The Corps, authorized by the law of 1812, had not yet come into being; and to the few Cadets, previously attached, the Winter was a season of relaxation; and most of them were absent, in vacation, at the time here referred to.

The chief importance of the post arose from its being the rendezvous and, generally, the head-quarters of the Corps of Engineers; and there was a garrison of soldiers, enlisted expressly for that branch of service, called the Company of "Bombardiers, Sappers, and Miners," the command of which, for the time being, had been assigned to me.

The obvious relation between the duty and discipline of this Company and the chief anticipated enterprise of the Niagara Campaign naturally suggested its designation as an appendage to that Army. At all events, it was permitted me to enjoy the assurance that I should be included in the detail for that Corps; and, from that time forth, until the departure of my gallant friend, it was our custom to occupy the disposable part of every day, and often whole nights, in analyzing the events of the preceding Campaign or in developing, with as much minuteness as the case admitted, the anticipated plans and operations of that to come.

I am somewhat particular, in making these statements, to repel an assertion which has found a place in some of the memoirs of that period: viz.: that the Order, given in March, to General Brown, to proceed to and operate upon the Niagara frontier, was intended and indicated as a *feint*, but, being misunderstood, in that sense, by the General, the Campaign, with all its hard-fought battles, was entirely the result of this paltry mistake.

I do not pretend to know what may have transpired between General Brown and the Secretary of War—it is but hypothetically set forth, in the statement referred to—but it does not appear, even from that statement, that he transcended the discretion committed to him; and that there was no great mistake—on the contrary, that he acted in conformity with a settled plan—I am constrained, implicitly, to believe from the evidence already in part adduced. As early as the first of February, before General Brown could have left French Mills, it was known, at West Point, through the correspondence of Major Wood, the substance of which was communicated to me, at the time, not only that such a Campaign as I have described was to be organized, but that General Brown was to be its commander. The selection was a very natural and proper one. General Brown had commanded the elite of the Army—the special Corps selected for its protection in the descent of the St. Lawrence, the preceding Autumn—had gained a character in the discharge of that duty; was altogether a popular General: at all events, the fact of his being selected must have been settled, somewhere, to have been spoken of, as it was, at that time; and it is not easy to perceive, in consistency with this conclusion, how the Campaign could, in any respect, have been the result of a misapprehension of orders, in the month of March following. But I return to my narrative.

On the twelfth of February, my friend, Colonel Wood, left West Point, and repaired, first to Albany and then to Canandaigua, to take part in the preparatory arrangements for the Campaign. On the twenty-first, in a letter written, at the moment of his departure from Albany, he alluded to the subject, in the following terms: "A train of field-artillery has already left this, for the Niagara frontier, and it is expected that a Battery train will immediately follow, for the same destination; so you can form your own opinion as to the nature and extent of the meditated operations. It is now, more than ever, probable that your services, as an Engineer in the field, will soon be required. Governor Tompkins tells me that a large force of Militia is already collected at Eleven Mile-creek; and that other troops are soon to join the Army, near Buffalo. I hope we shall be able to do something for the honor of the service, in the Spring."

From the date of this letter, as the Spring advanced, troops, of all descriptions, for the new Army Corps, were in rapid motion towards the scene of its contemplated action; and Buffalo, or rather the site where Buffalo had been, being the place of rendezvous, soon put off its aspect of desolation, and became an animated scene of the most active and busy preparation. The Reg-

ular troops, as they arrived, were organized into two Brigades, under Generals Scott and Ripley. The Militia and Volunteers of New York and Pennsylvania, under General Porter, formed another Brigade. A fine Battalion of Artillery and battery-train, placed under the command of Major Hindman, with a detachment of Cavalry, under Captain Harris, completed the active force. To these were added a Corps of Engineers, and the various departments—Adjutant's, Quarter-master's, Inspector's, Commissary's, and Medical—of a General Staff; and the whole, as it began to assume an air of organization, was designated the Second Division, or left wing, of the Northern Army. In the mean time, stores, munitions, and equipments were also collected; vehicles and other transports provided; and all the means and appliances of an active and vigorous Campaign gradually, but steadily, tended to their completion.

Long before they were completed, in fact, however, the troops, as they came in, had been formed into a Camp of Instruction, and put upon a rigorous system of drills and field-exercises, calculated to develope, at the eve of its requirement, the full extent of their powers as a fighting Corps. Since the days of the Revolution, our country had probably never seen a more thorough and efficient drill than that here spoken of; nor have the immediate benefits of such discipline been often more conspicuously manifest. Even the Militia levies, under the influence of its example, participated eminently in its good effects, and showed, on various occasions, during the Campaign, a coolness and intrepidity worthy of veteran soldiers.

The difference, I may remark, in passing, between soldiers and Militia—I use the term in no individual sense—does not consist, as many are apt to imagine, in the better acquaintance of the former with the movements and evolutions of War; nor yet in their greater familiarity with danger—still less in a higher degree of personal courage, for, in this respect, the advantage may be, and often is, on the side of the Militia-man—but in *this*, that the Militia-man, however courageous he may be, individually, has not learned to depend upon the courage and firmness of those around him. He has no practical experience that A. B. and C., on his right and left, will not run off and leave him alone, the moment any very imminent danger threatens; and, although, perhaps, not very easily alarmed, when he measures the immense disparity of force between the enemy's column and himself, alone, he, at once and very naturally, decides that *discretion is the better part of valor*.

The disciplined soldier, on the other hand, has been trained and drilled, shoulder to shoulder, with his fellows; and he has merged his indi-

viduality—incorporated himself, as it were—in the Corps of which he is a member. For himself, in particular, when danger impends, he has, comparatively no consideration: it is his Regiment, not himself, that is to cope with it; and he feels that the firm sinews and stout hearts around him, blended, as it were, into one personality and animated by one spirit, are not to be moved by a sense of danger.

The effect of discipline then, is to unite and combine the elements of strength into a mass; and the relative firmness of an undisciplined and disciplined soldiery may be likened to that of a vast number of threads or fibres which, when loose and unequally strained, are broken, one by one, with the slightest weight; but, when twisted into a firm compact cable, may almost defy the utmost stretch of human power to sever it.

It was a kind Providence that put it into the hearts of our Generals, thus to train and discipline that Army, in anticipation of the approaching contest; for if we regard, now, the note of preparation, on the other side, we shall find a force converging to the same frontier, which will presently put their discipline and firmness to the test.

You remember that, previous to the year 1814, Great Britain had sustained the War in Canada simultaneously with her vast military operations on the Continent of Europe; but that the pacification of Europe, in the early part of that year, putting an end to those operations, enabled her to withdraw a portion of the force, thus employed, and direct it against us.

Early in the month of May, the advance of these reinforcements, having been embarked directly from Bordeaux, began to arrive in Canada; and, by the opening of the Niagara Campaign, several Regiments of these and other veteran troops, relieved from duty in the lower Provinces, were in rapid movement towards the frontier. The possession of Fort Niagara, the successful incursion of the preceding Winter, and the consequent depopulation of that border, naturally suggested it as a vulnerable point, proper for the commencement of a more formidable invasion; and such would, undoubtedly, have been the policy of the enemy, had the frontier been found unoccupied in force, or less obstinately contested than it was.

Such are the reflections suggested by the state of things, in the early part of the month of June. The opening of the Campaign was then daily expected; and, in the retirement of West Point—not yet having received my orders—I began to fear that my anticipations of service, in that quarter, were not to be realized. At length, however, after a long and tedious interval, on the sixteenth of that month, they came to hand;

and I was directed to proceed, forthwith, with the Company under my command, and join the North-western Army, under Major-general Brown.

The Company was taken entirely by surprise. The intended movement had been carefully concealed from them, lest some traverse interest should be made to prevent the issuing of the Order. It did operate rather hardly upon them. They had been recruited under an impression, totally unauthorized, that they would remain, permanently, at West Point; some of them, it turned out, had even enlisted to avoid Militia draft for the lines; more than half of them were married; and all quietly barracked, at the Point, as they supposed, for the year to come, at least. The Order came among them with the suddenness of a supernatural visitation. But it is due to them to say, that they behaved well, on the occasion. They were, in reality, as fine a set of men as the service could boast; and when recovered from their first surprise, united, with hearty good will, in the arrangements for their departure. Within fifteen minutes after the publication of the Order, I had their knapsacks spread out on Parade, for inspection; and, in little more than an hour, they were drawn up, at the public store, to receive their extra supplies. The Order was published at the drum-head, on the sixteenth, at eleven o'clock; and, on the nineteenth, at evening, all our adieus had been made, and we embarked, under a parting salute, for Albany.*

A slow sailing-craft passage, up the river, delayed us until the twenty-fifth, in leaving Albany; but, after that, our progress, no longer retarded by adverse winds or tides, was steadily forward; and, although the weather was intensely hot and sometimes rainy, we accomplished the march of three hundred and sixty miles, in thirteen marching days. At Canandaigua, on the fifth of July, we met the interesting intelligence that the Army had crossed the strait, on the morning of the third, at day-break; and that Fort Erie had capitulated, with only a slight resistance, immediately after. This report, of course, added new speed to our motion; and every person we met on the road was interrogated, without ceremony, for news. Nothing further of consequence however was obtained, until the morning of the seventh, when the confused rumor of a battle fought, first met us, at Genesee-river. In the course of the day, as we advanced, it became certain that an important

* "At the eve of our departure, I had the happiness to be allowed the companionship of Lieutenant Story, recently appointed in the Corps of Engineers, who had obtained orders attaching him to the Company, and took the field with us."—Major Douglas.

battle had, in fact, been fought on the plains of Chippewa, with a decided advantage, it was said, on our side; and that the Army was already in motion, in pursuit.

We were now rapidly approaching the scene of many and long-cherished anticipations. Another day was to bring us within the sound of the artillery; and the occurrence of these rumors, as we approached—at first, vague; then, more determinate; and, at last, clear and definite on matters of the greatest moment—gave increasing interest, at every step of our progress.

On the ninth of July, at noon, we arrived at Buffalo—not the enterprising, busy metropolis of Western New York, as it now is, spreading its noble avenues, miles in length, on every side, and rearing aloft its stately edifices and glittering domes; but a wide, desolate expanse, with only two small houses visible; a few rude sheds and shanties; a soiled tent, here and there; and, in one or two places, a row of marquees, of a better sort, apparently giving shelter to some wounded men. These were all the habitations, or substitutes for habitations, the place afforded. Half a dozen isolated sentinels were seen on post, keeping guard over as many irregular piles of loose stores and camp-equipage; and the ground, recently occupied by the camp—thick set with rows of measured squares, worn smooth on the surface, and scattered, here and there, with fragments of soldiers' clothes, old belts, and accoutrements, of various kinds—gave an air of desolation to the whole scene, only rendered the more striking by these details; and, in fact, Buffalo, just deserted by the busy groups which had, a few days before, occupied it, was desert and comfortless, beyond any power of mine to describe. The two buildings were, above and below, filled with wounded officers from the Battle of Chippewa; and here, during an hour's halt, under no very pleasing auspices, commenced our intercourse with the realities of War.

We had little time to linger, however. The goal of our present aim was still in advance. The Army was understood to be at Chippewa, eighteen miles down the river; and this further distance was to be accomplished, if possible, before the Company had rest. Here, however, a difficulty occurred, as to the means of transport—every vehicle was in Canada; and our wagons, having been engaged only to Buffalo, refused to cross the river. Persuasions, promises, and threats were exhausted upon them, in vain; and there seemed no alternative but to pitch our camp at Buffalo, for the night. At this stage of our embarrassment, however, it was recollected, fortunately, that a launch, or hulk, of eighteen or twenty tons burden, was laying at Black Rock, two miles below; and thither we accordingly marched, without a moment's delay.

The launch was on shore, at high-water mark, and badly out of repair; but the whole Company were set, immediately, to work; and, after four hours labor, she was placed in the water, at sun-set, apparently almost tight. The Quartermaster furnished us with a pilot; we immediately embarked, with all our establishment of equipage and camp-stores, and committed ourselves to the current of the Niagara, having appointed relays of men to keep the water out of the boat. It soon turned out that our pilot had never been down the river, before, and scarcely knew how to steer a boat. He wished to go down to Chippewa; and thought this a good opportunity.

We knew of no difficulty, however, in navigating the river, except to stop at the proper point; and of this, as the roar of the cataract became audible, we resolved *not to be unmindful*. The night was clear, but dark. We drew cautiously over to the Canada shore, and kept near it, all the way; and, at length, as the increased current indicated our approach to the Rapids, we discovered the lights of the camp, at Chippewa. Some difficulty, encountered in getting round a body of drift wood, at the mouth of the creek, threw us out some distance into the channel, and caused us to drop a little below before we made the shore; but a dozen men leaped into the water, with a line, as soon as we got within their depth; and we were presently brought to, in the still water of the Chippewa. In the mean time, we were challenged by two or three sentinels at once, and a file of men hastily sent to ascertain whom we might be. Satisfied, on that point, however, and report made at Head-quarters, we were welcomed within the cordon of the Army, and made comfortable for the night.

It was just twelve o'clock when our launch was moored; and, within ten minutes from that time, every man, although they had had no refreshment, except a few biscuit, since the preceding morning, was stretched on the ground, or in the boat, fast asleep. Two Staff-officers, at the same time, relinquished to Lieutenant Story and myself what was then deemed the perfection of camp hospitality—to each of us, six feet by one of dry, plank flooring, and an equal area of spread buffalo-skin. It was, indeed, a luxury, though to us not a new one; and, in our duffel cloake—booted and belted—we soon realized the value of it. And such was our first night's lodging in Canada.

With regard to the positions of the Army: it was found that the main body, on the day just preceding our arrival, had moved forward to Queenston; and the troops among whom we had been received at Chippewa, were the New York and Pennsylvania Volunteers, under General Porter. The morning following, therefore,

found my little command again on its feet, with wagons loaded for the remaining march of eight miles to Queenston.

You will judge of the interest which absorbed us, at that time, when I mention that even the great cataract of Niagara, roaring within a few hundred yards of our path, was scarcely an object to be regarded. A brief halt was, indeed, permitted; but scarce a minute allowed for a rapid glance before the drum-taps called every man back to his post; and we were again in full march forward.

But how shall I describe the emotions with which we drank in our first view from Queenston Heights! Standing on the crest of the mountain, near where Brock's monument now stands, the horizon—East, West, and North—was terminated by the silvery surface of Lake Ontario, having its nearest shore in front, about five miles distant. Between that and the foot of the mountain, some three hundred feet below us, lay a varied and beautiful surface of verdure and foliage, intersected by the Niagara-river, running from the abyss of the Rapids, near where we stood, directly out to the lake. But these, beautiful as they were, were not the objects that chiefly engaged our attention. Beneath our feet were a small village and a broad expanse of open plain, adjoining, literally whitened with tents. Long lines of troops were under arms; columns in motion; guards coming in and going out; Divisions of Artillery on drill; videttes of Cavalry at speed; and Aides and Staff-officers, here and there, in earnest movement. There was no great display of gaudy plums or rich trappings; but, in their stead, grey-jackets—close buttoned—plain white belts, steel hilts, and brown muskets; but there were bayonets fixed, and a glance of the eye would show that those boxes were well filled with ball-cartridges. There was an earnestness, and with good reason, for, yonder, in plain sight, are the colors of the enemy waving proudly over the ramparts of Fort Niagara and Fort George; and a straggling ray, now and then reflected, tells of bayonets fixed, there, too. This, then, was no mere parade—no stage play, for effect—it was a simple and sublime reality—IT WAS WAR.

A few minutes only could be spared to enjoy this sublime and thrilling spectacle; and we were again in motion, descending the hill, to mingle in the moving groups, below. As an addition to the force, we were received with open arms; and our personal greetings were no less cordial. While the Company was filing in, its position in line was determined and laid out by the proper officer; and, on the following day, half the battering-train was assigned to the Bombardiers, and was fought by them, afterwards, to the end of the Campaign.

And here, for the present, fearful of having trespassed too far upon your indulgence, I suspend my narrative. But, before I take leave, allow me to deprecate your judgment for having occupied so large a portion of your attention in matters of personal interest, and things relating to myself. I assure you I am not so unaware of the foible, sometimes charged—perhaps justly—upon the dotage of the military profession, as not to have guarded myself, generally, against it. And if I have departed, in some degree, from my customary rule, this evening, it is only in obedience to the suggestion of some of your number, in whose judgment, on such matters, I have more reason to confide than in my own. Thus sanctioned, as I have now explained all the external relations of the Campaign and fairly introduced myself as the narrator, I propose, on another occasion, if it meet your approbation, to give, in a simple narrative, the scenes and events following, as they actually presented themselves or became known to me, at the time, beginning with the Battle of Chippewa, although it occurred a few days before my arrival, and ending with the evacuation of the British lines, before Fort Erie, on the nineteenth of September.

The more I reflect upon the incidents of this period, the more sensible I am that, on the part of the community, at large, they have never been rightly understood or duly appreciated. With the exception of the official dispatches—which are always necessarily hurried and concise—and the communications of a few of the officers, nearly all that has been published, in relation to those events, has, in some way or other, from design or otherwise, done them injustice. The British officers seem more disposed to set a proper value upon them than we, ourselves.

It is much to be desired that some means should be taken to retrieve these events from the untoward influences under which they have hitherto rested; and, in as far as I can be instrumental in doing this, my ardent desire, as a lover of my country and my country's service, will be truly gratified.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO-COUNTY, NEW YORK.

BY S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

I.—INDIAN OCCUPANCY.

At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, less than a century ago, the entire white population of the State of New York, did not

much exceed two hundred thousand, chiefly occupying the Counties situated immediately on the Hudson and Mohawk-rivers. The vast region West, South-west, and South of Albany, now comprising thirty of the sixty Counties of the State, with an aggregate population of a million and a half, was roamed over by the Indian tribes of the Iroquois, consisting of the Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, comprising a nomadic population of about one hundred thousand, with twenty-five or thirty thousand warriors, having their principal head-quarters in the vicinity of the central lakes, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca.

That portion of this great Confederacy, which were found inhabiting, temporarily or permanently, the Chenango-valley, on the arrival of the first white settlers, were members of the Oneida and Tuscarora tribes; the former of whom, from the remains of old fortifications, Indian burial-places, and rude instruments of Indian warfare, discovered, from time to time, by the whites, must, apparently, have occupied the region, for centuries. The most ancient of these relics were the vestiges of an old fort, on the East bank of the Chenango-river, near the centre of the present village of Oxford, on the top of an embankment, flanking which, was found the dead trunk of an old tree, fifty or sixty feet in height, which, being cut, disclosed some two hundred concentric circles, indicating a growth of at least two centuries. In the neighborhood of the Fort, many Indian relics, such as stone hatchets and chisels, and flint arrow-points, were found, in turning up the soil.

One mile South of the village of Norwich, were, also the remains of another fortification, occupying a high bank, on the East side of the river, and known as the "Castle," and which was much frequented by the Indians, at the period of the first advent of the whites. This structure was, however, evidently of much more modern date than the one at Oxford. On the West side of the river, opposite the "Castle," was a space, extending for a mile or upwards, from North to South, known as the "Indian Fields"—a favorite place of resort for the Indians, and subsequently owned, successively, by Avery Power, one of the earliest white immigrants, and by Captain John Randall, who became the purchaser, in 1800.

Some four miles below Oxford, on Paget's brook, the remains of Indian fortifications were discovered, consisting of twenty-five distinct embankments, adjacent to each other, over which were found trees of a very great age and, in their vicinity, evident traces of Indian graves, lined, above and below, by cobble stones, the upper strata of which had fallen upon the low-

er. In ploughing up the lands, in the neighborhood of Norwich and New Berlin, flint arrow-points, stone tomahawks, and old gun-barrels, were found, in great abundance; and, on excavations made, on the site of the present burying-ground, near the southern boundary of the village of Norwich, on the farm of Casper M. Rouse, human bones, in great numbers, in a nearly upright position, were found. Near the late residence of Abel Chandler, in that village, there is also a large mound, corresponding in shape with the Indian tumuli found on the Mississippi and other Western rivers; and, from the traces of an Indian village or settlement, in the neighborhood of the "Castle" and "Indian Fields" referred to, this mound is supposed to have been an ancient Indian burying-place.

Two miles South of the present village of Greene, on the farm formerly owned by Mr. Lott, a few rods from the river bank, was found, some forty years since, a circular mound, forty feet in diameter and six or seven feet in height, in which were discovered a great number of human bones, confusedly jumbled together and in a state of great decay, mingled with a large quantity of flint arrow-heads and stone chisels, of various construction, and adapted, apparently, to various uses, besides several Indian trinkets, of a more elaborate workmanship. Some of the bones, underlying the others, had been evidently burnt. In the centre of the surface of this mound, a large pine stump, the remains of a dead pine-tree, standing there on the arrival of the first settlers, was found, which, when cut, showed one hundred and eighty concentric circles. Estimating the age of the mound by the number of these circles, and bearing in mind the fact that the tree was entirely dead, at the time of the advent of the first white settlers, it could not have been less than two hundred years old; and, from the apparently hurried and disorderly manner in which the bones were found, and the presence of an unusual number of arrow-heads and other warlike weapons, the inference seems not unreasonable, that they were the remains and implements of bodies which had fallen in battle.

Several Indian skeletons were also excavated in digging for the Chenango canal, some thirty years since, about four miles North of Oxford, near the site of what was formerly known as Gates's Tavern—the "half-way-house" between Norwich and Oxford.

There is a tradition concerning a powerful Tuscarora Chief, Thick Neck, who, more than two centuries since, possessed himself of the fort, in Oxford—perhaps constructed it—and, for many years, kept the Oneidas at bay. After many unsuccessful attempts to decoy this form-

idable usurper, from his stronghold, the latter succeeded in cutting him off from the fort, in one of his sallies, and compelling him to make a precipitate retreat, down the river, where he was traced to a marsh around Warn's-pond, killed, and buried. The remnant of his forces were adopted by the Oneidas; and an Indian—Abram Antone—executed for murder, some fifty years since, at Morrisville, in Madison-county, claimed to have been a descendant, in the seventh generation, from the Tuscarora Chief.

Another and later tradition related to a tragical scene, occurring in the vicinity of the "Cas-tle," near Norwich, and the "Indian Fields." A young Oneida brave was contracted in marriage, with the consent of her parents, but, apparently, against her own inclination, to a beautiful squaw of the same tribe. Soon after the nuptials, the bride eloped from her husband's wigwam, with a more favored suitor. The incensed brave immediately put himself upon the trail of the fugitives; and, having, during the darkness of the night, discovered their retreat, entered their lodging-room, and finding them embraced in each others' arms, in profound slumber, buried his knife in the body of the paramour and inflicted a series of ghastly wounds upon that of the faithless bride. She, however, afterwards recovered, and cited the murderer before the assembled Council of Chiefs and warriors, who, after a solemn hearing of all the facts, and in view of the flagrant provocation given, acquitted the accused.*

The latest adjudication of the Indian Council, assembled as a Court of Justice, appears to have occurred a short time subsequently to the settlement of the whites, and to have been characteristic as well as equitable. The complainant was an Indian, who alleged the destruction or despoliation, by one of the settlers, of a valuable rifle, celebrated for its excellent properties. The friends of the injured party were secretly assembled and lay in wait, for several days, to take vengeance upon the offender. The Chief, however, on receiving intelligence of the state of things, apprehensive of still further complications, summoned the Council, who sent for the parties, and, after hearing all the proofs and allegations, directed, first, that the injured rifle should be replaced by another of equal value, in all respects; and, secondly, that the whites should, thereafter, either wholly abstain from selling whiskey to the Indians, or sell it to them in quantities so small as to incur no danger of intoxication.*

At the early period when the town of Norwich included, within its boundaries, the additional territory now constituting the towns of

New-Berlin, North Norwich, McDonough, Preston, Plymouth, and Pharsalia, comprehending an area six times greater than her present limits, the streets of the little village were, on all public days, such as Court-days, town-meetings, the fourth of July, and other holidays, crowded by hundreds of Indians, from every direction; and, not unfrequently, serious affrays occurred between parties of them and the white settlers, or among their own body—especially after having been liberally supplied with ardent spirits, by the numerous booths which lined the streets, and tempted, by their varied attractions, their ungovernable appetite. Ordinarily, however, the intercourse between the two races was of the most friendly nature.

At the time of the formation of the first State Constitution, in 1777, there were but fourteen Counties, viz.: New York, Westchester, Dutchess, Albany, Orange, Ulster, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Richmond, Tryon, Charlotte, and Cumberland. The two last named were, subsequently, ceded to Vermont. Tryon-county—changed, in 1784, to Montgomery—comprised all that portion of the State lying West of the three river Counties, Albany, Ulster, and Orange, as then constituted, on the West bank of the Hudson. Albany comprehended the present Counties of Schenectada, Saratoga, Warren, Essex, and Clinton, and a portion of Greene, the residue of which was included in Ulster. The County of Tryon included, therefore, at this time, the entire territory West of a North and South line drawn from the South-west corner of the present County of Orange, and, passing through Ulster, the western boundary of Greene, a small portion of Schoharie and Schenectada, adjoining Albany, and, thence, along the eastern line of the present Counties of Montgomery, Fulton, and Hamilton, and the centre of Franklin, to the northern boundary of the State: comprising the whole of the present Counties of St. Lawrence, Lewis, Herkimer, Otsego, Broome, Chenango, Madison, Cortland, Onondaga, Oneida, Oswego, Cayuga, Wayne, Seneca, Tompkins, Schuyler, Chemung, Tioga, Steuben, Yates, Ontario, Monroe, Livingston, Alleghany, Cattaraugus, Genesee, Orleans, Niagara, Erie, and Chautauque, and the western parts of Franklin, Hamilton, Fulton, Montgomery, Delaware, Ulster, Sullivan, and Orange. In 1791, the Counties of Herkimer, Tioga, and Otsego, were formed from parts of Montgomery—Herkimer including the territory comprised in the present Counties of St. Lawrence, portions of Franklin and Hamilton, the whole of Lewis, Oneida, and Madison, and the five northern towns of the present County of Chenango; and Tioga including all South of that line and West of the present Counties of Otsego and Delaware.

* Clark's History of Chenango.

II.—PURCHASE OF THE TWENTY TOWNSHIPS. EARLY PATENTS.

In June, 1785, Governor George Clinton, on behalf of the State, negotiated a Treaty with the Chiefs and Sachems of the Oneida and Tuscarora Indians, at Fort Herkimer, by which, in consideration of the sum of eleven thousand, five hundred dollars, "in goods and money," paid to the Indians, they ceded to the State all that portion lying between the Chenango, Susquehannah, Tianaderha, or Unadilla-rivers, comprehended within the following boundaries: "Beginning at the mouth of the Unadilla, or 'Tianaderha, river, where the same empties into the Susquehannah; thence up the said 'Unadilla, or Tianaderha, river, ten miles, 'measured on a straight line; thence, due 'West, to the Chenango-river; thence, south-erly, down the Chenango-river, to where it 'empties into the Susquehannah-river, and to the 'line commonly called the 'Line of property,' 'established at a Treaty held at Fort Stanwix, 'in the year 1768; thence, along the said 'line, to the place of beginning; so as to com-prehend all the lands belonging to the Oneida and Tuscarora nations of Indians, lying South 'of a line to be run from the Unadilla, or 'Tianaderha, river to the Chenango-river, and 'North of the division line between this State 'and Pennsylvania." The southern line of the present town of Norwich, the fifteenth of the "twenty townships" subsequently organized, extended, East, to the Unadilla-river, constituted the northern boundary of this cession. The "Line of property," referred to, was the one, dividing the English and Indian possessions, in America, from a point a few leagues West of Fort Stanwix, now Rome, south-westerly, to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi-rivers. This line coincided with the Unadilla, or "Tian-aderha," river, to its mouth in the Susquehannah, at the present site of Binghamton, and then took an easterly course to the Mohawk branch of the Delaware-river, constituting the boundary of the "back settlements" of the English, in New York.

In 1788, Governor Clinton, concluded, at Fort Schuyler, near Fort Stanwix, a second Treaty with the Chiefs and Sachems of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and other Indian tribes; including the cession, by the latter, of all their right and title to the territory subsequently known as the "Twenty Townships," including, on the North, the towns of Sangersfield, in Oneida-county, and Nelson, in Madison-county, and extending, South, to the southern limits of Norwich, Preston, and Mc Donough, in Chenango-county. The eastern boundary of this portion of the Grant was, chiefly, the Unadilla-river, and the western, what was subsequently known as the

"Military-tract," set apart, by the Legislature, in 1782, for the benefit of the troops of the line of the State, serving in the Revolutionary War, and for other purposes specified in the Act. Through some errors, in the original surveys of this territory and that acquired under the Treaty of 1788, a "gore," comprising a portion of the present town of Cazenovia and the entire town of De Ruyter, in Madison-county, and the towns of Lincklaen, Pitcher, and German, in Chenango, was left, on the eastern boundary of "the "Military Tract."

By an Act passed on the twenty-fifth of February, 1789, the Surveyor-general was required to locate "the Twenty Townships" within the following specified limits: Upon the eastern side of the lands recently purchased of the Oneidas, at Fort Schuyler; lying South of the lands reserved by the Oneidas, for their own exclusive occupancy; and North of the territory purchased from the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, under the Treaty of 1785, at Fort Herkimer. Under this Act, the towns were, accordingly, surveyed and numbered, from one to twenty, inclusive. The first three townships, on the North, with the twentieth, adjoining the third, on the East, comprised the present towns of Nelson, Eaton, and Madison, in Madison-county, and Sangersfield, in Oneida, extending from West to East; the fourth, nineteenth, eighteenth, fifth, and sixth, in a reverse order, from East to West, the towns of Brookfield, Hamilton, Lebanon, and Georgetown, in Madison-county; the seventh, eighth, ninth, and seventeenth, from West to East, Otselic, Smyrna, Sherburne, and Columbus; the sixteenth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, in reverse order again, the towns of New-Berlin, North Norwich, Plymouth, and Pharsalia; the fifteenth, fourteenth, and thirteenth, the towns of Norwich, Preston, and Mc Donough. On the West of these townships, extending from North to South, lay, as before stated, as part of the town of Cazenovia and the towns of De Ruyter, Lincklaen, Pitcher, and German—the three latter then forming the town of German. Immediately South of Mc Donough, Preston, and Norwich, were, subsequently, formed the towns of Smithville, Oxford, and Guilford; South and South-west of Smithville, the town of Greene; and South of Oxford and Guilford, Bainbridge.

The Surveyor-general was also directed to subdivide the original twenty townships into equal quarter-sections, as nearly as possible, and to subdivide each of the Sections containing two hundred and fifty acres each, as nearly as practicable, from the nature of the soil and other natural obstacles—these lots, in each township, to be numbered from one to one hundred, inclusive. In each township, one lot was to be

reserved for "Gospel" and one for "School" purposes, to be located as nearly central as might be, for religious and educational purposes. The Commissioners of the Land Office—consisting, at that time, of the Governor, Lieutenant-governor, Secretary of State, Attorney-general, Treasurer, Auditor, and Speaker of the Assembly, together with the Surveyor-general—were directed, after selecting five townships, as a reserve for the redemption of Bills of Credit issued by the State—the choice lands to be sold only for gold or silver—to make sales of the residue, at a minimum price of three shillings—seventy-five cents—per acre. These sales took place in the city of New York, then the capital of the State, after three months public notice; and, from the tardy circulation of those notices, in the remote sections of the State, and the difficulties of traveling, at that early period, over the rough and primitive roads incident to a new and frontier settlement, the greater part of these lands fell, naturally, into the hands of wealthy individuals, speculators, and jobbers, in the two large cities, Albany and New York, or members of the Legislature and others, in official attendance at the seat of Government, and were speedily re-sold, at a greatly enhanced valuation.

On full payment of the prices for which these lands were sold by the State, Patents were issued, under the Great Seal, from the Secretary's Office, with the Governor's signature, either to the original purchasers or their assignees, and, usually, though not necessarily, entered of record in the State Department.

At this period, the whole of the present Counties of Chenango, Madison, Herkimer, Oneida, Broome, and Tioga, with all the adjoining Counties, on the West, were included within the limits of the town of Whitestown, in the present Oneida county. Herkimer, Oneida, Tioga, and Otsego, having been subsequently carved out of the original Montgomery, in 1791, Whitestown became the half-shire of Herkimer; and Newtown Point—the present Elmira—the shire-town of Tioga. Up to as late a period as 1808, the old jail, at Whitestown, still continued to be used for the confinement of prisoners from Madison and Chenango-counties.

The first Patent for lands sold in the County, under the authority of the State, was granted, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1792, to Leonard M. Cutting, for the fifteenth township, Norwich, then including a part of New-Berlin. The first Certificate of Survey was delivered to Mr. Cutting, on the second of November preceding. The second Certificate bears date the third of November, in the same year, and covered a portion of Preston, the fourteenth town; the West part, consisting of upwards of seven

thousand acres, having been sold, on the same day, to Melancthon Smith and Marinus Willett. On the first of January and twenty-eighth of June, 1793, Mr. Cutting received a Patent for the East part of Preston, including a part of Norwich and the whole of Plymouth, purchased by him, in November preceding. On the thirty-first of January, 1793, Robert C. Livingston obtained a Patent for the seventh town, now Otselec. On the sixth of April, following, William S. Smith obtained a Certificate of Survey for the towns of Scyrna and Sherburne; followed by a Patent, on the sixteenth of April, 1794. James Tallmadge and Ezra Thompson, of Dutchess, purchased the tenth town, North Norwich, together with a part of New Berlin; Thomas Ludlow and Josiah Shippey, the thirteenth town, McDonough, on the sixth of February, 1793; White Matlach and Jacob Hallett, the twelfth, Pharsalia, on the sixth of April, following; and John Taylor, part of New-Berlin and Columbus, on the second of February, for which a Patent was issued on the fourteenth of February, 1797.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—GENERAL MEADE AND THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

AN ORATION, DELIVERED BY MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES DEVENS, JUNIOR, AT THE REUNION OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, AT NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, MAY 14, 1873.*

MR. PRESIDENT AND COMRADES OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC:

When, two years ago, our distinguished fellow-soldier, Governor Fairchild, suggested that it would be well to place upon our records, by our exercises upon these occasions, as full an account as we could gather of the part which our Army took in the War of the Rebellion—a suggestion which was then well carried out by himself and, after, by General Woodford, in the eloquent address delivered last year, at Cleveland—he also remarked that it could hardly be done consecutively; but there must, of necessity, be intervals in the regular progress of the narrative. Most unwillingly do I break the thread, and recognize that one of those occasions has come. One theme only seems appropriate.

* This article is printed from a corrected copy of the Oration, communicated by General Devens for publication in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*; and, as the proofs of the article have been read and corrected by him, it bears the form, in this version of it, which the Author himself desires it shall wear before the world of historical literature.—EDITOR.

prate for our meeting, to-day, when we remember that, of the five commanders of that Army, in front of Washington, which became the Army of the Potomac, but four now survive. He who was its leader, from the proud day of Gettysburg unto the yet prouder day when its great rival, the Army of Northern Virginia, piled up its arms in sad and sullen submission and the sword of its leader was laid in the conquering hand of Grant, has passed, since we last met, from the ranks of living men. No more shall we see that slender, yet not ungraceful, figure, which seemed the embodiment of the scholar, the soldier, and the gentleman, that, of late years, has risen so cordially, at all our gatherings, responsive to our call, as, in the times now long past, we rose to his—no more recognize that quick and spirited glance: no more hear that voice whose tones have summoned to high duties and great enterprises, always, and never counseled fear or dishonor.

His loss has been mourned as a public one, throughout the Union, especially in the city which was his home and in the State whose hills shall guard his fame forever; but, whatever may be the honors paid to his memory, elsewhere, there is no place—the sacred circle of home alone excepted—where that memory can be held so dear as among those who, with him, have borne the weary campaigns and the long marches, by day and night, alike in July's heat and December's cold; have seen, with him, the sad hours of disaster and defeat; and have known, with him, the stern joy of victory. Honored and respected, as a wise and brave commander; loved as a comrade; always considerate and true, if I dedicate these fleeting moments to him, however imperfect my tribute may be, I feel convinced I shall not want your approval. Nor, if I speak, as I must, of the great field by which he is especially endeared to his countrymen, shall I speak of it otherwise than as it stands, to-day, upon the verdict of history, now that its record, drawn from the Reports of the principal Commanders, on either side, is fully made up, and the victor and vanquished chieftains sleep in the common repose of death. Wounded, severely, at Chancellorsville, a few weeks previously, in its dangers I had no part; to its honor, I can lay no claim except to that which was there reflected by you upon every one who could call you "Comrade;" yet, even from this, I would not willingly part, when I remember that, as the glad tidings were flashed towards the North, each one of your wounded veterans stood more proudly on his crutch; and even the fever-stricken patient, in the hospital, as he raised himself from his couch, and strove, with parched lips, to join in the ringing cheers, murmured, "I, too, am a 'soldier of the Army of the Potomac.'"

Although born upon foreign soil, yet, under
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the flag of the Union and in its citizenship, George Gordon Meade graduated at West Point, in 1835; and was then brevetted as Second-lieutenant of Artillery. Resigning, in 1836, he passed the intervening years, until 1842, as an Engineer in the Civil Service of the United States, when he was again appointed to the Army as a Second-lieutenant of the Topographical Engineers; and, in the discharge of the pursuits and duties of that important Corps, for which he had a peculiar aptitude, he continued until the breaking out of the War with Mexico. During this, he served, at first, upon the Staff of General Taylor, participating in all the hard-fought fights of that resolute soldier, until his line of approach to the city of Mexico was relinquished, when he was transferred to the Staff of General Scott, and aided in the conduct of the siege operations against Vera Cruz. At its close, he resumed, with renewed interest, the scientific duties of his profession, until he was summoned from them, in 1861, by the call to arms, when the experiment of firing the Southern heart, by the attack upon Fort Sumter, was found to have been successful, not in that only, but in fully arousing the North to its danger, and rendering anything like peaceful secession impossible.

It will be seen, therefore, that General Meade's early education, as a soldier, had been, in every way, calculated to develope his great natural powers. Fully acquainted with all the scientific branches of his profession and, undoubtedly, from his tastes, strongly attracted by them, he had not run the risk of becoming a mere soldier of the book, but had seen the great actions and served with the great Captains of the Mexican War, each of whom possessed qualities worthy of note and study, and from whom he may have learned some lessons of that care in preparation, that vigor in execution, that calmness in difficulty, which he was, afterward, to exhibit on a far greater field of warfare.

Appointed a Brigadier-general of Volunteers, in August, 1861, his military life was with this Army. He served in the operations in front of Washington and through all the conflicts of the Peninsula Campaign, up to the battle of Glendale, in June, 1862, where he was severely wounded; proving himself, everywhere, a zealous and competent officer, as vigorous and brilliant in attack as he was calm in endurance, when compelled to stand on the defensive. Returning to the field, in September, 1863, he was, at once, assigned to the command of a Division, with which he served through the Maryland Campaign, when Lee was driven up, through the passes of the South Mountain range, to the field of Antietam; and, at Antietam, was, after the gallant Hooker fell, severely wounded, placed in temporary command of his Corps.

After Fredericksburg—in which battle he continued to command the same Division, and where he succeeded in breaking the right of Lee's line and threatening, formidably, his communications with Richmond—although forced, finally, to relinquish his hold, for lack of support, General Meade was assigned to the Fifth Army Corps, he having, some time previously, been made Major-general of Volunteers. In command of this Corps, he served at the Battle of Chancellorsville; and remained with it, until the twenty-eighth of June, 1863, when he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Potomac, as that Army was moving up, through Maryland, to encounter Lee—an encounter which, as you all know, when it came, resulted in the victory of Gettysburg.

The causes which led to that bold and remarkable movement, on the part of the Rebel Government—the invasion of Pennsylvania, in 1863—have never been, so far as I know, completely stated by it. The Report of the rebel Commander-in-chief clearly indicates that, when it was written, he did not intend to develop them. He says, there, that the Army of the Potomac lay, along the Rappahannock, in such a position that it could not be attacked to advantage; that, by moving Northward, through the great valley of Virginia, a fairer opportunity would be offered to strike; that the plans of the enemy, for the Summer, would be disarranged and time consumed; and then adds that, actuated by these and other important considerations that he may hereafter present, he determined upon the movement. Those important considerations have never been divulged; and, so far as General Lee is concerned, now, never can be; yet they may be reasonably conjectured.

Two reasons existed which, if it were possible to get a foothold in any Northern State, rendered it vital that it should be done. The Confederate diplomatists had been struggling, abroad, in vain, for recognition as a Government. They saw that they could not hope to obtain this, as long as the War was confined to the limits of the Southern States and, however formidable in proportions, bore, always, the aspect of a mere local rebellion. Let but their Army maintain itself on Northern soil, and Mr. Davis believed that his Ambassadors could obtain recognition from some foreign States, at least, and, with it, all the advantages of a position in the family of nations. The other, was the necessity of doing something to sustain the courage of the rebel States, under a misfortune which was impending over them, well known to Davis and Lee, and as yet little appreciated, generally, among the mass of their people. The sword of Grant was knocking fiercely at the

gates of Vicksburg: at any hour it might burst them. With this, Port Hudson must fall; and, cutting the Confederacy in twain, the Mississippi would be open, from the mountains to the sea. This was a blow which could neither be warded off nor parried: it must descend: and there was left only the hope of dealing another, in return, elsewhere, which would, in some degree, diminish its weight.

No sooner were the designs of Lee fully unmasked, by his movement from the Shenandoah into the Cumberland-valley, than General Hooker, who had fallen back, toward Washington, in obedience to the exigencies of the problem which pressed upon every commander of the Army of the Potomac—the necessity of covering Washington—acted with his usual vigor. Crossing the Potomac, to the North side, himself, on the twenty-fifth of June, on the twenty-seventh, he had concentrated his forces at Frederick. It was on the twenty-eighth, that Lee—whose Cavalry had been cut off from him by the rapidity of this action, and who had then pushed Ewell forward to York and Carlisle, with intent, as he says, to cross the Susquehanna, and was, himself, at Chambersburg, with Longstreet and Hill—learned, at the same time, not only that Hooker had crossed the Potomac, but was actually at Frederick. "We may search the history of modern Campaigns in vain," says Captain Chesney, one of the most intelligent of the British writers on our War, "to find a more striking example of the effect produced by operating on the enemy's communications, than that of this movement of Hooker's. The first sound that reached Lee of the advance of the Federal columns to the North of the river, caused him to suspend all action in any direction tending to draw him further from his base." He resolved, at once, on concentrating his forces on the East side of South-mountain, and preventing Hooker's further march, westward; and orders, for this purpose, were at once issued. Before these facts were known to Lee, which caused him thus to desist from any further movement, forward, the change had been made in the Army of the Potomac, which placed General Meade in command—General Hooker being relieved at his own request. The immediate cause of this request, was the refusal, by the War Department, to place at his disposal the troops at Harper's ferry; and, without entering into the discussion of this matter, here, I may say that I think that there will be found few, to-day, to defend a course which, when the air was black with the gathering clouds of such a storm as burst in thunder, a few days later, over Gettysburg, would have left out of the conflict, ten thousand

efficient troops, under the command of a veteran General [French].

No tribute to the discipline that prevailed in this Army can be higher than that which is paid by saying that this change was made when every one knew a battle was impending, without, in any way, affecting its spirits or its energy. The French herald who, in the same breath, announced the death of one King and the accession of another, by the words, "The King is dead: Long live the King!" was never received with more unquestioning loyalty than, in its devotion to the cause it served, and not in indifference to its leaders, this Army received each announcement of a change of Commanders. Faithful and devoted to those who had preceded, it prepared to render the same obedience to him who, now, in the very imminence of a mortal struggle, found its heavy cares and responsibilities thrown upon him. The situation was one which might give the most audacious anxiety, for the loss of a great battle, then, might endanger all for which we had been struggling; and yet a great battle must be fought, to relieve the Northern States from the invasion which, at that moment, seemed to threaten, most directly, the splendid city of Philadelphia. If Meade could secure the immense tactical advantage of compelling the enemy to attack him, that might be rendered certain, which, without it, would be doubtful. It was his opinion, that the Infantry of Lee must surpass his own by about ten thousand men, supposing that each could bring on to the field, substantially, his whole Army. If any lesson had been clearly taught, already, however—and every day's experience was to confirm it—it was that, in a country like America, with the rough field-works that troops may throw up, the improvements in artillery and musketry are so much for the benefit of the party which stands on the defensive, that a force decidedly weaker may, in such a position, receive the assaults of another, with confidence. Cool as he was brave, he resolved that this advantage should be secured, by forcing his opponent to attack him, if possible. Accepting his position, in an Order issued early in the morning of the twenty-eighth, he nobly summoned his troops to their duties—nor do I like the Order less because it is distinctly marked with the manly, healthy, religious feeling which was an essential element in his character. "The country," he says, "looks to this Army to relieve it from the devastation and disgrace of a hostile invasion. Whatever fatigues and sacrifices we may be called upon to undergo, let us have in view, constantly, the magnitude of the interests involved; and let each determine to do his duty, leaving to an all-controlling Providence, the decision of the contest."

From the nature of the case, as General Meade states, no precise plan had probably been formed, by General Hooker, or could be, by himself, other than to be governed by the exigencies of the situation. Already, the Army was in a position which threatened Lee, formidably; but the information of any hour might make a change of movements necessary, to bring about that which he desired. The twenty-eighth was spent in getting together the essential information, as to his own Army, its various forces and position, as well as in ascertaining all that was then known at the Head-quarters, in reference to the enemy; and, on the twenty-ninth, instead of continuing to move westward, which was, perhaps, the apprehension of Lee, fearful always as to his communications, he commenced to move northward, to compel him to loose his hold on the Susquehannah. From this river, unknown to him, Lee was already drawing back. Moving, upon the twenty-ninth and on the thirtieth, in a manner which would enable him to concentrate his forces upon Pipe-creek—a position, about fifteen miles South of Gettysburg, which seemed to afford a good line, alike for the purpose of preventing the crossing of the Susquehannah and of covering Washington and Baltimore—no means were neglected in endeavoring to ascertain the exact whereabouts of the enemy, and also of the places where it would be suitable to offer him battle. General Humphreys was directed, on the arrival of his Division, at Emmettsburg, to report whether the ground, there, was favorable, the position, itself, being evidently an important one. On the thirtieth, Meade was informed by Buford, who covered, with his Cavalry, the left of our Army, of the presence of the enemy, near Gettysburg, whither Reynolds, with the First and Eleventh Corps, had already been ordered to proceed. While the orders of the thirtieth thus directed Reynolds, those to the other Corps contemplated, evidently, taking up the line of Pipe-creek, in doing which they would be shielded and masked, by Reynolds, on their left front. Reynolds was also instructed, as General Humphreys states, in his beautiful Address upon General Meade, lately delivered in Philadelphia, to report whether Gettysburg, itself, afforded ground suitable for a battle. All the Orders indicate that every movement was liable to be changed by the development of events; and, showing the great skill which Meade possessed, as a tactician, on a large scale, they demonstrate his ability to handle an Army in a series of manoeuvres of the greatest importance. He was fully entitled to the praise bestowed by Swinton, the able critic of the operations of the Army of the Potomac, who says that, in "spite of the malicious detraction of his adversaries, who have tried to make it appear that he shrank from the issue of

"arms, at Gettysburg, it was, in reality, the moral firmness of General Meade that determined the combat, in the form in which it actually occurred."

On the morning of the first of July, the first encounter took place; and, although to the North and West of Gettysburg, it is still to be considered a part, and an essential part, of the battle. It was a day beginning successfully; but, so far as the loss of troops was concerned, ending seriously, and yet a conflict of inestimable value, for, although forced from the ground we at first occupied, at its close, we held the position, to the South of Gettysburg, on the crest, to be, thenceforth, forever, renowned in the American annals. Hill's Corps had moved from Chambersburg, through Cashtown, and, on that morning, was encountered by Buford, upon that road which is to the West from Gettysburg, beyond Seminary-ridge, which, on the next day, became the most important part of the Army's line. Meeting them, at about nine o'clock in the morning, he held them, most gallantly, in check, until the arrival of Reynolds, with Wadsworth's Division, who immediately prepared to engage, sending back for the rest of his Corps and for the Eleventh to hurry forward. To sustain Buford was, undoubtedly, his most pressing reason, at the moment, as the delay of the enemy was of importance, that Meade might be aided in the concentration of his forces; but, with the knowledge he had of the anxiety of the commanding General, who was then ignorant of the peculiar facilities afforded by the ground, at Gettysburg, it is not likely that he passed over the Emmetsburg-road, without taking in all the advantage to be obtained by the possession of the crest, or anticipating that, if forced back upon it, he could cling to it, until he was sustained by the whole Army. Arranging his troops, forming his lines, with his customary rapidity and energy, he advanced, at once, on the force opposed to him, which already largely outnumbered his own; but, hardly was the movement commenced, when he fell, mortally wounded. Brave men were to die, by thousands, on that terrible field; yet no one could fall whose loss was more seriously felt and more deeply deplored. Not the men of the First Corps only, whom he had long led, but the whole Army, knew him as a soldier in whose bravery and skill the most implicit confidence might be placed. The senior of Meade, in military rank, no jealous thought, at his promotion to the command of the Army, ever entered that loyal heart. Modest and simple, in manner: with no trace of affectation or boasting: reliable as steel! A true soldier, he died a soldier's death, grandly contributing to the triumph he was never to share. Yet, where could man meet better the inevitable hour, than in defence of his

native State, his life-blood mingling with the soil on which he first drew breath? Long may the statue which the love and honor of his comrades of the First Corps have reared to him, on the field, stand, in glorious though mute resemblance to him, as he stood that day, watching, with eager gaze and dauntless heart, the advance of the coming foe.

His troops did not lose the impulse he had given them, even at his fall: gallantly holding the enemy at bay, many prisoners were taken; and, for an hour or two, all went well. Substantially, the remainder of the First Corps and two Divisions of the Eleventh Corps arrived with General Howard, who took command on the field; but, soon, the advance of Ewell's troops, who now approached, from the North, on their way, from Carlisle and York, to Lee's proposed concentration at Gettysburg, seemed to render necessary, an extension of our line round to the North of the town, by which it was weakened, seriously; and, outnumbered at all points, the day was fairly turned against us, and Howard was forced back, through the town, to the Heights where the battle was finally fought. Nor could he effect this withdrawal, except at the expense of a severe loss, in prisoners, which fell more heavily upon the Eleventh Corps, which had been exposed to the assaults of the columns coming from the North. Although the number of Divisions engaged was about equal, it must be observed that, at this time, each Division and Corps of the enemy was more than double the size of one of ours. Luckily, or rather prudently, General Howard had left, in position, on Cemetery-hill, as he advanced, one of his own Divisions—Von Steinwehr's—which had not been engaged; and, aided by General Hancock, who had now arrived with an order from Meade to take command, upon the field, but without troops, the confusion of the withdrawal was subdued; and the men, undiscouraged by the reverse, prepared to receive the assault of the enemy and maintain their position, until after nightfall. A demonstration was, in fact, made, but not with the usual vigor of the enemy; and was, without difficulty, repulsed. To Meade, Hancock immediately sent: that the ground was favorable, and that it could be held until after nightfall. The Twelfth Corps, in response to the summons of General Howard, sent earlier in the day, had now reached the field—one Brigade of the First, which had been delayed, and two of the Third arriving soon after—and General Hancock, surrendering the command to General Slocum, reported, in person, to General Meade, who, he found, had already issued Orders to all his Army, to move, as rapidly as possible, to Gettysburg, and was, himself, preparing to go thither, at once.

and waiting only to hear from the Sixth Corps, which could not reach there until after the middle of the next day, as it was more than thirty miles away. That Summer night witnessed a scene, in Pennsylvania, such as I trust its hills may never behold again, as the whole Army—the Artillery by every road, and the Infantry by every path—were moving to the conflict; but, early in the day, every thing was ready except the Sixth Corps; and, for it, they were strong enough to wait. The guns were in position, and some slight breast-works of earth and rails had been hastily thrown up. Meade, himself, had reached the ground, soon after midnight, and directed the arrangement of his troops: that his tactical disposition, for the coming battle, were of as excellent an order as his materials allowed, has not been questioned, that I am aware of, by any one. One of his directions, on arriving, was, that proper examination should be made of all the roads leading from Gettysburg. This Order, which proceeded only from the caution of a prudent commander desirous to be prepared for any event, however unfortunate, afterwards gave occasion to a charge against him that he intended to withdraw, without fighting—a charge that he always felt to be cruelly unjust. In his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he emphatically denied it, in terms of such solemnity, that, now, when he stands before the tribunal to which he then appealed, it is but just that it should be repeated, here. "I utterly deny," said he, "under the full solemnity and sanctity of my oath and in the firm conviction that the day will come when the secrets of all men shall be made known—I utterly deny ever having intended or thought, for one instant, to withdraw that Army, unless the military contingencies which the future should develop, during the course of the day, might render it a matter of necessity that it should be withdrawn."

The morning of the second of July wore away, without anything decisive—our own Army, on the crest which stretched, from Culp's hill, along Cemetery-hill and ridge, to Round-top; while the enemy, with Longstreet's and Hill's Corps, occupied Seminary-hill, a ridge about a mile distant, overlapping our left and extending round to our right with Ewell's Corps. Early in the afternoon, stout John Sedgwick, with the Sixth Corps, were up, after their long march of thirty-six miles; and the Federal Army stood ready to receive the blow which the Army of Northern Virginia must deliver, or lose the prestige it boasted and acknowledge the invasion a failure. Whether it was wise in Lee to make the attack, has been doubted; but he, himself, felt that it was forced upon him, and says in his Report that, "while he had not intended to fight a

"general battle, so far from his base, unless attacked, yet, finding himself confronted, unexpectedly, by the Federal Army, the battle be-came, in some measure, unavoidable by him."

The exact numbers engaged remain, to-day, in dispute; yet they were, undoubtedly, as nearly equal as can ever be expected to be found, in a conflict of such magnitude. That theirs exceeded ours, seems to be the more general estimate, and by about ten thousand; although I observe General Humphreys, in the Address to which I have referred, places their Infantry as exceeding ours by fifteen thousand men.

It was three or four o'clock when the comparative silence of the earlier part of the day was broken by the attack upon our left, which was held by the Third Corps, under General Sickles. Instead of extending, directly, from the left of the Second Corps, which was our left centre, to Round-top, he had thrown his line forward to obtain one, which he deemed more commanding, upon the Emmettsburg-road. While a strong attack was made upon his left and the angle where his line receded towards Round-top, a flanking force was dispatched to carry little Round-top, which the rebel commander rightly judged to be the key of the whole position. Before it reached it, however, reinforcements had already arrived, from the Fifth Corps; and the struggle for its possession became, at once, most furious. Nowhere, during the engagement, was more determination shown. Each Regiment, as it came up, realized that the point was vital—that to lose it, was to lose the day—and fought accordingly. Fiercely striven for: manfully held: nightfall saw it and the whole crest, from it to Culp's-hill, in our possession. The Third Corps had, indeed, been forced from its more advanced position, on the Emmettsburg-road, for, after a stubborn resistance, in which General Sickles was severely wounded, and a heavy loss, in men, it had fallen back on the line, from Hancock's left to Round-top, which General Meade always considered the true line.

The most anxious hours of the whole battle were those in which the possession of Round-top and the line on the Emmettsburg-road were thus fiercely debated. In this conflict, the Third Corps was assisted by reinforcements from nearly every other; and the day was, at last, brilliantly closed by a charge from General Crawford's Division, supported by the advance of the Sixth Corps, which drove the enemy, finally, from too close proximity to Round-top. On our right, an advantage had been gained by Ewell, who had secured a position within our lines, weakened, as they had been, by the reinforcements sent to the left of the line; but, of this, it was clear to General Meade that he would be easily dispossessed, in the morning.

Night descended at last; and each Army, anxious, but determined, waited for the coming day, which must decide the momentous issue. For Lee to desist in his attack, was to confess defeat, while yet, as he says, "he believed ultimate success might be secured;" and, although he knew well that the position from which the Third Corps had been forced, was an advantage, rather apparent than real, yet he knew, also, that it had inspired his troops to a belief that the task before them was not beyond their powers. On the other hand, in our Army, while all felt that the hour for exultation had not come, everything seemed to indicate, in spite of the loss of the position on the Emmetsburg-road, that the true line of defence was untouched; and that the same determination, on the day which was to come, as on that which was passed, would insure the victory. To the rule that Councils of War never fight, which has become a proverb, the Council of War held this night is an exception; for it was there agreed to be the only thing to be done.

Unwilling to abandon the scheme of an invasion, and confiding in the spirit of his troops, Lee decided, on the next day, to try, again, the fortune of an attack. While not materially changing his position, on the morning of the third of July, which, as before, swept round from Seminary-ridge—relinquishing any attempt to carry Round-top, now securely held and rudely, but strongly, fortified—his plan was an assault, by main force, upon our left centre, which should reach all before it. Nor was this unexpected by Meade, who, in a conversation with Gibbon, on the evening of the second of July, had predicted that, after his ill success on our flanks, the next movement of Lee would be at our centre. Any project of a movement, in force, upon our right was abandoned, also, if entertained. The driving out of Ewell's force, in the morning, from the more forward position it had held, the evening before, had deprived him of his foothold, there, which it would cost a desperate struggle again to obtain. This had not been done, however, until Lee's disposition was nearly completed, as Ewell had reinforced the Division which had effected an entrance, within our lines, upon Culp's-hill; and their determined resistance had delayed a termination of the struggle, until nearly noon.

It was one o'clock, on the third of July, when all was ready, within the Confederate lines, for that celebrated assault which ranks among the most remarkable in history, alike for the fierceness with which it was made and the resolution and persistency with which it was met and foiled. It has been compared to the charge of the Old Guard, at Waterloo; but not, I think, very happi-

ly, for that was but a desperate effort to save a battle already lost. It far more resembles the renowned charge, at Wagram, directed by Napoleon, himself, then in the zenith of his fame and the full splendor of his great military intellect. Aspern and Essling had been doubtful, or, indeed, defeats for the Emperor; and the fate of the day, at Wagram, was trembling in the scale, when, concentrating the fire of one hundred guns upon the Austrian centre, after a furious cannonade, he launched McDonald, with ten thousand men, upon it. It was observed that, although the Empire had long since come, as if to inflame his men with all the fire of the French Revolution, McDonald, who led the column, in person, wore, that day, his old uniform of a Republican General. Bursting upon the Austrian line, it was broken; and instant retreat followed. This day was to see repeated that favorite movement of Napoleon, of striking at the centre, on an even more gigantic scale, yet not with like success—as the wave, which beats upon the rocky barriers of our coast, is dashed, back again, in clouds of scattering, dissolving spray, so this fierce and bloody wave of rebellion was to be hurled back, broken, scattered, and in wild disorder, when it struck the adamantine wall of the Infantry of the Army of the Potomac.

Concentrating an immense mass of artillery, not less than one hundred and fifty guns, along his front, the Confederate commander strives, first, to shake the morale of the Federal troops, whose firmness and courage he clearly does not despise, in order that his Infantry columns may more readily do the decisive work he has in store for them. From eighty guns posted upon Cemetery-hill and ridge, our Batteries make stern reply; and an Artillery conflict of unexampled fury rages, from ridge to ridge, and over the valley of death that lies between. Sheltering themselves, as well as they can, by such rude breastworks as they have, from the terrific storm of shot and shell which fills the air and, with its tumult, could wake the very dead among whom their lines are drawn, were they sensible to mortal sounds, our troops await the momentous struggle which is coming; for the mighty roar is but the overture and prelude to a mightier drama. For two hours, the tempest continues. Hunt, our prudent Chief of Artillery, toward the end, slackens his fire, that the ammunition may not fail—when the Infantry attempt to close, he knows, he shall need it all—and his wisdom is well rewarded, afterwards. Hancock, who commands the left center, his own Corps being immediately under Gibbon, knows that somewhere on him the storm is to break, and rides along his whole line, seeing that all is prepared, and rousing his men, by his ardent words

and magnetic presence, to the hot work that is before them.

And now, there is a momentary lull in the fire of the Confederate line—all know it as the lull which precedes the wildest roar of the tempest; and that, for a few moments, their Batteries cannot fire, because their Infantry are moving. Out of the wooded crests which have shielded them, on Seminary-ridge, they are coming, now, in number nearly, or quite, eighteen thousand men. From the edge of the wood, Longstreet directs the assault; and, anxiously, Lee watches the result. Pickett's Division, about five or six thousand strong, is the directing force. Upon the right, it is supported by Wilcox and Perry, from Hill's Corps. Upon the left, Heth's Division of Hill's Corps, commanded by Pettigrew, forms a portion of the assaulting lines, and is strengthened by two Brigades from Pender's Division, of the same Corps. On Pickett, however, the greatest reliance is placed. Let him but reach our line, with adequate momentum, and they feel that the day is theirs. The men of this Division have not yet fought in the battle, and feel that they have been kept for its very crisis: they are resolved upon their work, for they know that the eyes of both armies are upon them. Virginians all: alas! that the State, so honored in the Union as to be termed the mother of its Presidents, should send forth so gallant a body of her sons, in the mad and wicked effort to destroy it! Conspicuous, in the front, as they move into the more open ground, is Pickett himself, carefully forming his lines; and, almost immediately, they come under the fire of our Batteries; yet, steadily they move, through the valley, with a courage that, in a good cause, should command the admiration of the world. There is no rushing or tumult, for they are old troops and know well the value of discipline and that they must keep their formations, or they will be driven, as a mob would be driven, from the front of the Army of the Potomac. They close up their ranks, too, as the shot and spherical case come plunging through their lines, for they have often looked, before, upon the sight of blood. The lines of Pettigrew, more exposed by the open character of the ground, waver, soon, under the terrific cannonade—for Hunt, economical, a little while ago, is liberal enough, everywhere, now—and are broken, on their left, while the right still clings firmly to the directing force. The supporting columns fail to advance, in season and with vigor; and Pickett's Division must do the work, finally, almost alone, if it may. Already, it is within the musketry fire of our troops; but yet they withhold it. Many of our guns have now exhausted their canister, and

are drawn back, to await the struggle of the Infantry; but, still the stout Army lets its opponents come. The Second Vermont Brigade—First Corps—thrown forward upon its flank, is the first to open; but the column still presses on. It encounters, now, the Second Corps; and, as it receives a terrific fire, from the Divisions of Gibbon and Hays, it returns it, with desperate energy, and, rushing fiercely onwards, strikes, with its fullest force, upon the front of Webb's Brigade, pressing back our line, from the stone-wall which had covered it, to the crest, immediately behind, where the gallant Webb, assisted by Hall, soon restores order. Already, their battle-flags are on the low stone-wall; already, Armistead, who leads, as he stands upon it, waves his troops forward to their last great struggle. The hour for the Army of the Potomac has come. Up now, men of New England, and show yourselves, in the field, the same stout defenders of the Constitution and the Union that your statesmen have ever done, in the forum! Up, men of the Middle States, upon whose soil this unholy attempt to strike at the keystone of the arch is made! Up, men of the West, whose fortunes have so long been cast with this Eastern Army, that you may bear back, beyond the mountains, the tidings of the great victory, won to-day, on the Atlantic slope! Up, true men of the South, few though you are, in numbers, who fight in our ranks, to-day! There is no need for any one to echo the Order of the Duke, at Waterloo, to call or command, for, now, the left centre, as if by a common impulse and instinct, throws itself upon the foe. The point penetrated by the enemy is covered by some Regiments; while others change their front, so as to strike them on the flank. There is confusion: organization is, to some extent, lost in both Brigades and Regiments; but all understand what is to be done, and are resolute. It is the stern confusion of the onset; and not the wretched tumult of disaster. As the long wave of fire bursts upon their charging lines, the colors of our Regiments are advanced to meet the battle-flags of the foe. Firmly on, our men come—officers animating, by their example, at least, when they cannot direct by their commands; for we stand no longer on the defensive, but take the offensive, now. Before that determined front and concentrated fire, what brave but erring and misguided men could do, their men did. Killed or mortally wounded, their Brigadiers fall, their lines waver, yield, and break, at last; and, while a few wild, disorganized masses struggle to reach the Confederate line, from which they issued, so proudly, an hour before, the Army of the Potomac gathers up the prisoners, by thousands, and their battle-

flags, in sleeves, and knows that Gettysburg is won.

General Meade, who was at the right, getting his Reserves in order, when the assault commenced, reached the left centre just as the repulse was fairly completed, and, speaking to General Gibbon's Aide, asked, "How is it going, here?" He was told that the assault was repulsed. He repeated, "Is it entirely repulsed?" and when the Aide replied that it was, and all around broke into loud cheers, he raised his hat with a simple, "Thank God!" Nor, with him, was this the mere repetition of a phrase of custom, but an expression of deep and heartfelt feeling. Although thousands, in a grateful country, attested, by solemn thanksgiving, their gratitude for this great triumph—worthy to be ranked with what Oliver Cromwell termed the Battle of Worcester, "the crowning mercy of the Lord"—I question if, from one, it came with more deep emotion than from the lips of the Commander-in-chief, upon the field itself. "A soldier," says Corporal Trim, in Sterne's fine story, "a soldier, 'an't please your rev'rence, must say his prayers 'when and where he can."

It has been contended that we should now have attacked, in our turn; but such a movement, if successful, might, of course, become seriously compromising; and it was not in the character of General Meade to put at risk that which he had already gained, when it was of such vast value and importance. The battle had been fought, for the key of the country, where he stood, and fought out, thoroughly: it was his, beyond doubt or peradventure: no earthly power could wrest it from him. The invasion was at an end; and Lee would be compelled to abandon the territory into which he had entered. Nor must it be forgotten that, while the losses of the enemy were greater, far, ours were yet enormous; for, tested in the merest material way and without regard to the consequences involved, Gettysburg is one of the great battles of the world. The Confederate loss was eighteen thousand, killed and wounded, and thirteen thousand, six hundred missing—nearly the whole of the latter being our prisoners—making a total of thirty-one thousand, six hundred: our own was sixteen thousand, five hundred, killed and wounded, and six thousand, six hundred missing—to a large extent, the prisoners of the first day—making a total loss of twenty-three thousand, one hundred.

It was the fifth of July when Lee commenced his retreat; and, as he reached the Potomac, which he had crossed in such high hope, he learned, by a message from Davis, that the blow upon Vicksburg, of which he had hoped to break the weight, had fallen, and that the Mississippi was open to the sea. Whether or not

he could have been attacked to advantage, before he crossed, is yet an open question, which I shall not undertake, here, to discuss.

I would not, willingly, do injustice to the other great fields of the War and their splendid results; and yet it has always seemed to me that Gettysburg was the culminating point of the Rebellion; and that the blow struck, that day, for the Union, accompanying the fall of Vicksburg, turned, forever, its bloody tide. Large varied, and constant as were the services rendered by General Meade, before that day and after it, to the very end of the War, it is by his judgment, in so maneuvering his Army as to compel the Confederate Commander to take the initiative; by his energy, in bringing his troops to this decisive field; by his skill, in posting his force and arranging his order of battle; by his calmness, courage, and persistency, in all its vicissitudes; that he will ever be most gratefully remembered. His fame is built upon the rocks, and is as immovable as the hills of Gettysburg. Great fields were yet to be fought; great sacrifices endured; great victories won: the leader, wise of head and stout of heart, who should gather the springs which moved all our Armies into a single hand and control them with a single will, was yet to come before the long-tried Army of the Potomac should see all that it fought for, fully secured. Yet, although all this was still to be, and although the waves of the Rebellion were to come, again and yet again, never was its bloody crest to be reared so high, as at Gettysburg.

To do justice to all the valor and heroism of that day and all its momentous consequences, is a task beyond the reach of language; yet, so far as words may do it, is has been already done. The monuments which the intellect can rear, outlast the stateliest that hands can raise. The columns which the States of Greece reared to the dead of Thermopylae, crumbled to the dust, hundreds of years ago; but the noble ode by which Simonides commemorated them, is taught, to-day, in the schools of this University, beneath the budding branches of whose elms we stand, in a world undreamed of, then. Athens is in ruin; conqueror after conqueror has pressed his rude heel upon her; but the noble oration, by which Pericles celebrated the Athenian dead, is fresh in immortal youth. And as long as the Union shall stand, will the simple, majestic memorial by which, with words fresh from his true and honest heart, Abraham Lincoln commemorated the great deed done, that day, be remembered; and "Government of the People, by the People, and for the People, shall not perish from the earth."

Already my brief hour draws to its close. You know well that, within its limits, it would

be vain for me to attempt to write the history of the subsequent operations of the Army of the Potomac; yet, to do all this, would be necessary to do full justice to our late commanding General. Let me sum them briefly up by saying that the operations of the remainder of the year of which I have been speaking, though important, were indecisive, both the Army of the Potomac and that of Northern Virginia being reduced, by heavy drafts made upon them, to reinforce the movements now taking place in the West.

The succeeding Spring witnessed the great change, by which our Armies came under one head, by the appointment of General Grant, as Lieutenant-general, who was to command in the field and not from the Bureau—of which latter style of commanding we had, indeed, had enough—and to whose splendid exertions and unflinching determination we owed, under God, our final triumph. Recognizing, fully, that the pinch of the contest was between this Army and that which had, so long, held the lines of the rebel capital, and that other operations, however important, were secondary and subsidiary, only, the proper place to direct the movements of all seemed to him to be from this; and his Head-quarters were fixed near those of our commanding-General. The near presence of an officer of higher rank, with him, undoubtedly rendered General Meade's position one of some delicacy; yet it cost him no difficulty to meet all its exigencies. While the responsibility for the great movements to be made rested with the Lieutenant-general, their tactical execution, so far as this Army was concerned, devolved upon him, and the immediate command was always his; and his duties were so executed, I hazard nothing in saying, as to command, from General Grant, a respect and esteem which continued to the day of his death. In the long series of battles which now commenced, General Meade's splendid abilities, as a tactician, his firmness and judgment, his devotion to his troops, were every where conspicuous, at the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, lavish of their dead; and, in every conflict, up to the last, when, though the malarial fever that raged within his veins did not permit him to sit on his horse, he still directed the Army of the Potomac, in its stern pressure upon the encompassed and beleaguered Lee. To the great and high idea of duty which he expressed, in taking command of the Army, he was faithful, to the close of its existence; and the succeeding years, which witnessed his command in the Southern States, attest that the moderation and firmness, the humanity and love of justice, which were essential attributes of his character, make his civil life as honorable as his military career was splendid.

Comrades, the Army which he commanded so long, has passed away. No more shall its bugles break the sweet stillness of the morning air, as, with their reveille, they salute the coming day; no more shall the falling night hear the rolling tattoo of its drums: its tents are struck; and its cannon have thundered their last notes of defiance and of victory. Each year, we, who were its survivors, assemble in sadly diminishing numbers, as the remorseless artillery of time hurls its fatal missiles into our ranks, until, shortly, a few old men only shall gather together and strive, with feeble voices, to raise the thundering battle-cheer with which we once answered the rebel yells, to sink, themselves, soon after, under the common lot. How fast the coming generations rise to push us from our places, when you remember all whom we have lost, even since the War, I do not need to remind you. Yet, as generation after generation shall come, in their long succession—while the great flag that it bore at the head of its marching columns, waves over a free and united people—it will be remembered that, in its day and generation, and in its time and place, the Army of the Potomac did, for liberty and law, for the Constitution and the Union, deeds worthy of immortal honor. And he that was its leader, on so many a hot and bloody day and on so many a well-contested field—we leave him to his long repose, to his pure, unsullied, and well-earned fame, in the full confidence that, while a Christian gentleman, a wise and true soldier, a lofty patriot, is honored, he will not be forgotten:

“Mild in manner, fair in favor,
“Kind in temper, fierce in fight—
“Warrior, nobler, gentler, braver,
“Never will behold the light.”

IV.—THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.—CONTINUED FROM VOLUME I., PAGE 830.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

The New York city of 1784 was a great city, in the esteem of people then living; and Doctor Cutler was evidently not a little impressed by its grandeur. It will repay us to glean a few facts, from various sources, to aid in reproducing it, as it appeared to the traveler whose diary we are using so freely.

At that time, it numbered about twenty-thousand people, but was rapidly growing. In 1766, when the Common Council gave the Presbyter-

ians the lot on which to build the "Brick Church," it was called "in the Fields," to indicate that it was in a section but little built up. The City-hall, on which the people prided themselves, was in Wall-street; and the churches were all below the present Park. The *Map of the City of New York, surveyed by John Hills, 1782*, shows that the city then extended from the Battery but little above the site of the present City-hall—not higher than the old Hospital, or Duane-street, on the North-river side, and, perhaps, Ferry and Pearl, or, at farthest, Roosevelt-street, on the East-river side, with a few blocks farther East. The map indicates some buildings on the Bowery, near its junction with Chatham-street. Along either river, are the signs of "Fortifications made by the British" and "extended by the Americans." The interior of the island contained brooks, swamps, hills, fresh-water-ponds, farms, forests, orchards, and common country-roads. There was not a sign of the American Metropolis above Leonard-street. The buildings which then graced the town, were very plain, as compared with the modern palaces, for business, which now line every thoroughfare and avenue. The City-hall, which is described by Doctor Cutler, was a small affair, in all respects, as compared with its successor. And so with the churches and other edifices. In its streets, lamps, and everything, it was a plain city; whilst, in size, it was not, then, as large or fine as Lowell, or Columbus, or Indianapolis. And so with its shipping—how trifling it appears, in comparison with the marine that now seeks freight in that great harbor. It would be interesting to go into details; but we have not the space for more than a few. All the foreign vessels that entered that port, in a year, at the time mentioned, did not exceed six hundred; and the "coast-wise" vessels not twice that sum. In 1795, there were only nine hundred and forty-one foreign vessels, a sum that astounded President Dwight, who said, "the number has been constantly increasing, and, in all probability, will continue to increase, through centuries to come." As for the means of travel, they were scarcely better, in 1787, than they were, before the Revolution, when Mr. Franklin said, with evident pride, "In Summer-time, the passages are frequently performed in a week, from Charleston to Philadelphia and New York; and, from Rhode Island to New York, through the Sound, in two or three days; and, from New York to Philadelphia, by water and land, in two days, by stage-boats and wheel-carriages, that set out every other day!"

It was a mere town which our traveler was for the first time visiting; and these preliminary statements will add a relish to the descrip-

tions which he gives of places, people, and customs in New York.

"*Friday, July 6.* This morning delivered most of my introductory letters to members of Congress. Prepared my papers for making application to Congress, for the purchase of lands in the Western country, for the Ohio Company. At 11 o'clock, I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress-chamber, in the City-hall, by Col. Carrington, member from Virginia. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands, for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. A Committee was appointed, on terms of negotiation, and report to Congress. Dined with Mr. Dans. He and Mr. Milliken, Comptroller of the Board of Treasury, have hired a house in Broadway; and live in a family state, with only two servants. Spent the evening with several members of Congress.

"*July 7.* Paid my respects this morning to Doctor Holton and several other gentlemen; was introduced, by Dr. Ewing and Mr. Rittenhouse, to Mr. Hutchings, Geographer of the United States. Dined with Gen. Knox; introduced to his lady and a French nobleman, the Marquis Lotbinière, at dinner; to several other gentlemen, who dined with us. Mrs. Knox is very gross; but her manners are easy and graceful. She is sociable and would be very agreeable were it not for her affected singularity, in dressing her hair. She seems to mimic a military style, which, to me, is disgusting, in a female. Her hair, in front, is craped at least a foot high, much in the form of a churn, bottom upwards, and topped off with a wire skeleton, in the same form, covered with black gauze, which hangs in streamers down to her back. Her hair, behind, is in a large braid turned up and confined with a monstrous, crooked comb. She reminded me of the monstrous cap worn by the Marquis La Fayette's valet, commonly called, on that account, the 'Marquis's Devil.' No person attracted my attention, at the table, so much as the Marquis Lotbinière, not on account of his good sense, for, if it had not been for his title, I should have thought him two-thirds of a fool.

"Waited on the Rev. Dr. Rogers; and drank tea in company with Dr. Ewing, Dr. Witherspoon, and several other clergymen. The Doctor urged me, exceedingly, to preach for him, at least part of the day, on Sunday; but, as the two Presidents were in town and I had just come off a long journey, I prevailed on him to excuse me. In the evening, called on Dr. Crosby, in company with Mr. Hazzard. Dr. Crosby is Professor of Medi-

"cine in the University in this city. He is much of a gentleman and received me politely."

The famous "Brick Church," which occupied, for three-fourths and more of a century, the spot on which the "Times Building" now is, must always be an interesting name to the lover of Revolutionary history. During the several years the city of New York was occupied by the British troops, they seemed to cherish a special spite against both the Presbyterian and the Dutch churches. The old Wall-street congregation had colonized, or, rather, in 1766, had built a second edifice, to accommodate the overflowing congregation, opening it for worship, in 1768. It was regarded as one of the finest churches in the city; and Doctor Spring, in his first Memorial Discourse, thus describes the treatment both churches received from the enemy: "During the War," says Doctor Spring, "these two Presbyterian churches were the objects of the special vengeance and indignity of the enemy. The church in Wall-street was converted into barracks, and the Brick-church into a hospital; defaced and stripped of their interior and left in ruins; and the parsonage-house burned to the ground. On the return of Peace, and while these edifices were being repaired, the congregations steadily worshipped in St. George's and St. Paul's, through the unsolicited and generous courtesy of the Vestry of Trinity-church. After having been repaired, at great expense, the Brick-church was re-opened, in June, 1784."—SPRING'S *Old and New Church*, 7.

From the sermon of the Rev. Doctor Livingston, preached at the re-opening of the "Middle Dutch-church," in Nassau-street—now the city Post-office—on the fourth of July, 1790, we learn of "the wanton cruelty of those who destroyed this temple and the various indignities which have been perpetrated. It would be easy to mention facts which would chill your blood! A recollection of the groans of dying prisoners, which pierced this ceiling, or the sacrilegious sports and rough feasts of horsemanship, exhibited within these walls, might raise sentiments, in your mind, that would, perhaps, not harmonize with those religious affections which I wish, at present, to promote and, always, to cherish." * * * "Seven years are not elapsed since we returned to this city, in peace. And lo! in less than seven years, two ruined churches have by us been repaired." The enemy actually stole, and carried to England, the pulpit of the North Dutch-church, where it was afterward discovered, in a country church, by a gentleman who had known it in New York.—DE WITT'S *Discourse*, 41, 79, 81.

It is interesting to gather up these incidental allusions to the condition of New York city, as it was since its evacuation by the enemy. The churches, ruined by the enemy, were not all restored; but business was gradually reviving, so that, when Doctor Cutler spent some Sabbaths in the city, he found churches that excited his admiration. Among these, he mentions two; and having premised so much, we recur to the Diary.

"*Sunday, July 8.* Attended church, this morning, at the New Brick Presbyterian-church. The house is large and elegant. The carvings, within, are rather plain but very neat, and produce a fine effect upon the eye. "Dr. Ewing—Provost of the University of Philadelphia—preached a very pretty sermon, on the advantages and excellencies of the Christian religion. The congregation appeared remarkably neat and rich, in their dress, but not gay. The house was very full; and the audience attentive. I was particularly pleased with the singing. When the Psalm is read, the Chorister rises and sings the first line: he is then joined, in the second line, by the whole congregation. Men, women, and children all seemed to sing, without exception. The airs of the tunes are sprightly, though not quick. The singing, notwithstanding it was performed by such a mixed multitude, was soft, musical, and solemn; and the time well preserved. There is an orchestra, but no organ. The public service was introduced by a short prayer, reading the scriptures, and then singing; but, instead of singing before sermon, they sing, in the morning as well as the afternoon, after the last prayer. As soon as the last singing is ended, the Wardens go out from their large round pew, with each a large pewter platter in his hand, each taking a tier of pews and walking down the aisles. Every person, great and small, puts into the platter one copper, and no more. The contribution is made through the whole congregation, in less than three minutes.

"I was struck, this morning, with a custom in this city which I had never heard of, before, in any part of the world. I observed, as I was going to church, six men walking, two and two, towards the church, with very long white sashes which appeared to be made of white Holland, the whole width and two or three yards in length. They were placed over their right shoulders and tied under their left arms, in a very large bow, with several yards of ribbon. On the top of their shoulders, a large rose, of white ribbon, was placed upon the sash. As I came up to the yard of the church, Dr. Rogers and Dr. Ewing were

"just before me, going into church, both in their black gowns; but Dr. Rogers, with a large white sash, like those of the six men, only that the bow and rose of ribbon were black. These sashes, I was informed, were given, the last week, at a funeral: they are worn by the Minister and bearers to the grave; and are always worn, by them, the next Sunday, and the bearers always walk, to and from church, together. To give these sashes, is a general custom, at the funerals of persons of any note."

In the evening, Doctor Cutler heard a celebrity preach, in the Brick-church—Doctor John Witherspoon; who was elected President of the College of New Jersey, in 1788, and had, the same year, entered upon the discharge of his duties. His learning, originality, and good sense—the whole flavored with an irrepressible wit—made him the most popular College-President of his day; and, even yet, there linger, about the venerable edifice and grounds of Nassau-hall, anecdotes and sayings of his, which excite the mirth and admiration of young men, almost as much as they did, a hundred years ago. As soon as he came to this country, he espoused the cause of the patriots; and, both by pen and speech, promoted resistance against the encroachments of the Parliament and King of Great Britain. He is described as a florid, raw-boned, angular Scotchman; with a strong brogue; with no grace of manner; but quite abrupt. He was greatly admired; and it is a somewhat singular coincidence that, after the lapse of a century, a second celebrated Scotch scholar and divine should be called to the Presidency of Nassau-hall. Doctor Mc Cosh, in personal appearance and manners, must be quite in contrast with his illustrious predecessor.

"Attended Lecture (in the evening) at Dr. Roger's New Brick Presbyterian Church. Full congregation. Dr. Witherspoon, President of New Jersey College, preached. He is an intolerably homely old Scotchman; and speaks the true dialect of his country, except that his brogue borders on the Irish. He is a bad speaker; has no oratory; and had no notes before him. His subject was *Hypocrisy*. But, notwithstanding the dryness of his subject, the badness of his delivery—which required the closest attention to follow him—yet, the correctness of his style, the arrangement of his matter, and the many new ideas that he suggested, rendered his sermon very entertaining. The attention of the congregation strongly marked their regard to good sense and clear reasoning, rather than mere show of oratory and declamation. Spent the remainder of the evening with Mr. Hazzard."

Before leaving the Brick-church, which was one of the celebrated spots of New York, we will anticipate the record of Doctor Cutler's Diary of Monday, the ninth of July, in order to get a look at the most popular preacher of the city, the senior Pastor of that church: "July 9th. Dined with Dr. Rogers, in company with Dr. Ewing, Dr. Witherspoon, Dr. Mc Whorter, of Newark, Mr. Wilson—colleague with Dr. Rogers—and two other clergymen, from the southward, whose names I do not recollect. It seemed like a Ministers' meeting. They appeared to be much of gentlemen; and I must do them justice to say I was treated with particular marks of attention, notwithstanding my being a New England man. Dr. Rogers is certainly the most accomplished gentleman, for a clergyman, not even to except Dr. Cooper" [of Boston] "that I have ever been acquainted with. He lives in an elegant style; and entertains company as genteelly as the first gentlemen in the city. This he may well do, for his salary is seven hundred and fifty pounds a year, and his perquisites upwards of two hundred pounds more. Mr. Wilson is a young Scotchman, and colleague with Dr. Rogers. They have two distinct congregations; but they alternately preach in each house—the same sermons they preach in the forenoon, they always preach in the afternoon, by exchanging houses. The churches which belong to the two houses are but one corporate body; although they commune separately.

"It was with reluctance I took my leave of this agreeable and sociable company of clergymen; but my business rendered it necessary."

Some weeks later, our tourist heard and described Doctor Rogers; and we anticipate his description: "Sunday, July 22. Attended public worship, in the morning, at the old Brick, in Wall-street. Dr. Rogers preached. He makes no use of notes; but he arranged his subject very well. Gave us a very pretty sermon on the Lord's Prayer. His address is easy, soft, and engaging. No display of oratory. His style was pure, sentimental, and and nervous; but plain and familiar. He made me often think of Dr. Cooper. I dined with Mr. Hazzard, Post-Master General. In the afternoon, attended at the same meeting. Mr. Wilson preached. He uses no notes; nor are they much used by our clergy in the city. His subject was Envy. He was sufficiently methodical, but is not a good speaker; nor was there anything extraordinary in his sermon. It was rather a harangue; but he was very catholic in his sentiments. In the evening, attended a lecture at the Old Dutch-church."

"The sermon was delivered in Dutch, with a great deal of vehemence and pathos; but whether it was good or bad I know not."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

V.—AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.—

CONTINUED FROM VOLUME I, PAGE 333.

BY ETHAN ALLEN, ESQR.

SECTION III.

Of the consciousness of the agency and entity of the human soul, and of the insufficiency of its external sensations, to discover the existence and actions of moral beings.

Our compound nature existing of sensation and reflection, is in many respects mysterious to us, nor is it at all surprising, that the agency as well as nature of such creatures as we are, (partly spiritual and partly animal,) should more or less involve our speculations thereon in doubt, and perplexity. We ought to analyse and critically distinguish, between the knowledge that we immediately have from our own consciousness, and that which we premise to have acquired by the progress of reasoning, as the former is certain and true, and the latter may be true or false, according as we may be supposed to reason right or wrong. Strictly speaking we can not reason wrong, for such part of the progress as may terminate in a wrong conclusion, is deception and not reasoning, hence we infer, that reasoning is always right, but as we all pretend to reason in our disquisition of things whether we do or not, and likewise set up for Judges of it, and as every one is Orthodox to himself, we have no standard whereby to decide the authenticity of our reasonings, but individuals must Judge for themselves. some writers have defined reasoning, to be right reasoning, but this every one will premise his reasoning to be, whether right or wrong, so that we gain nothing by using the word right before the word reason, as every one supposes his reasoning to be right, till he is convinced of the contrary, and since all (real) reasoning is right, right reason is the same as reason, and it is our business to distinguish it from error, and not to call that reason which is not so: but the conscious knowledge that we have of the existence and agency of our own souls we do not acquire by (a progress of) reasoning, and therefore are not lyable to be mistaken or deceived therein, as in argumentative investigations which will be farther considered in its order.

The Author of nature has intuitively and universally impressed on our minds; a conscious knowledge of our agency (or power of action,) in all cases wherein it is attended with the consequences of moral good and evil. This consciousness of agency of which our minds are intuitively certain, is not derived from the deductions of reasoning, all ranks and degrees of mankind are equally sure of the reality of it, a sense of liberty of action is inherent in the soul, and originated with it, and is essential to it, and we are as conscious of it, as of the existence of the soul, since it is not from sensation or reasoning, that we are apprized of the one or the other, but have our evidence of both merely from our consciousness thereof.

God has not made it requisite that we should become philosophers or understand science, in order to know that we are (free) agents, in matters that respect the morality or immorality of our actions, for there are comparatively but few of our species who have arrived to any considerable degree in scientific knowledge: and as the Divine Legeslator has promulgated his Law to every of us who understand moral good and evil, he has also co-extensively given us a consciousness that we are (free) agents, which together with the knowledge of right and wrong, makes us accountable creatures, for as a sense of accountableness pre-supposes the knowledge of moral good and evil, it also pre-supposes a power or liberty of agency, since the mere understanding of right and wrong, without the power of agency therein, could lay us under no moral obligation to conform to the good and refuse the evil, for that the mere knowledge of moral fitness in us, abstractly considered from a power, or an ability of conformity thereto in life and action, could not render us amenable either to God, society, or to ourselves, since our accountableness originates as much from our power of agency, as from our knowledge of the difference between moral good and evil. Hence we infer, that it is the understanding together with the ability of a conformity to moral rectitude, that makes us probationary and accountable creatures. And it matters not whether we are wise enough fully to investigate the subject of our agency; or the nature and manner of the souls exertion of itself, since we are conscious of intelligent being and of agency, from whence results all our mental happiness and misery. Was it necessary in Order to our being free and consequently accountable beings, that we should comprehend the essence, spring, and manner of our liberty, or how agency is extended in all and every respect, and be able to solve all questions concerning it, our liberty in consequence thereof would be foreclosed, together with our accountability, since none of

our race are wise enough, fully and perfectly to understand all this. Those who are the greatest adepts in the science of anatomy, have not discovered every minute part of the (animal) machinery of the human body, or the respective usefulness of such parts as they have discovered, to the whole, nor has the united wisdom of mankind investigated the intrinsic reason, or natural cause of motion in the human body, or how it is that we move a hand or finger. We know from experience that our hands & feet obey our volitions, but how volition operates on an animal machine we know not, yet should any one deny the reality of such motion or exertion he would be deemed a mad man, since motion is an Object of sense, in which all uniformly agree: nor are we less certain of the reality of our souls, than of our bodies, nor of our agency than of either of the other positions. The body and its motions are perceived by the senses, and the soul, and its agency by its consciousness, and we may as well dispute against the reality of the external motion or action of the hand, because we cannot comprehend it, as against the agency or action of the soul, because we cannot comprehend it. Furthermore, we have the same kind and degree of evidence and no other, of the reality of our agency, as we have of the reality of our souls, the evidence of both resulting merely from an immediate consciousness thereof, and since we have the evidence of the existence of the soul, from its conscious exertions, and in the same exertions, we are likewise conscious that we are (free) agents, we can not therefore be deceived with respect to our agency, any more than with respect to our existence, which is bringing the argument to a decision in favour of human agency, for if we are as certain of it as of existence, we may venture to conclude our selves to be spontaneously active, for it is too evident to be controverted; that we Obtain both the knowledge of our intellectual existence and agency from the same manner and degree of evidence, or in other words from the same conscious exercise of our minds, nor is it in nature possible for us to have a conscious knowledge of the exercise of our minds, without having at the same time, an intuitive knowledge that the same exercise is free, the consciousness of the one cannot be without the consciousness of the other, for agency or the power of agency, is congenial with intelligence, and in the constitution of human nature, inseparably united to, and connected with it.

We may from our consciousness of intelligent action, infer the existence of the soul, abstractly considered from our agency, since mere action implies being, without considering whether we are necessary or free beings, for that nonen-

ity can not act at all, or be necessary or free as it has no existence, but in agency we are possessed of a two fold consciousness, the one respects merely our actions, and the other the manner of them, since our manner of acting, as well as our actions themselves, are comprized in our consciousness of them, and it is a consciousness of the manner of our acting, which inform us that we are free agents, as a mere consciousness of action, without a consciousness of the manner of them, could not inform us whether we acted spontaneously or was acted upon by some other being or cause, and since every one by consulting his own consciousness will find that he has a power of agency, or that this is the manner of his acting, we need not pry into science for the discovery of our (free) agency.

Furthermore, we may deduce the evidence of the certainty of our intelligent being, as well from our consciousness of liberty, as that of action abstracted from it, for that mere liberty or a power to act implies being, or an agent in whom it inheres or resides. Liberty therefore includes an Idea of existence, as it exhibits to us a consciousness of the manner of the exertion of the soul, and as the manner of those exertions implies exertion it self, and exertion implies being, therefore our consciousness of the power of spontaneous agency evinces our existence; as it makes known to us the intrinsic mode or manner of our actions, and as the mode of those actions imply their existence, and their existence imply the existence of the soul, consequently our consciousness of liberty by tracing it to action, and from action to the soul, evinces its existence.

From what has been already argued on this subject it follows, that we have as great a certainty of our (free) agency, as we have of our intellectual being, and are as certain of that as we are that we have a sensitive body, for the acts of our senses are not more certain, than our consciousness of intelligent action, since our consciousness extends both to sensation and reflection, without which we could have no knowledge of either.

Having briefly considered the nature and force of the evidence of our power of agency, arising merely from our consciousness thereof, which amounts to an intuitive certainty of it, we proceed to the consideration of our bodies and of external things in general. An accurate examination into our own constitution will discover, that our organized senses can not perceive, nor can we through their medium, have any conception of the soul or of its actions or operations, for that the soul and its actions, and the manner of its actions, which is the same as the soul and its agency, (as agency implies not only action but the manner of action,) are altogether

imperceptible to the five senses. The soul or spirit of man is not visible to the sight, nor vibrating to the drum of the ear, nor can it excite the Idea of sound immediately, though directly or by the use of the organ of the body, and invented instruments it can do it, nor can we taste, smell, or feel a soul. Furthermore our own souls are as imperceptible to their own respective sensoriums, as the souls of others, and are their respective agencies. We can no more by our senses perceive the actions or agency of our own souls, than through those mediums we can perceive our souls themselves, for both in our own souls with all others of the species, with all their actions or agencies, are imperceptible to the faculties of sensation, and as our senses are by nature incompetent to communicate the knowledge of any moral being, or the perceptions or agency of such being, or beings to us. We therefore infer that we have the understanding of that part of our nature we call moral, and of its spontaneous powers and exertions, merely from an intuitive consciousness thereof. The intuitive method of understanding the nature and exertions of our own souls; altogether dissimilar and unlike the manner of our coming at the understanding of external things, which are the proper objects of sense, and come within the mode of their perception. Hence we infer that the medium of sensation is inadequate to mere mental discoveries.

We know by experience that we can no otherwise correspond with each other, or communicate or receive Ideas, but by adequate representations made to our bodily senses, either oral or written of which we understand the signs. Thus it is that the knowledge of external objects is communicated to the mind, by the instrumentality of the senses, as argued at large in the first and second sections of the fourth Chapter of the theology frequently mentioned. Our external senses are therefore the only medium by which the first perceptions, and consequently the knowledge of external things are discoverable to us, yet the mind makes no manner of discovery of it self, or of its spontaneous exertions through that medium, but from an immediate consciousness of thinking as before argued, in which consciousness of being or of the exertion of agency, the senses do not act a part: nor is there any need of their assistance in the discovery of mere mental beings, whose essences are too subtle, vivid and pure to come within their notice. The acts of consciousness which an intelligent being has of it self and its agency, is immediate which necessarily excludes the intervention of any intermediate cause whatever, whether that of its own natural sensorium or, of those invented mediums called glasses. The animal machine is no more than a

piece of the Divine art, however stupendous to our imagination and surpassing our art and comprehension.

The soul is too superior a being, to need any machinery in its immediate consciousness of it self, and its actions. Did the soul stand in need of such helps for the knowledge of its (internal) being, it would militate against its immortality, as death destroys the machine of sense. The knowledge of external things is (in this life) mediate, but not Immediate, since it is acquired by the instrumentality of the Organs of sense, and through the medium of human invented instruments, but the conscious knowledge which we have of our intelligent selves, is immediate, as it is independent of natural or artificial mediums, or instruments. Was it not that in the order of nature we were previously apprized of our intelligent selves, we could not secondly have been apprized of other things, therefore we premise that the intuitive knowledge, which we immediately have of our mental selves, is prerequisite to our knowledge of external things, which we call mediate knowledge, because it is obtained by the instrumentality of the senses, or human constructed instruments, as already sufficiently described.

The conscious knowledge therefore which an intelligent being has merely from himself, and that immediately (and exclusive of all mediate causes,) can not be a deception, or mistake, as it is the intuitive or certain knowledge of being and agency, or the manner of action, which can not and does not at all depend, on human reasoning or art for its investigation, and therefore is not liable to errors, mistakes or any deception, as our scientific reasonings on external things are. Hence we infer that the apprehensions which we have from intuition is certainly true, and is the spring, foundation and source of all our knowledge, and since the understanding of our (free) or spontaneous agency, does not result from reasoning or argumentation, but from a conscious intuition of it to all mankind, we can not herein be mistaken or deceived, as it is possible for us to be, in matters relative to external things, wherein prejudices, errors and mistakes may intervene, and make our conclusions faulty and irregular, and consequently widely different the one from the other, though we all agree in the conscious knowledge that we are (free) agents, and yet in other matters have been ridiculously divided and subdivided.

No sooner do we depart from the basis of the intuitive knowledge of our agency, in which all agree, and further essay to explain and investigate the subject, than we more or less disagree in our apprehensions and final conclusions con-

cerning it, as the learned disputations thereon may witness. Yet those clashing and diverse, and I might add party, as well as imperfect reasonings ought not, and in the fitness of things cannot militate against the intuitive certainty of our moral agency, of which we are as certain as of a moral existence: Yet when we have the weakness to compare our agency with external and incogitative things, that are necessarily governed, we lose sight of our liberty, and by reasoning from false analogy, involve it in destiny as argued more at large in the eighth section of the theology, in the fourth chapter to which the reader is referred, and also to the succeeding section of this appendix.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VI.—THE ESTATE OF ANNETIE JANS.

RECORD OF THE CONVEYANCE OF "THE
"DOMINE'S BOUWERY," TO GOVERNOR
LOVELACE, BY HER CHILDREN.

FROM THE ORIGINAL ENTRY, IN THE VOLUME OF
DEEDS AND CONVEYANCES OF REAL
ESTATE, 1665-1672, IN THE OFFICE OF THE
COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Anno 1670/71 March the 9th. Have Johan-

nes Van Brugh, in right of Catrina Roelofs, his wife and Attorney of Pieter Hartgers; Willem Bogardus, for himself and his brothers Jan Roelofs and Jonas Bogardus; and Cornelis Van Borsum in right of Sara Roelofs his wife and by assignment of Pieter Bogardus, all children and Lawful heirs of Annetie Roelofs Late widow of dom: Bogardus deceased; for a valuable consideration, Transported & made unto the Right honorable Collonel Francis Lovelace his heirs & assigns, their farms or Bouwery commonly called or knowne by the name of domence's Bouwery, Lying & being on Manhattan Island towards the North River, the quantity of y^e Land amounting to about sixty two acres, as in the former ground briefe from Governor Stuyvesant bearing date the 4th day of July 1654. and the confirmation thereupon from Gov^r R. Nicholls bearing date y^e 27th of March 1667 is more particularly set forth. W^{ch} Transport was signed by them and acknowledged before the Aldermen M^r Olof Stevensen Cortlant & M^r John Lawrence.

VII.—CONFEDERATE LOVE-TAPS.—CONTINUED FROM VOLUME I., PAGE 351.

SUPPLEMENTAL.*

1—TABULAR STATEMENT OF THE "PRESENT FOR DUTY," ON THE THIRTY-FIRST OF DECEMBER, 1862, SHOWING THE NUMBER OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, AND THE PER-CENTAGE OF LOSS IN THE BRIGADES OF BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION, AT THE BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO'.

<i>Breckinridge's Division</i>	Present for Duty			Com'd officers			Enlisted men			Total	Aggregate	Percentage of Loss
	Commission officers	Enlisted men	Aggregate	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Killed	Wounded	Missing			
31st Dec., 1862.												
Palmer's Brigade	129	1446	1575	1	1	-	1	19	1	21	23	1½
Preston's "	148	1808	1951	2	11	-	14	129	7	150	163	8½
Adams's "	100	1584	1684	7	18	-	75	326	118	519	544	33½
Hanson's "	141	1752	1893	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	518	6540	7058	10	30		90	474	126	690	730	10 2-5
Hanson's Brigade not in action, 31 Dec., 1862, deducting its strength, 1893, the Percentage is 14½ on Dec. 31st.												
2nd January, 1863.												
(Palmer's) Pillow's Brigade				5	31	2	42	278	49	364	402	25½
Preston's "				2	17	4	40	227	86	353	376	19½
Adams's "				1	6	1	29	95	27	151	159	9½
Hanson's "				10	32	3	37	241	78	356	401	21½
	518	6540	7058	18	86	10	148	836	240	1224	1338	19

Total force engaged in the several
Battles, 7,053. Total loss 2,068.

Percentage of loss 29½.

* The several papers published in this supplemental portion of the collection, were kindly communicated to us, for that purpose, by General Bragg.—Editor

2.—TABULAR STATEMENT, SHOWING THE NUMBER "PRESENT FOR DUTY," ON THE MORNING OF THE 31ST OF DECEMBER, 1862, THE NUMBER OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, AND THE PERCENTAGE OF LOSS IN THE BATTLE OF MURFREESBORO'.

Present for duty		Commissioned officers	Enlisted men	Aggregate
Polk's Corps	Cheatham's Division	454	5,090	5,544
	Withers's "	617	7,967	8,584
		1,071	13,047	14,118
Hardee's Corps	Breckinridge's "	513	6,540	7,053
	Cleburn's "	840	6,176	7,016
		1,353	12,716	14,069
	McCowan's "	319	4,095	4,414
	Jackson's "	89	785	874
Total Infantry & Artillery		2,832	30,643	33,475

Comd officers		Enlisted men		Aggregate		Percentage of Loss
Killed, Wounded & Missing		Killed	Wounded	Total	Aggregate	
Cheatham's Div'n						
Donelson's Brig's	10 42 1	98	583	16 647	700	
Stewart's "	8 23	55	811	3 868	899	
Maney's "	8 12	19	151	2 178	192	
Smith's "	7 45 3	98	516	85 649	707	
	28 126 4	270	1511	61 1842	1999	
Withers' Division						
Deas' Brigade	6 31	47	502	5 554	591	
Chalmers' "	8 39	59	418	85 507	543	
Wathall's "	13 42	118	578	13 709	763	
Anderson's "	3 24	70	394	16 460	517	
	29 139 1	294	1987	69 2260	2419	
Breckinridge's Division						
Pillow's Brigade	6 33	2 43	292	50 335	435	
Preston's "	4 28	4 54	356	98 508	589	
Adams' "	3 24	1 104	431	145 670	708	
Hanson's "	10 32	8 87	241	78 326	401	
	23 116 10	238	1310	266 1914	2068	
Cleburne's Division						
Wood's Brigade	7 30	5 45	319	108 472	504	
Johnson's "	5 45	9 56	442	43 545	606	
Liddell's "	6 39	80	471	18 569	607	
Polk's "	4 43	36	256	19 301	347	
Genl Cleburne's Staff	3				2	
	23 142 14	207	1488	198 1888	2066	
McCowan's Div'n	8 101	9 86	661	97 844	932	
Jackson's Brigade	1 11	40	251	291	308	84%
Tl Intry & A'ty	116 634	33 1135	7108	736 9029	9617	29%

3.—GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG, C.S.A. TO GENERAL SAMUEL COOPER, ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

HD QRS ARMY OF TENN
TULLAHOME March 11th 1863

SIR:
I have the honor to forward by the hands
His. MAG. VOL. II. 3.

of Col I. H Kelly 8th Ark Vols, Lieut General Hardee's Corps, the report of that General of the part taken by his Corps in the Battle of Murfreesboro, Dec 31 to Jan^y. 3^d. Also the reports of Division and Brigade Commanders, including those of Maj Genl Mc Cown's Division which was during the most important part of the operations, under Lt General Hardee.

Some errors and misapprehensions of Maj Genl Breckinridge, incorporated in his report will be corrected by reference to copies of notes received from him on the field of battle, and which are appended to the report, with an order for the Cavalry movement, endorsed by Brig Genl Pegram as "received." To these papers, appended to General B's report, I invite special attention

I am General
Very Respy Yr Ob^t Serv^t
BRAXTON BRAGG
Genl Comdg

Genl S. COOPER
Adjutant General
Richmond—

[ENCLOSURES IN THE ABOVE LETTER.]

A.—Appendix, by General Bragg, to the Report of Major-general Breckinridge.

- 1—A note dated 10^h 10^m 31st Dec saying: "The enemy are undoubtedly advancing upon me."
- 2—A note dated 11^h A M 31st Dec in reply to what he calls in his report "a suggestion from "the Commanding General"—in which he says: "I am obeying your order." But expressing the opinion that the move would expose him "to a heavy force of the enemy advancing from "Black's (on Lebanon Road)"
- 3—A note dated 10 minutes to one O'clock 1st Jan^y 1863 (an error for 31st Dec 1862 the day it was received) correcting previous report, as follows, "It is not certain the enemy is advancing upon me in two lines" &c, and requesting the two Brigades asked as reinforcements against an imaginary danger, be held where he could get them. The hour of this note shows, too, an advance of half a mile—see report—in one hour and twenty minutes, under order to attack the enemy.
- 4—A note dated 7 P. M. 31st Dec an application to reinforce Hanson in his isolation
- 5—An order to Brig Genl Pegram Comd^r Cavalry—endorsed "received"—directing the Cavalry to join in the attack to be made by Genl Breckinridge—

It is stated in the General's report that he was informed the Cavalry was to attack with him, that he failed to communicate with it, yet reported he would be ready precisely at four

O'clock, and did attack at that hour with nearly a third of his force absent.

The tabular statement no 7—8th Feby 1863, accompanying my report of the Battle, shows the force of this Division on Wednesday the 31st Dec to have been 7,058—The loss of Wednesday the 31st was 780—not 440 as made by the Division Commander—and the loss on Friday the 2nd Jan^y was 1,888—not “1,700”—The loss of Wednesday, 440, stated by the Division Commander, deducted from his whole strength leaves 6,618—deducting again the Regiment and Battery he was ordered to leave out and adding the two Batteries of Cap^t Robertson, leaves him still over 6,000 Infantry and Artillery instead of 4,500 with which he says the attack was made and counting his error in making the loss too small on Wednesday and too large on Friday, he still has underrated his force by more than one fourth

B.—Copies of Dispatches received by General Bragg, on the field of Murfreesboro'.

I.

10x10 M.

The Enemy are undoubtedly advancing upon me.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE

Lt- Gen^l BRAGG

Comdg Forces

The Lebanon Road is unprotected and I have no troops to fill out my line to it—

II.

11½ O'clock A. M.

Dec^r 31st 1862.

GENERAL

I am obeying your order but my left is now engaged with the Enemy and if I advance my whole line further forward and still retain communication with my left, it will take me clear away from the Lebanon Road and expose my right and that road to a heavy force of the enemy advancing from Black's

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.
Major General.

General BRAGG.

III.

HEAD Q^r BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION
IN THE FIELD * Jan^y 1. 1863
10 Minutes to One o'clock

COL.

It is not certain, that the enemy are advancing upon me in two lines.

Gen^l Pegram promises to report the true condition of things. The two Brigades you or-

dered to me might be held at the Ford of the River, subject to further developments. If necessary, I can get them into position from that point before the enemy could reach me.

Very Respectfully

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.
Major General

Lt Col BRENT—
A. A. Gen^l

IV.

HD Q^rs BRECKINRIDGE'S DIVISION
IN THE FIELD Dec^r 31. 7. P.M

GENERAL—

When I crossed the river this evening with two Brigades, I left Gen^l Hanson's Brigade, holding the Hill already designated as the Commanding position in front of my Division.

I have the honor now to report that Hanson's Brigade is still in the same position with 8 Batteries isolated from the balance of the Army

Very Respectfully

Your Ob^d Servant

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE

Gen^l BRAGG

Comdg Army Tenn.

V.

HD Q^rs IN FIELD
1 P. M. 2^d

GENERAL.

The General is about moving to take by force a position between Hoovers house and the right of our line on this side of the river— General Wharton will be there— You will so arrange and dispose of your command in the vicinity of Hoover's so as to cooperate with this movement.

Respectfully

GEO W. BRENT
A. A. G.

Brig^l Gen^l PEGRAM

“Rec^d”

“JNO PEGRAM.

“Brig Gen^l”

4.—GENERAL PATTON ANDERSON'S LETTER TO
MAJOR HUGER, ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GE-
NERAL.

H^d Q^rs, WATTHALL'S BRIGADE
WITHER'S DIVISION POLK'S A. T.
IN LINE Jan^y 2^d 1863 10 45 P.M

MAJOR

Soon after dark to night, I sent a Staff Officer to the Maj Gen^l Comdg Division, to inform him of my present position. I directed him to say that I was immediately in front of the enemy with no infantry support on right or left. He informs me that Maj Gen^l Breckinridge was

* Received on the thirty-first of December.

present when he delivered the message and stated to the L' Gen' Commanding the Corps that supports had been ordered to take position on my right & left & that they were there in position. I deem it proper to state that since the return of my Staff Officer, (In company with other officers made a personal reconnaissance of the position & find *no infantry on my right & none on my left*, nearer than 800 yards distant. The enemy is immediately in front of this interval A Battery on my left in some measure commands the approach to this interval but not entirely. Gen' Breckinridge not being present I desire to inform the Maj Gen' Comdg Division of these facts

I am Major Very Resp
Your Obt Sert
PATTON ANDERSON
Brig Gen' &c

Major HUGER
A. A. Gen—

5.—ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL BRENT'S
LETTER TO GENERAL BRAGG.

HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF TENN
TULLAHOMA March 15th 1863

GENERAL

On the evening of the 2nd January about 8½ o'clock, after the formation of the line of battle by Maj Gen' Breckinridge Division, Brig Gen' Pillow rode up and enquired of Gen' Breckinridge, if any support was on our right. He was informed that Brig Gen' Pegram with his Cavalry Brigade sustained by Brig Gen' Wharton was there. Brig Gen' Pillow then asked if any communication had been had with Gen' Pegram and on being responded to in the negative, said, that it was not only proper, but important to communicate with him prior to the movement.

I was on the field at that time by your order in company with Capt. Robertson Comdg Battery

I am General
Very Respectfully
Your Ob' Ser'.
GEORGE W^m BRENT—
A. A. G.

Gen' BRAXTON BRAGG.
Comdg Army of Tenn.

6.—COPY OF GENERAL BRAGG'S ENDORSEMENT
ON GENERAL BRECKINRIDGE'S LETTER ASKING
THAT HIS LETTER TO THE ADJUTANT AND IN-
SPECTOR-GENERAL, REQUESTING A COURT OF
INQUIRY, BE PUBLISHED.*

May 18th 1863.

I forward this application with the remark,

that in the application for a Court of Inquiry, now asked to be made public, there were statements not in accordance with my understanding of the facts, on which I did not comment in transmitting the paper, believing that the investigation to follow would discover the facts, and other refutation was therefore unnecessary.

The Department may decide whether such paper should be laid before the public under such circumstances.

BRAXTON BRAGG
Gen' Comdg.

Official
A. W. WALTER
A. A. G.—

[ENDORSED:]

May 26, 63—

Gen' Breckinridge's application for a Court of Enquiry was "approved" and forwarded without comment— On his application to have it published the within endorsement was made—

His report of the battle of Murfreesboro' and the application for the Court, both full of errors and misstatements have been given to the press without my endorsements—

B. B.

7.—GENERAL SAMUEL COOPER, ADJUTANT AND
INSPECTOR-GENERAL, TO GENERAL BRAGG.

ADJT & INSP. GEN'L'S OFFICE
RICHMOND, May 31, 1863.

SIR:

I have received your letter of the 23rd inst, on the subject of the publication of Major General Breckinridge's letter of the 31. of March asking for a Court of Inquiry.

In answer I have to state that the publication referred to was not made with the sanction of the War Department.

It is proper I should also state that a friend of Gen' Breckinridge had called on me for a copy of his letter for a Court of Inquiry, and said the General desired to know my opinion of the propriety or impropriety of making it public. The matter not being presented to me officially, I did not maturely consider it, and being hurried at the moment & viewing it as little more than the publication of a sub report, saw no objection to the publication & so answered. Since the receipt of your letter the case is presented to me as one of controversy in relation to an official transaction, & the impropriety of making a publication in that connection is clearly perceived; tho' it may be supposed, from the want of professional training on the part of Major Gen-

the Army, may be found in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, III, 1, 337, 338.—EDITOR.

* This letter to the Adjutant and Inspector-general of

eral Breckinridge, that it was not perceived by him.

Had he pursued the strict military course in this instance he would have addressed his communication officially to this office through the channel prescribed by regulations, when his application would have been duly laid before the Secretary of War, who alone had the right to decide the question.

Very respectfully

Your Obt Svt

S. COOPER.

A. & I. G.

Gen^l BRAXTON BRAGG.

Comdg &c &c

Shelbyville, Tenn.

8.—ASSISTANT INSPECTOR-GENERAL W. CLAVE,
C. S. A. TO GENERAL BRAGG.

SHELBYVILLE TENNESSEE

June 2^d 1863.

GENERAL

I have the honor to reply to your inquiry—"What order, if any, did you carry to Maj Gen^l Breckinridge on Wednesday at the "Battle of Murfreesboro"—as follows—

About 10½ A M you directed me to gallop over to Maj Gen^l Breckinridge as rapidly as possible and tell him to advance with his entire Division except one Brigade, Hanson's I think—which you ordered to be retained as a support in rear of the Battery, then on the Hill in front of Gen^l B's line of battle—This order I communicated to Maj Gen^l Breckinridge as it was given to me, when I was informed by him that the enemy was threatening his right flank—and my impression is—the inquiry was made, whether he should advance under these circumstances—Not being able to reply I rode back to you with the information communicated to me by Maj Gen^l B— when you ordered me to return rapidly and tell Maj Gen^l Breckinridge, that unless he was certain the enemy were upon him, to go ahead.

Maj Gen^l Breckinridge's reply was, he could be certain of nothing, or something similar—but that he had taken steps to ascertain the correctness or falsity of the report by sending Staff Officers &c

While engaged in this duty I met Lt Col Greenfell Vol Aid and Lt Col Johnston—the former I know was on a similar errand to myself—as he came to repeat the order and ascertain the cause of my stay—the latter I passed and understood he was on a like errand.

I am Gen^l

Very Resp Y^r Ob Svnt

W. CLAVE

Maj & Asst Insp Gen^l

Gen^l BRAXTON BRAGG

Comdg.

9.—STATEMENT OF ASSISTANT ADJUTANT-GENERAL DAVID URQUHART, C. S. A.

SHELBYVILLE 12th June 1863

On Friday Night Jan'y 2^d 1863 at Murfreesboro, a meeting of the Corps and Division Commanders was held at Gen^l Bragg's Head Qrs.

The Division Commanders left at 10 or 10½ P. M.

Lt Gen^l Polk and Lt Gen^l Hardee left at 11 O'clock At about 12 or 12½ same night a Courier from the Cavalry came in, informing the Gen^l Com^{ds} that the enemy were advancing on our Right Wing.

The General ordered me to go to Lt Gen Hardee and advise him of the report, directing him to go to that point, The command of the Right Wing having been given to him that Evening, under a new disposition of the troops. I found the General at Co^l Ready's House in Murfreesboro. Major Gen^l Breckinridge was also there waiting for supper.

Lt Gen^l Hardee went off to see Gen^l Bragg and Gen^l Breckinridge was also informed of the Reported advance of the enemy.

I went from there to Lt Gen^l Polk's Head Qrs to get a message sent out to Brig Gen^l Wharton of the Cavalry.

DAVID URQUHART

Lt Col. A. A. G.

VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

THE FIRST AMERICAN CENT.

"F. S.," in the *Rural New Yorker*, is wrong in regard to the first American cent. The so-called "Washington pennies" were mere models or medals, and were not issued by the Government. The 1793 penny is the first of the American series; and there were plenty of these made in 1799. They can be found in any collection of note, in this country.

I have just noticed an inquiry, made by a correspondent, in the *Rural New Yorker*, in regard to the United States cents. As I have made numismatics a special study, I will answer his question. The copper cent was not issued for circulation until the year 1793, although several patterns had been struck off previous to that time. This cent of 1793 was very similar to those of later dates; but, instead of the wreath, it bore around the words "one cent," a chain having thirteen links.

This type was changed, during the same year. Cents were issued annually until the year 1857, with the exception of 1815, when none were coined. In 1857, the small nickel cents made their appearance. In consequence of their issue, the greater part of the large copper cents of that year were returned to the Mint.

Some of the cents are quite rare, and bring high prices, when in good condition. It is difficult to collect a complete set. The cent of 1799 is the rarest of the series. It is said that the scarcity of the cents of this date is owing to this fact: a firm in Salem, engaged in the slave-trade, at that time, obtained a large quantity, directly from the Mint, drilled holes in them, and shipped them to Africa, to exchange them for slaves. The African Chiefs would string them and wear them around their necks, prizing them very highly.

PACIFIC ABORIGINES. THE CURIOUS SHELL-MOUNDS OF CALIFORNIA. STRANGE RELICS. ANCIENT BURIAL-PLACE.

San Pablo is about fifteen miles from Oakland, and lies almost due North; and the road follows the beach, giving, the whole distance, a sight of the bay, San Francisco city, the Central Pacific Railroad wharf, and the famous Goat Island of legislative renown. When, within three miles of the town, we came to a shell-mound rising up from the plain to almost the dignity of a hill, and which is now covered with a growth of shrubbery. There is no telling when or by whom that mound was raised, that is almost a mile long and half a mile wide.

Fragments of pottery, made of red earth not to be obtained anywhere in this State, are found, on the surface and near the top; and, about two years ago, Mr. McHenry, the owner of the land, dug a trench, and, at a depth of twenty feet, sixty feet in from the West, near the base, found numerous skeletons of Indians, of all sizes, and some bones of dogs and birds, and many implements of stone. One baby had been rolled in a monstrously long piece of red silk, like the mummies, and had been covered with a coating of a sort of asphaltum. Mr. McHenry also found, in other parts of the hill, evidences enough to show that this mound was a burying-place for some extinct tribe of Indians, as the skulls are different from all others known, in some particulars.

Where the red silk came from, would puzzle any one to know, as this must have been a primitive race, judging by the rude implements and utensils. All the skeletons were in a sitting posture, with their faces turned northward.

The shells that form this mound are oyster, clam, and mussel shells, all having been exposed to the action of fire, and nearly all broken fine. Very rarely are entire shells found. The same kind of mounds, though not so large, are found near San Mateo, on the San Francisco side. They are all near the shores of the bay; and have been made of shells of the oysters and mussels that the Indians used as food, and which they evidently roasted to open. Some think it impossible that such enormous quantities of oysters, etc., could ever have been eaten; and I would never have believed it, had I not seen a gentleman eat roast oysters, once, and seen the pile of shells he left.—*Transcript.*

A CURIOUS LETTER IN MASSACHUSETTS HISTORY.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser :

In Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, we find reference to Major Robert Sedgwick, as a man "authorized, with Captain John Leverett—afterwards Governor—to war against the "Dutch in America; but peace being made before their troops were ready, they turned their attention against the French, at the eastward. "It was a time of peace," says Hutchinson, "between the two nations, but the English had good right to the country; and the complaints of the French in Europe could not prevail upon Cromwell to give it up again." The following account of the expedition, by Sedgwick, is most amusing. It strikes one as quite an anomaly in the way of military movements. I would premise that Major Sedgwick was then a member of the London Artillery Company, and, afterward, one of the founders of our own Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. The letter has not appeared, as I am aware, in our history; and is remarkable, among other things, for its religious tone and spirit. It is dated "From Major Sedgwick at CHARLES TOWN, "NEW ENGLAND, this 24 Sept., 1654."

"I know you cannot but be acquainted with "our first business we were designed unto. God "did not seem to smile upon us in that business, "in many of his workings toward us. But so "it fell out, even when we were ready to advance, with our forces, to the southward, we "had countermands as touching that business; "we then being in a posture of War, and soldiers here listed in pay, attended the other "part of our Commission against the French, "and the fourth of July set sail for *Nantusket*, "with 3 ships, one Catch, and about two "hundred Land Soldiers, of old *England* and "New. Our first place designed for, was *St. John's Fort*, there we arrived the 15 *Ditto*,

"and in four days took it in, where we found a gallant Fort, above seventy proper Soldiers, seventeen peece of Ordnance, besides Murth-ers, Stokefowlers, and other Ammunition. Having sent away the French, and settled our Garrison, we set sail for Port Riall, and five days after our arrival there, took in that Fort, as also a ship of France that lay under the Fort; in the Fort we found Seamen, Soldiers and Planters, about an 185 fighting men. Our force with which we landed, and lay entrenched against the Fort, was but equal in number; there was in the Fort twenty peecees of Ordnance, above forty barrels of powder, with other necessities. Our work being finished there, we set sail for Penobscot, and took in that, where we found a small Fort, yet very strong, and a very well composed peece with eight peece of Ordnance one Brass, three murthers, about eighteen Barrels of powder, and eighteen men in garison. I am willing to hope God intends a blessing in this affair to the English Nation, and to the Plantations in particular. It's a brave Countrey full of fine Rivers, Airable Pastors, full of Timber, gallant Masts, full of Mines, Coal, Marble, Iron, Lead, and some say Copper. Many convenient places for fishing, making of Oyl, and good quantities of trade for Beaver and Mous-skins."

CAMBRIDGE, April, 1878.

A. B. M.

ANCIENT CHURCH.—The Trinity Episcopal Church, down in Oxford, Pennsylvania, is one of the oldest in this country. It was built in the year 1700, and is, therefore, one hundred and seventy-three years old. It is cruciform in shape. The bricks, from which it is built, were brought from England. The bible and a beautiful silver communion-set, were presented by Queen Anne; and have been in the church, in constant use, one hundred and twenty years, and are still in good condition. The grave-yard is enclosed by a neat stone-wall, and in it are many grave-stones of ancient date, some bearing the date 1701, 1706, and 1707—some no doubt are older, but are not legible. A new grave can scarcely be opened without disturbing some of the ancient bones reposing there. During last Fall, the interior of the church was painted and the walls frescoed in the style of the seventeenth century, presenting a very beautiful appearance.—*Doylestown Democrat*.

A CHASE FOR A FORTUNE.—The Executive Committee of the "Chase Heirs" of New Brunswick do not have much confidence in the existence of that somewhat mythical estate. In

their Report, adopted at a recent Session in the city of St. John, they say:

"Reports have been circulated through the public press, respecting the estate claimed by the Chase heirs, which are without any foundation whatever; and which are calculated to mislead those unacquainted with the facts. The Committee, therefore, think it advisable to state that they have spent much time and labor in endeavoring to ascertain whether or not any property exists in England, to which the Chases in this country, are entitled. Thus far, the information obtained—both from letters, from solicitors in England, and otherwise—has gone to prove that no such estate exists."—*Maine Farmer*.

GENERAL MEADE.—The New York *Church Journal* says of General Meade: "A more stainless knight never drew a sword. A kindlier heart never beat. A simpler and truer Christian has seldom, in these days, lived; none worthier to wear the grand old name of 'gentleman,' without a blot, than George G. Meade. Philadelphia did well to drape herself in weeds of mourning. She expressed but the whole nation's feeling. Knowing him nearer, she felt his loss nearer. But we may all thank God for the example of a life true to duty, for another white name to place among all the wreath-crowned names upon the nation's walls, a model and an incitement while the nation stands."

SCRAPS.—The Arkansas linguists feel that if the name of that State is to be often in the mouths of men, as it is likely to continue to be, unless the inhabitants mend their manners, then the true and orthodox pronunciation of it should be definitely settled. The weight of authority in the State, is in favor of the broad "a" in the last syllable, with the final "s" silent—*Arkansas*. To fix the matter, definitely and authoritatively, the native linguists have investigated the derivation of the word. The territory was called Ock-en-sea. The old French settlers spelled it, as their records testify, Akancea—the "c" being soft. This indicates that the final "s" should not be sounded. The inhabitants prefer *Arkansas*; and, as it is their own State, we suppose that they have a right to do as they please in the matter, especially as there is no law of the United States against their doing so. They say that when Mr. Fillmore was President of the Senate, he compromised the thing according to the tastes of the Senators from that State. Senator Sevier said *Ar-kan-sas*; Senator Ash-

ley. *Arkansaw.* Mr. Fillmore used to recognize Mr. Sevier as "the Senator from Arkansas," and Mr. Ashley as "the Senator from Arkansas."—*New York Tribune.*

—One of the subscribers of the *Prairie Farmer*, living at Dix, Illinois, says that he has heard and read a great deal about hard times, in these days, but avers that they do not compare with the times of twenty-five years ago. He gives the following incident as a proof of his assertion:

"In Jefferson-county, in this State, Mr. Coly Babcock, in 1845, wishing to purchase two pairs of shoes, went to his country store, and found that the keeper had the shoes he desired: one pair at ninety cents, the other at seventy-five cents. This was considered an exorbitant price, which he declined to pay, but would go to St. Louis—the head market. This was distant eighty miles from his residence; but he shouldered his rifle, put some 'corn dodger' and salt in his shot-bag, and started, on foot, killing birds for meat, and lying at night by camp-fires of marketers, who were plenty at that time. Arriving at the Mississippi and Illinoistown—now East St. Louis—he found that it would cost him five cents to cross the river. He was mortified to find that he would then be obliged to break in upon his shoe money; but succumbed at last, went over to the city and made his purchase of two pairs of shoes at a cost of forty and sixty cents. On returning home, he found he had cleared sixty cents, less the ferrriage, by his trip.

"Walking eighty miles to save this amount may look absurd; but dollars were scarce; markets distant; the land covered with forest; labor without demand; and pork worth one dollar and fifty cents per hundred pounds."

—A lake in Harrison-county, Indiana, which supposed to have existed for hundreds of years, has recently been drained, and seventy acres of valuable land added to the farmer's elds. After the draining had been completed, the owner found evidences that the bed of the lake had, at one time, been occupied as an Indian camping-ground—probably the site of some of their villages. In evidence of this, he states that, in digging a cellar, large quantities of bear and deer bones were thrown up. At other points on the place, when digging holes to set posts, bones of Indians were found. Several Indian graves were also discovered on the place, which appear to have been covered with muscle shells, taken from the bed of some of the neighboring creeks or the Ohio-river. Indian implements of various kinds have also been found in the neighborhood. It is thought

that the locality, at one time, has been the home of a large tribe of North American Indians, every trace of which has disappeared, except the relics thus accidentally discovered. This is an interesting field for the investigation of archæologists; and may enable them to gather some valuable information, in regard to the aborigines of the country.—*Albany Argus.*

—Little doubt now exists that the Colorado Desert was once the bed of a sea. Careful instrumental observations have lately been made, which seem to establish the fact, beyond doubt. Between the San Gorgonio-pass and the San Diego and Fort Yuma wagon-road, a distance of fifty miles, the surface is far below the sea level. On the line of the railroad, there are depressions of two hundred and fifty feet below the surface of San Francisco-bay; and other parts of the Desert are three hundred feet below the level of the Pacific, beyond the Golden Gate. On the rocks and sides of the mountains, a great many signs have been discovered, such as are held to be confirmatory of this theory of former submersion; and it is now accepted, as a fact, by the best informed scientists. Hence it would appear that, either the gradual exhaustion of the sources of water supply, or through some more sudden natural convulsion, the heart of the Continent, once occupied by a vast expanse of water, has been drained; and, within a comparatively short space of time, changed to dry land.—*Ibid.*

—At Carrollton, near New Orleans, lives Colonel Bill Fisher, said to be the only surviving companion of the famous Seminole Chief, Osceola. The Colonel ran away from a Friends' School, in Philadelphia, when fifteen years of age, and joined the Seminoles. He was adopted into the tribe under the name of Oocha Bill. The Colonel's story of the origin of the Seminole War does not agree with the commonly published narrative. He says that a party of stock-tenders were hunting for lost cattle, and met some Indians engaged in skinning animals. It was doubtful whether the beeves belonged to the Indians or the stock-raisers, as the latter were in the habit of catching and branding all the wild cattle they could overtake. The white men did not wait to inquire, but fired into the Indians, and killed five. The result of this cruel and unjustifiable outrage was a War, which cost thirty millions of dollars and the lives of many soldiers and citizens.

—Mrs. Robert E. Lee does not ask to have the Arlington estate, now covered with soldiers' graves, restored to her, but calls for reasonable remuneration. She says that General Lee never owned an acre of it. When Mrs. Lee's father

er died, he made, in his will, an obligation that all the slaves belonging to the estate should be set free, after the expiration of five years. The time of their manumission came on, in 1868, and right in the very height of the War. General Robert E. Lee, as the executor of the will, summoned these slaves together, at a convenient point, within his lines, and gave them free papers and passes through the Confederate lines, to go whither they would. This fact, if it be a fact, is not generally known.—*Maine Farmer*.

—Ex-Confederate General Pendleton, an Episcopal clergyman, now, is lecturing in the South, to raise funds to build a tomb for General Lee. In his lecture at Mobile, he is reported to have made serious charges against General Longstreet, to whose delay he attributed the loss of the Battle of Gettysburg. He said Longstreet had received positive orders from General Lee to advance, at dawn, the next morning; that it was perfectly practicable, the enemy being unprepared; and that he did not advance till four A. M., when the Union Army was massed and concentrated.

—The town of Albany, in Oxford-county, in this State, was formerly called "Plantation of 'Oxford.'" It was first settled so late as 1800; and incorporated on the twentieth of June, 1803.—*Maine Farmer*.

—Waterford, Maine, was settled in 1775, by David McMaine. It has a saw-mill, grist-mill, and tannery.—*Ibid*.

—The first mill in the town of Andover, Maine, was erected in 1791, by Colonel Thomas Poor.—*Ibid*.

IX.—NOTES.

ANOTHER FORT IN THE INDIAN WAR OF 1755 TO 1763.

In the days of Fort Dobbs, there was a neighborhood fort, on Fifth-creek, eight miles Northeast of Statesville, North Carolina, at what is now known as "Somer's Old Mill." It was near Andrew Reed's, on the old map of Fourth-creek Congregation.

He is supposed to have built the mill, and that the fort was there to protect it. The location is an admirable one: in coming to it, from the South, we descend for a quarter of a mile, and come to the present barn, back of which begins a deep ravine, that runs down on the left to the creek, where it comes around the point of a hill; and, coming against a high and steep ridge of a hill, is turned out of its course, more to the North. Where the end of that ridge sloped down into the bottom, was the mill-pond:

a little more around to the right, is the mill. Then the creek flows partly back, on the lower or right hand side of the ridge, and turns off again nearly in the direction of it, and would have gone if these hills, projecting across its course, had not interfered with it. It was nearly in the shape of the letter S, with the middle part of it on the upper side of the bluff or ridge, that slopes away more gradually on the other or south-eastern side, down which the road goes, in front of the house, crossing the creek below the old mill.

The shape, too, made in passing round the end of the ridge, is very much like that of an ox-bow, with the open end on the South. At the barn, where the ridge begins to jut out, or a little lower down, on its highest part, or a little lower still than the house, where there appears to have been a building, any of these three points would have been a good site for a fort; but where it was, we do not know. When the country was nearly clear of timber, as it is said to have been at first, there must have been a very extensive prospect from this point—eighty-five feet, by measurement, above the stream—up and down the valley of the creek. There is no other place, in the whole region, like this.* Several families took refuge here, in time of the War—among others, the Archibalds. One of these, William, whose house was on the other, or western, fork of the same creek, had gone one day down near where Turner's-mill now is, and returning just in the edge of evening, but not yet dark, came to the ford, near where the late James Hill lived. He was on horse-back, and was shot through the breast. He jumped from his horse into the creek, and secreted himself, under the bank, where it projected over. He was well acquainted with the locality. The Indian who shot was so far off, that, in the dusk, he could not see where he went. Several of the savages came to the bank and examined; went off some distance and returned again, trying to track him, but did not succeed. He crammed his handkerchief into the wound to stop the flow of blood, and kept quiet, expecting every moment that they would come and dispatch him.

But, after waiting a long time, they departed. He, finding the way clear, came out; mounted his horse; and rode to the fort, two or three miles, when he fainted with loss of blood. He survived, but did not recover from the effects of the wound of that night.

These traditions, connected with various localities in this region, are interesting to the descendants of those who exposed themselves to dangers and hardships, in settling the country.

* This is also a great center of roads: several converge here, on both sides of the creek.—E. F. R.

"The rude forefathers of the hamlet" have passed away; and, in some cases, their very names have disappeared from the country. Some say that the mill, above-mentioned, was erected since that time, by the late Andrew Caldwell, the father of Hon. J. P. Caldwell, Judge D. F. Caldwell, etc., who occupied the place for many years. This is the *sixth* place of refuge from the savages, besides the main fort, three miles North of town, near the Huggins place—one on the North side of Fourth-creek, above the house of the late Ross Simonton; this one, at the old Somer's mill; one South of the Georgia-road, near Captain Eagle's; one South of town, upon the old road that went in that direction, and near where the late Joseph Murdock, Esq., lived; another, still further South, in the neighborhood of Andrew Nail's; another, to the right of Third-creek Station, in Rowan-county, on the Beaver-dam, a branch of Witherow's-creek. We suppose that these were wooden structures, called block-houses, such as is illustrated in Webster's large Dictionary, at that word—hence, they have decayed; and, in some cases, no trace remains. There were, doubtless, many others of the same kind in the country, exposed to the inroads of the savages.

STATESVILLE N. C.

E. F. R.

WHITEHALL SLIP.—This name arose from a large dwelling, standing on the present corner of Whitehall and State-streets. This building is supposed to have been erected by Governor Stuyvesant, in the time of his administration. It afterwards came into the possession of Governor Thomas Dongan, in whose time it became known as the Whitehall. It was occupied, at different intervals, by merchants. Attached to the premises, were a bake-house, bolting-house, and warehouse, erected in the time of the great flour speculation.

Governor Dongan afterwards became Earl of Limerick. He was still living in England in 1715, at which time he sent over a kinsman to sell this and other property still belonging to him in this country.

THE HAMERSLEY FAMILY.

≈ *William Hamersley*, an officer in the British Navy; resigned the service, while stationed in New York harbor, in 1716; was a merchant, as appears by his tomb-stone in Trinity church-yard; and died in 1752. A Vestry-man of Trinity church, from 1781 to 1852; and was a shipping merchant in the Mediterranean trade.

Sons of *William Hamersley*.

1st, *William Hamersley*, eldest son, an officer

in the British Army; died in service, in the West Indies; and never married.

2nd, *Andrew Hamersley*, Merchant—after whom Hamersley-street was named—commenced life with a Commission in the Army; and married, in 1755, Margaret, grand-daughter of Thomas Gordon, of the King's Council and Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, who was a son of Sir George Gordon, one of those who took an active interest in the advancement of the Colonies. Andrew Hamersley was in the Common Council, in 1773, and in the Vestry of Trinity-church, from 1787 to 1807.

3rd, *John Hamersley*—John Hamersley & Co.—importer of general merchandise, from 1759 to 1770, as appears by one of his inward invoice-books. Not married.

Sons of *Andrew Hamersley*.

1st, *William, M. D.*—about 1790, received his degree from the hands of Doctor Robertson, the historian, at Edinburg. He was the first Professor of the Institutes of Medicine at Columbia-college, at the age of twenty-five—from 1792 to 1800. He married Elizabeth Van Cortlandt de Peyster.

Their son *Andrew*—now deceased—was author of the prize essay on *The Remote and Proximate Causes of Phthisis Pulmonalis*. New York State Medical Society, 1825.

Second son, *William*, now, 1863, Mayor of Hartford, Connecticut.

2nd, *Louis Carré Hamersley* married in Virginia.

3rd, *Thomas Hamersley*, a ripe scholar and Warden of l'Eglise du St. Esprit. Lorenzo du Ponte thought him the best Italian scholar in America. He married Susan, daughter of Colonel Watkins, Aide-de-camp, during the Revolution, of his father-in-law, Governor Livingston of New Jersey. Governor Jay and Colonel Watkins married two daughters of Governor Livingston.

Andrew Hamersley, Louis Carré Hamersley, and Thomas Hamersley were merchants, importers, and dealers in iron and iron-ware, for more than half a century.

NEW YORK CITY.

J. W. H.

X.—REPLIES.

MILES STANDISH.—[*H. M.*, III., i., 56, 251, 370.]

I.

If Myles Standish was a Roman Catholic, he was also a hypocrite; till proof of the latter, he must be considered, what the Pilgrims believed him to be—and never before doubted—a Protestant and an honest man. Myles Stand-

ish was not the man to sail under false colors. He was bold, brave, impetuous, open as the day, and not double-faced. His memory should have been safe from insult. He wrote it MYLES. BOSTON, MASS. J. W. T.

II.

J. W. T. raises the issue whether Miles Standish was a Roman Catholic or a hypocrite; as if he must have been either the one or the other. But J. W. T. does not attempt to prove that Miles ever pretended he was not a Roman Catholic; and his reply is equally barren of evidence to prove that Miles ever pretended that he was a Protestant. Where, then, was Miles Standish's "hypocrisy" manifested? Why, then, might he not have been a Roman Catholic, since his alleged family was unquestionably and actively such and he never pretended to be anything else?

J. W. T. says Miles "was not the man to sail under false colors." Granted; and to prove it I call the attention of J. W. T. to the patent fact that *he never pretended that he was a Protestant*. He never sailed under Protestant colors: he preferred to sail *without any colors* rather than to hoist those which would have *falsely* proclaimed him to have been—what he really was not—a Plymouth Separatist and a Protestant.

J. W. T. raises a new issue as to the character of Miles—"he was bold, brave, impetuous, open as the day, and not double-faced." Admitted, again; but does not the fact that he was "open as the day" and "not double-faced" rest on the best evidence when that other fact is presented, to prove it—that he despised the idea of *professing to be* something entirely different from what he *really was*? Why he would have lowered himself to the level of a common Puritan of the Bay Colony, if he had attempted to do differently; and it is not impossible that the reason for the current misunderstanding of Miles Standish's character may be found in the stern fact that that character has, hitherto, been generally looked at through Puritanic spectacles. Massachusetts has not dared to disregard Miles Standish: she has contented herself with dwarfing him to her own standard and then adopting him.

J. W. T. says the Captain wrote his name "Myles." He did so, now and then; but *he wrote it "Miles" ten times, yes, a hundred, to every single instance of spelling it "Myles."*

J. W. T. supposes the memory of Miles Standish would be "insulted" were he recognized as a Roman Catholic. I think, on the other hand, that the greatest insult which could have been, or which, hereafter, can be, offered

to that sturdy soldier's memory, would be to represent the Standish family, generally, as *anything else than Roman Catholics*, or the Captain, himself, as *anything else than what he really was—NOT a Protestant*.

J. W. T. does not seem to dispute the fact that, possibly, after all, Captain Miles Standish was not, legitimately, a *Standish*, but only indirectly so: I need not, therefore, pursue that enquiry, in this place.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

H. B. D.

XL—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

TRUSTEES, AND WHAT THEY AMOUNT TO, IS THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In our numbers for May and June, respectively, we noticed two subjects which are peculiarly interesting to members of The New York Historical Society: in this, we propose to notice another, of the same general class.

We alluded, in one of our former articles, to the success which had attended the efforts of the Society, while it yet confined its humble operations and the employment of its limited means to its legitimate "purpose of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States, in general, and of this State, in particular," and before it entered on its licentious career of free-lunches and other equally flagrant violations of its Charter; and it is very well known that its strong-room, these many years, has been well provided with material for history, of great value—the result of its *early* fidelity—which, in the hands of the Society, as it has been more recently conducted, might as well have been at the bottom of the Red Sea.

To remedy this evil and to make available, for historical purposes, the material which, *without a Catalogue*, has thus *been kept away from all to whom the Librarian did not please to show it*, in April, 1865, a Committee of the Society issued *Proposals* that "the New York Historical Society will establish a Fund for the regular publication of their transactions and Collections in American History." To effect their object, in this instance, the Society proposed to issue one thousand scrip shares, of twenty-five dollars each, transferable on the books of the Society, and entitling the holder of each share to receive, *FIRST, interest thereon*.

until the Fund was complete or sufficient to enable the Trustees to begin the contemplated publication, without impairing the principal sum; and, SECOND, one copy of each and every publication made at the expense of the Fund, amounting to not less than one octavo volume of five hundred pages per annum. The Society was to receive, for its own purposes, two hundred and fifty copies of each work, at the expense of the shareholders; and it pledged itself, in return, "that the moneys received shall be applied for these purposes, and no other, and shall be invested solely in stocks of the United States, the City and State of New York, or on bond and mortgage, and be held, for ever, by the President, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer of the Society, as Trustees (ex-officio) of the Publication Fund."

The Committee who was charged with the duty of establishing this "Publication Fund," was one of the most influential and persevering that the Society ever organized; and it went to work, with spirit, in its commendable effort to secure subscriptions for the one thousand "scrip shares of twenty-five dollars each." Circulars were issued, profusely; subscription-books were formally opened; sub-committees waited on members of the Society—where is a membership of considerably more than a thousand strong men, mostly such as few other Societies can exhibit—and all the powers of persuasive eloquence and executive skill were brought into play, to secure subscriptions. But the members of the Society, except here and there one, had seen the mode of conducting its ordinary business, under the new system; and they contented themselves by—not subscribing.

The proposition dragged, therefore, month after month and year after year, without much promise; and more than once it was supposed that it would become necessary to return the monies collected, submit to the loss of labor and money expended, and abandon the project. At length, another party of members, unwilling to see so commendable a project fail, for the want of a few thousand dollars, renewed the effort; and, by carrying their subscription-books outside the Society and, very often, by largely increasing their own subscriptions, the Fund was very considerably increased, though, however, being entirely filled, even by these extraordinary means.

From that day to this, this Fund has remained, incomplete. It is quite large; but it needs more subscriptions in order to complete it. No one doubts that the principal sum is secure: we wish we could say as much for other portions of the business of the trust—of the latter, only, we write.

The same system of withholding information from those who are most interested therein, which has marked the administration of the Society's affairs, has, also, from the first, distinguished the administration of the affairs of this Fund—no one, unless those who have happened to be within the circle of the Librarian's grace, has ever seen a Report of the Trustees of this Fund; and no one, with the exceptions named, knows how the principal of the Fund is invested, nor how its income has been employed. If any person calls at the Library and makes inquiry on these subjects, if the Librarian is seen, his questions are answered, in general terms, verbally; but we have failed to find any individual shareholder, outside of the ring, who has ever seen a written or printed Report of the Treasurer or who knows anything concerning the condition of the Fund. As a very large proportion of the shareholders are resident in other cities than New York, these, at least, have no means of learning anything concerning the subject, nor of receiving any dividends, or interest on their investments, or any of the promised publications; and the greater number of them, in the absence of any information, or of any returns, of any kind, have, very probably, long since carried the amount of their subscriptions to this Publication Fund to the debit side, on their own ledgers, of Profit and Loss.

More than eight years have now elapsed since these Trustees, through their authorized representative, "George H. Moore, Librarian of the Society," began to collect money for this proposed "Publication Fund," ON THE CONDITIONS WHICH WE HAVE NAMED; and yet, during that period, only THREE volumes have been issued to the subscribers, instead of the promised "not less than one octavo volume of five hundred pages per annum," whenever interest on the amount subscribed, at five per cent, has not been paid, instead. It is now more than two years, if we do not mistake, since these respectable Trustees attempted either to issue a volume of any sort, or to pay a cent of interest on the shares: into whose pocket, and for what purpose, has the interest on the invested principal sum of the Fund, during that period, gone? We call on the Trustees to make a Report on this subject; or, if they shall not do so, we warn them that the Supreme Court may be invited to take a hand in the little game, and, in the end, the result, in that case, may not be either profitable or agreeable to those who are within the ring.

But this is not all. In the letter which accompanied the *Proposals* which the Society's Committee issued, on the fourth of April, 1865, the "member of the New York Historical So-

"ciety," to whom it was addressed, was officially informed of the treasures of "original MSS. in the possession of the Society, from which the earliest volumes to be published will be made up;" and "the GOLDEN Papers," "the GATES Papers," "the STEUBEN Papers," "the STIRLING Papers," and "the DUER Papers" were announced as the sources whence the contents of the "earliest volumes to be published" would be drawn. So much for the promise: what, while this promise was still fresh on their lips and the ink with which it was written was scarcely dry, was done by these Trustees, in the preparation of the three volumes already issued? The first of the three volumes contained material different from that promised by the Committee, and the second, also; while *a heavy proportion of the last-issued of the three volumes—two hundred and thirty-seven out of the four hundred and eighty-eight pages it contains—is occupied with a collection of gleanings from the Society's newspapers, originally made by one of the employees of the Society, on a private venture, for Valentine's Corporation Manual, with the expectation of receiving a dollar per printed page for it; and when it was not wanted, at that price, in that volume, it was secured, "on private terms," by the Trustees of this Fund, and transferred, bodily, to the place, in this volume, which was to have been occupied by unpublished treasures from the papers of Colden, Gates, Steuben, Stirling, or Duer; and, if report speaks truly, when the shareholders shall again be favored with a "publication," in book-form, instead of an instalment from "the historic treasures" to which reference was made, in the Committee's letter to members, another unmarketable production of another of the Society's employees—Mr. Moore's long talked-of, but unpublished, collection of General Charles Lee's erratic productions—is to be ushered into existence, at the shareholders' expense.*

As we have said, a large sum of money was collected and is held, in trust, for certain specific purposes; but the Trustees are either, themselves, violators of their trust or, by their neglect, accessories to the violation of it by others who, in that neglect, find an opportunity for wrong-doing. They have made no Report, to their shareholders, of either their own acts or those of their employees. They have sent out no notices, to shareholders, either in New York or elsewhere, of the promised payment of interest or the promised issue of *annual* volumes. They have practically confiscated the dividends of books or money, privately declared, when they are not called for by those who have never heard of them. They are a private body, created by others than those whose monies they hold and without accounta-

bility to them—the Society, *who is not a shareholder*, elects them and displaces them, at will. Shareholders are nothing more nor less, under existing circumstances, than victims of misplaced confidence in the eminent respectability of the controlling power of The New York Historical Society, whose mode of using that power has been already noticed.

It is to be hoped that, at an early day, a Receiver will be appointed to take charge of this Fund; when, by the distribution of it, among the shareholders, and the subsequent employment of his portion of the principal sum, in some other quarter, each shareholder will receive, in solid yearly dividends, more than he now receives in graceful bows, and amiable smiles, and unperformed promises, from those who now control this Fund as well as the New York Historical Society.

The Society's good name is now hazarded by this flagrant violation of their duty, as Trustees, by some of its officers: we call upon it to take such early measures as it can employ to relieve itself from that disgrace as well as the danger.

At an early day—in our next, if possible—we shall examine the Society's Cash-account and inform our readers *where the leak* through which the large income of the Society so mysteriously disappears, year by year, without effecting any visible good in "the *pose of discovering, procuring, and preserving whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States, in general, and of this State in particular,*" for which the Society was especially organized; and we shall inquire, too—comparing the results effected by similar Societies, elsewhere, with the results effected by this Society, and by contrasting the relative cost of conducting each—just where the superior abilities of Mr. George H. Moore, as the Librarian of this Society, have been displayed—possibly we may notice, also, just why the gentleman's modesty prefers that the vouchers of the Treasurer, *whose Assistant he is*, shall not be compared with the Treasurer's Annual Report, with the text of the Society's Charter and with the Society's own By-Laws; and just why members of the New York Historical Society, unlike the members of any other Historical Society in the country, of like standing, have not been favored, year by year, with detailed Reports of the sources and amounts of the Society's revenues and equally detailed Reports of *just what becomes of them*.

XII.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG, & CO., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Memorial of William Spooner, 1687, And of his Descendants to the Third Generation; of his great-grandson, Elnathan Spooner; and of his descendants, to 1871.* By Thomas Spooner. Private Edition. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 242.

It is not certainly known *when* and *whence* Thomas Spooner came to America; but we incline to the belief that he was from Colchester, in England—an humble agriculturist, of small means—and that he was brought, thence, by his master, John Holmes—unto whom he had been indentured, in the preceding March—between the first of May, 1687, and the first of July, in the same year. Indeed, there can be very little doubt that he was equivalent to what was known, at a later period, as a "redemption-er"—it is evident that he was already a full-grown, if not a married, man; capable of making contracts without the concurrence of either parents or guardians; and, in a fair way of becoming, within forty-seven years, both "aged & weak of body," as his Will, made in March, 1684, expressly declared him to have been, at that time.

He came to Plymouth, subsequently becoming a Freeman and a public officer, there; thence he removed to Acushnet, where, also, he was a town-officer; and he died, evidently respected by those who knew him, in 1684, leaving several children, from whom have descended a numerous progeny, scattered over the entire Republic, honoring the memory of its ancestor by its enterprise, public spirit, and personal worth.

In this very beautiful volume, our friend, Hon. Thomas Spooner, of Ohio, has preserved the simple annals of the family and carefully illustrated them, by diligent research among the records of Plymouth Colony and elsewhere; and, in an elaborate *Appendix*, he has also recorded the annals of the Lewis, Leonard, Fiske, Foster, and Emmons families, with whom the Spooners have, respectively, become connected by matrimonial alliances.

It is a well-arranged, carefully-written, and beautifully-printed memorial of the head of the American branch of this widely-known and respected family and of his descendants; and to all genealogists and to those students of American history who shall have occasion to make inquiries concerning members of the fam-

ily—such as the pioneer printer of Vermont and him of *The Long Island Star*, at Brooklyn—this will be a very welcome accession.

2.—*Bibliotheca Munselliana. A Catalogue of the Books and Pamphlets issued from the Press of Joel Munsell, from the year 1828 to 1870.* Albany: Privately Printed. 1873. Octavo, pp. 191.

The title-page of this remarkable volume describes its character and contents—it is a bibliographical catalogue of the various books and pamphlets which have been issued from the press of our honored friend, Joel Munsell, from the day when, a clerk in a book-store, a mere lad, he printed, with his own hands, a semi-monthly paper, *The Albany Minerva*, until 1870, when he was the recognized head of one of the largest and best printing-offices in the country, and in the enjoyment of the affectionate regards of all who knew him. As a mere bibliographical record of the product of a prolific press, during more than a third of a century, such a volume would possess a lasting importance; but to those unto whom it is also a memento of the untiring industry of a valued friend, it will be vastly more welcome than any merely bibliographical volume can be.

This volume "was not printed for circulation in any way, but merely to be interleaved for "annotation by the printer;" and is a very handsome specimen of book-making.

3.—*A Memorial of Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D.* By Evert A. Duyckinck, Esqr. Read before the New York Historical Society, May 7th, 1867. With an Appendix of Proceedings, &c. New York: 1871. Octavo, pp. 1-44.

The Hawks-Niblo Collection. Catalogue of Books in the Library of Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D. Presented to the New York Historical Society by William Niblo. New York: 1871. Octavo, pp. 47-164.

In this volume, we find an elaborate "Memorial" of Doctor Hawks, originally prepared for the Historical Society, by Mr. Duyckinck, appropriately illustrated with a portrait of the Doctor and clumsily *supplemented* by a report of the Society's "Proceedings," when that "Memorial" was presented. It is followed, also, by a Catalogue of the Books, in the "Hawks Library," which were presented to the Society by Mr. Niblo; and the whole forms a neat "Memorial" of the eloquent Divine and accomplished Scholar, whose name is precious to those who enjoyed his friendship.

There is something about this volume which we do not approve. It was prepared for the press by the employees of The New York Historical Society, at the Society's expense; and

yet it is issued by some private person—whom, we do not know—for his private benefit, at five dollars per copy. Either the Society should have issued it and reaped the benefit of its publication, or those who enjoyed the speculation should have paid for it, themselves, without levying on the Society and withdrawing its employees from pressing official duties, which have been too long neglected.

The volume is neatly, but not elegantly, printed.

4.—*A Red Rose from the Olden Time; or, A Ramble Through The Annals of the Rose Inn, on the Barony of Nazareth, in the days of the Province: based on "The Old Inns at Nazareth."* A paper read at the Centenary of "The Nazareth Inn," June 9th, 1871. By Maurice C. Jones, of Bethlehem, Penna. Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1872. Octavo, pp. 50.

The Moravians, as a class, among other distinctive features, are more than ordinarily inclined to honor the Past and those who then occupied our places, in the drama of life.

On the ninth of June, 1871, occurred the centenary of "The Nazareth Inn;" and that event was duly celebrated, by those who lived in the vicinity, with a dinner and the usual after-dinner speeches, etc. Among these, Doctor Jones read a paper descriptive of the history of the venerable structure; and, at the request of those who heard it and for the benefit of those who did not, it has been very handsomely printed. A copy of it, now before us, has been kindly sent to us by our friend, John Jordan, Jr., Esq., of Philadelphia, for which we beg his acceptance of our thanks.

The greater portion of this paper embraces a detailed history of the old "Red Rose Inn" and its successive landlords and landladies; although "The old Inn at Nazareth," whose one-hundredth birthday called forth the paper, and its successive landlords, also received attention. The second landlord of this celebrated tavern was John Lewis Roth, the first-born white child in what is now the State of Ohio, where he was born on the fourth of July, 1778. An Appendix contains several personal sketches and a bill of items of the cost of "The Nazareth Inn."

Like all of history that proceeds from this source, this paper is remarkable for its precision of statement, even in what seems to be very unimportant matters. The perfect records of the Society enable the writers of its history to give details of men and matters which are refreshing to the student of history; and those of the Society who venture to become authors, as far as we know them, not only know the inestimable value of the material which is accessible to them, but they also know how and when to employ it.

We would that some who are more pretentious would follow the example which the more modest but more deserving Moravians have placed before them.

5.—*A History of Manlius Village, in a Course of Lectures read before The Manlius Association by Henry C. Van Schaack, Vice President of that Association. Revised and Enlarged. 1872. Octavo, pp. 82.*

Before the advent of the Erie Canal, when the produce of the West and the merchandise of the East were interchanged by means of teams and stage-coaches had no dread of competition in the transportation of passengers, the village of Manlius, standing at the intersection of the Seneca and the Cherry-valley turnpikes, was the most important village of Onondaga and one of the most important westward from Albany. It was settled in 1792; and it rose, in importance, with unusual rapidity, until it became not only the moral and intellectual center of that entire region, but the depot of its supplies, the seat of its intelligence, and, probably, the source of much of its vice.

The opening of the Erie Canal and the stubborn shortsightedness of her monied men, however, stripped Manlius of her commercial attractions; and, with the facilities for trade which prior to that opening, had centered at the cross-roads at Manlius, the prosperity of that village after that event, was transferred to Syracuse and other villages, on whom the new highway of trade had, thereby, thrust the substantial evidences of its favor. Manlius continued to be respectable, but it ceased to be notable. There was a certain amount of solid, substantial comfort, there; but it was of the quiet kind—the result of past labors, long since suspended, rather than the product of present enterprise, still pushing its way among the busy crowd of anxious money-seekers. Long lines of country-wagons no longer lined its streets, exchanging "country produce" for "store-pay." Long lines of teams, transporting produce and merchandise, eastward and westward, northward and southward, no longer crowded its tavern-yards. The rattling stage-coaches, one after another, dashing into the village from all parts of the surrounding country, no longer added excitement to the bustle of its streets nor afforded gossip for its loungers, in the in-comers whom they landed on the stoops of the stage-houses. On the contrary, Manlius has become only a quiet, unobtrusive, well-to-do back-country village; peopled by respectable families whose already acquired means or modest contentment has not pushed them into the bustle of large towns; slowly growing, if it has grown at all, without seeming to envy Syracuse or desiring to be anything else than Manlius.

It is the history of this retired village that our friend, Mr. Van Schaack, has told us of, in this volume. It is the record of the Schaeffers and Mulhollands, the Messengers and Garlocks, the Phillips and Lowers of that frontier town of Central New York, which is to be found, therein. It furnishes the evidence of alternate prosperity and adversity, of enterprise and shortsightedness, of commercial bustle and stagnation.

As Mr. Van Schaack attempted to do nothing else, in the preparation of these Lectures, than to interest his townsmen, by telling them the story of the rise and decline of Manlius, the reader must not expect anything else than the simple annals of that village; and those he will surely find, told pleasantly, and not without benefit, we hope, to those for whom they were especially intended. It is such a work as ought to be done for every village, by one of its patriarchs, while those live who can afford the requisite information and correct prevailing errors. It is such a work as the historian of Onondaga and him of Central New York, a century or two hence, will resort to, with gratitude, and bless the memory of him who wrote it.

4.—*Quelques Particularités du Pays des Hurons en la Nouvelle France* Remarquées par le Sieur Gendron, Docteur en Médecine, qui a demeuré dans ce Pays-là for long-temps. Rédigées par Jean Baptiste de Rocoles, Conseiller & Aumônier du Roy, & Historiographe de sa Majesté. A Troyes, & à Paris, Chez Denys Bechet, au Comptoir d'Or et Louis Billaine, à S. Augustin, rue S. Jacques. M.DC.LX. Small octavo, pp. 22.

Although this volume is, now, not far from five years old, its existence is unknown to many of our readers unto whom the information will be very welcome; and we notice it, therefore, among "Recent publications"—as recently heard of, by us, as it will have been to many others.

It is a re-print of a scarce French tract concerning the Hurons, which was printed in Paris, in 1660; and it is, also, a very handsome specimen of printing with old-style type, in the fashion of former days—a habit, in book-making, into which Joel Munsell has so often fallen that it has become second nature to him.

This tract is an interesting one, in itself; but we desire, especially, to call the attention of our readers to the fact that only a hundred copies of it were printed; that it is uniform, in size and style, with the Cramoisy Series of *Relations*, published, years ago, by our learned friend, John Gilmary Shea, LL.D.; and that it has been recognized, by that gentleman, as No. XXV. of that very important and very rare series of volumes—the *Epistola ad. Joan. Winthrop* of Dreuillettes, having been elevated to the dignity of No. XXIV.

Those who have the earlier volumes of the Cramoisy Series will see the propriety of adding those which have been more recently added; while those who desire only to add this volume to their collections, separately from the former issues, will not need our advice to avail themselves of an early opportunity to do so.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

1.—*The Publications of the Prince Society. Established May 26th, 1858. Sir William Alexander and American Colonisation.* Boston: Printed for the Society, by John Wilson and Son. 1872.

Sir William Alexander and American Colonisation. Including three Royal Charters; a tract on Colonisation; a Patent of the County of Canada and of Long Island; and the Roll of the Knights Baronets of New Scotland; with annotations and a memoir by the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A. M. Boston: Published by the Prince Society. 1872. Small quarto, pp. ix., 298.

This volume is the fifth publication of the Society, and its seventh volume; and one hundred and seventeen pages of it are occupied with Mr. Slafter's *Memoir of Sir William Alexander*.

While we have a high respect for Mr. Slafter, we must be allowed to say that if it were, at all, desirable to re-produce, in this work, the three Charters of 1621, 1625, and 1628, which had been already printed, both in the original Latin and an English translation, and were readily accessible—of the necessity for which re-publication we have grave doubts—it would have been only fair if the Charters themselves had been given *in the form in which they were written*, as they were printed by the Bannatyne Club, six years ago; and, in such case, if Mr. Slafter had shortened his memoir of Sir William, in order to have afforded the necessary room for their insertion, the readers of this volume would not have quarrelled with him, because of it. Indeed, we cannot account for the omission of the Charters, *in their original form*, from such a volume as this, unless the volume was intended for the especial exhibition of Mr. Slafter's peculiar abilities, as a biographer and translator, and not for that of Sir William's services, as an emigrant-agent; nor can we, from our obscure standpoint, understand why a new translation of the Charter of 1621, which had been already translated and published, was considered necessary, nor why twenty pages of the former translation of that of 1625, which was adopted in this case, was altogether omitted.

For these reasons, among others, this volume is not, at all, satisfactory to us; and it is hoped that, hereafter, when the Prince Society shall undertake to re-produce "rare works, in print or manuscript, relating to America," it will do

so, in fact, and not allow itself to be imposed upon by those who are more ambitious to display their own productions than these "rare works" which they shall be employed to edit.

8.—*Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, for the Years 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872.* Volume VI. Madison: 1872. Octavo, pp. 504.

There is no Historical Society in the country which is doing as much work, and as well, at as small an outlay of money, as the State Society of Wisconsin; and there is always some comfort derived from whatever proceeds from its rooms.

In the volume before us, we find the delayed publication of four years' Reports and a great variety of papers—historical, ethnological, and biographical in their character—all of them possessing great value, as materials for history; and, in the highest degree, creditable to the Society.

The volume is very neatly printed.

9.—*Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.* Volume I. Being a Re-publication of the Original Parts Issued in 1860-51-52-53-54. St. Paul: 1872. Octavo, pp. 519.

This volume, as its title page indicates, is a re-print of the five independent tracts which, together, formed the first volume of the Society's *Collections*; and it is, certainly, highly creditable to the Society, both because of the intrinsic merits of the several papers and the handsome style and good judgment with which they have been thus re-produced.

As our readers are generally acquainted with these papers—from the pens of Messrs. E. D. Neill, H. H. Sibley, Alexander Ramsey, Rev. S. R. Riggs, Henry R. Schoolcraft, W. W. Mather, and others—we need not describe them. Their importance, as material for history, is undoubted; and, as they have become scarce, the Society has done well in re-producing them.

10.—*Historical Sketch of Poplar Tent Church.* By Wm. S. Harris, Ruling Elder of said Church, read before Concord Presbytery, April 22nd, 1872. Charlotte, N. C.: 1872. Octavo, pp. 17.

This Church, situate in Poplar Tent, Cabarrus-county, North Carolina, was the result of the preaching, under a large poplar-tree, among the Scotch-Irish emigrants who, in 1782, settled in that place; and unto whom and others, in the same Province, John Thompson, a minister licensed by the Presbytery of Donegal, had been sent by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. It was one of those results of the earlier Irish emigration to America, of which Mr. Froude has given so

clear a description; and, from that day to this, it has stood in the midst of the Clarks, Alexanders, Reeses, Harrises, Blacks, Campbells, Meekses, etc., whose descendents, generally, still cluster around it and enjoy the privileges which it extends.

The tract before us is an interesting one, not only as a history of the ancient Presbyterian-church at Poplar Tent, but, incidentally, of the entire denomination in North Carolina, of the vicinity of the church, and of the families who settled there. There is no attempt at display, in it: it is nothing else than a plain, unvarnished narrative of the history and results of the venerable church; and it is, therefore, very acceptable to those who shall, hereafter, seek information concerning the Presbyterians of the Carolinas.

It is entirely without pretensions to typographical beauty.

11.—*Our Pioneers:* being biographical sketches of Capt. Elias Hughes, John Ratliff, Benjamin Green, Richard Pitzer, John Van Buskirk, Isaac and John Stadden, and Capt. Samuel Elliott; with brief notices of the Pioneers of 1801 and 1802; by Isaac Smucker. Also, a paper on the Pioneer Women of the West, by Rev. Mrs. C. Springer. Concluding with a Poem entitled *The Pioneers of Licking*, by A. B. Clark. Newark, Ohio: 1872. Octavo, pp. 33.

Among the *working-men*, in the field of American history, there are very few, if any, who are earning for themselves a greater amount of the gratitude of those who shall, hereafter, control the destinies of the Republic, than Isaac Smucker, the modest but really superior "Secretary of the Licking-county Pioneers."

It has been the purpose of Mr. Smucker to collect the simple annals of the pioneers of Ohio, in all their details; and he preserves them in such a form, inexpensive and modest, as will secure them from the ravages of Time and bestow them, hereafter, as a legacy to the future. The pioneers of the West, but for the very few who are such as Mr. Smucker is—Draper, Durrie, Williams, Walker, for instance—would descend to their graves and be forgotten, with all their heroism and all their virtues and vices; and the origin of our States, but for these, would soon become as involved in fable as is that of the empires of antiquity, and just as nonsensical. Who, then, can measure the honest, humble merit of these annalists of Western pioneer life, or too highly honor them?

In this tract—*Pioneer Pamphlet, No. 7, published by the Licking-county Pioneer Society*—we have another instalment of the results of Mr. Smucker's invaluable labors, in the record of the lives of a number of the original and very early settlers of Licking-county. There is no attempt at display, in his homely record; but

the facts are there, as he received them from the lips of those who knew of what they told him—from the lips of many of the aged pioneers, now no longer living.

As a "local" of Ohio, we know of none which will be more important to those who, hereafter, shall undertake to write Ohio's early history.

The pamphlet possesses no typographical beauty whatever.

12.—*Address to the Old Settlers' Club*, delivered by Dr. Enoch Chase, July 4th, 1872. Milwaukee: 1872. Octavo, pp. 10.

The words of a pioneer—one of the founders of that city which is now the first wheat-market of the world—to the remnant of those who, thirty or forty years ago, were his associates in laying the foundation of empire in what is now the mighty "West." He related, to them, his own recollections, not only of Milwaukee, in her babyhood, but of Wisconsin, generally, while Wisconsin was yet in her leading-strings; and he revived the memory of facts which, in the future, will become priceless in their interest to those who shall either study or write on the progress of Wisconsin and her lake-ports to wealth and influence.

The pamphlet before us records these important revelations of the past of Milwaukee, and of Eastern Wisconsin; and is, consequently, a "local" as important and valuable as it is understood to be rare.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

13.—1870. *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*. John Hardy Clerk of the Common Council. Sine loco, [New York?] sine anno, [1872?] Octavo, pp. xiii., 928.

The HISTORICAL MAGAZINE is not the only historical publication which has fallen out of line, we regret to say; nor is it to be the last, we imagine. That the first of these premises is true, is evident in the fact that the *Manual* for 1870, ordered in August of that year and with the great city as a paymaster, has only recently seen daylight.

It is a very elegant volume, elaborately and very beautifully illustrated with wood-cuts, lithographic views, *fac similes*, and maps; and the statistical matter displays the handy-work of that most accomplished of Clerks, Captain Francis J. Twomey, the Deputy-Clerk of the Common Council. Indeed, the city has never issued, before, so perfect a *Manual*, in the widest sense of that term, nor one which is as perfect in its typography.

The historical portion of the *Manual*—that in which "D. T. V." was wont to be so won-

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drously wise—is also well done, presenting a selection of local papers, generally re-prints, which very properly finds a place in this work.

As this is, very likely, the last of the "Corporation Manuals" which, for nearly thirty years, have been so much sought and so highly prized, it possesses more than ordinary interest; and, for the same reason, inasmuch as the greater portion of the edition is said to have been burned in the celebrated Centre-street fire, a few months since, those who desire to make their sets of the work complete have no time to waste in merely thinking about the subject. *Action*, in this case, will be better than mere intention.

14.—*Catalogue of the New York State Library*, 1872. *Subject-index of the General Library*. Albany: 1872. Octavo, pp. xvii., 651.

In 1856, the Regents of the University, who are the Trustees of the State Library, published a complete Catalogue of the General Library; and in 1861, a Supplement thereto was published, which was larger than the Catalogue itself. Now, the Board has presented another complete Catalogue; but, instead of giving the full titles of the several works, it has confined itself to the short-titles, carefully classified by subjects, and made as compact as possible, without sacrificing its usefulness.

The Board has acted wisely. The Catalogue is as full, in its present brevity, as is necessary for practical purposes, while the cost to the State, for printing it, is not one-quarter what it would have been in the usual form, with extended titles.

It is refreshing to find one branch of our civil service which manifests a sympathy with the tax-payers and discharges its duty with some respect for economy.

The volume is uniform with the issues of 1856 and 1861, and very neatly printed.

15.—*The Journal of the procedure of the Governor and Council of the Province of East New Jersey from and after the first day of December Anno Domini—1693*. Published by Authority of the Legislature. Jersey City: Printed by John H. Lyon. 1872. Octavo, pp. 245.

Journal and Votes of the House of Representatives of the Province of Nova Casarea, or New Jersey, in their First Sessions of Assembly, began at Perth Amboy, the 10th day of November, 1708. Jersey City: Printed by John H. Lyon. 1872. Octavo, pp. 270.

Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey. Jersey City: Printed by John H. Lyon. 1872. Octavo, pp. 287.

In April, 1871, the Legislature of New Jersey authorized the Commissioners of the State Library to print the ancient records of the Col-

ony and the Minutes of the Council of Safety of the State, while the State was struggling for the establishment of her independence; and these three volumes have been printed in accordance with that authority.

The first-named of the three, contains the Minutes of the Governor and Council of the Province of East Jersey, from the appointment of the Council, in 1682, by authority of the Twenty-four Proprietors of the Province, until the termination of the authority of that body, by the surrender of the Government which had been assumed by these Proprietors, to the Queen, in 1702, and its re-organization, under her authority, by Lord Cornbury, in 1703. It is, therefore, a most important record of the ancient legislation of the Colony; and to those who are fortunate enough to own a copy of Leaming and Spicer's *Acts, Concessions, and original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey*, it will be peculiarly welcome.

The second of these volumes takes up the record of New Jersey's legislation where the first left it—at the opening of the First Session of the Assembly which was convened by Royal authority, after the Proprietors had surrendered their pretended right of Government and the Queen had assumed her legitimate authority over the Province. It extends from the tenth of November, 1703, when the first Assembly was convened, to the thirty-first of January, 1709-10; and to those who possess Nevill's and Allinson's collections of the Laws of the Province, especially, it will be peculiarly acceptable.

On the fifteenth of March, 1777—in the darkest days of her history—the Council and General Assembly of the new-formed State of New Jersey passed a temporary Act entitled *An Act for investing the Governor and a Council, consisting of twelve, with certain Powers therein mentioned, for a limited Time*; and on the twentieth of September, of the same year, and on the fourth of April and twentieth of June, 1778, that Act was re-enacted, in the same terms or with slight amendments.—*Vide Chapters XXII., XL., LXXXII., and XCI.* The powers thus delegated embraced a wide range of subjects and were both executive and judicial in their character. The first session of this extraordinary body was opened on the eighteenth of March, 1777; and the record of its proceedings, from that day until the eighth of October, 1778—occupying, in the originals, five volumes of manuscript entries—is contained in the third of these volumes.

From this brief description of the contents of these volumes, our readers will perceive how important they are to all who desire to become acquainted with the details of the history of New Jersey; and that they will, necessarily, be resorted to, as faithful copies of the original

authority, in very many cases concerning subjects which are now imperfectly understood, even where anything whatever is known of them. For this reason, every student of our country's history will feel grateful for that good service which the Legislature of New Jersey has thus done, so willingly and so well; and all such will, also, look forward, hopefully and with confidence, to that further action of the same Legislature, which shall authorize the publication of, not only a continuation of the Assembly's Journal, which has been commenced in the second of these volumes, but that of the complete series of the Council's Minutes, from the earliest period of the unpublished manuscripts, and that of her State Papers, all of which possess so much importance to the world of historical and judicial knowledge.

There can be no branch of knowledge more important to Jerseymen than the history of New Jersey, faithfully presented; and the Legislature can confer no higher boon on its constituency than the promulgation of her records and her archives, in faithful copies, honestly printed, from which, rather than from untrustworthy narratives proceeding from ignorant or partisan pens, that history may be most accurately read and most clearly understood. We trust we shall be permitted to record such action, on its part, at an early day.

The volumes are well printed; and, in every respect, they are creditable to those by whom they were carried through the press.

16.—*History of the town of Whately, Mass., including a narrative of leading events from the first planting of Hatfield: 1660-1871.* By J. H. Temple, fourth Pastor of the Congregational Church. With family Genealogies. Printed for the town. 1872. Octavo, pp. 332.

In 1871, the residents of Whately determined to celebrate the Centennial Anniversary of the Incorporation of the town; and the former Pastor of the Church—but, at that time, residing in Framingham—who was evidently no novice in the business, was invited to deliver the Historical Address. He accepted the invitation, and proceeded to discharge the duty assigned him, under the impression that "what is worth being done at all, is worth being done well." He delivered the Address; and he did more than that—he collected so much material, of so much value, that the town, at the annual town-meeting, in November following, by a unanimous vote, ordered it to be printed at the expense of the town. The beautiful volume before us is the result of that action.

It will not be necessary for us to describe the exact order of the contents of the work, as there is little variety in works of this class.

We content ourselves, therefore, by remarking that the aborigines who originally occupied the territory, the acquirement of title to the lands therein, by the whites, the settlement on those lands and those who settled them, the manners of those settlers, their wars with the savages and with their neighbors, the gradual growth of the town in prosperity, and its present condition, all pass under the pen of the author and are graphically and very carefully noticed. The Genealogies of the families of residents close the story; and a good Index completes the volume.

The author has done his work with admirable taste, evidently great care, and great respect to detail; and we have seldom seen a volume of this class which reflected greater credit on the hand which created it.

As the volume was printed at the office of T. R. Marvin & Son, its beauty and accuracy are not to be wondered at.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

17.—*Local Law in Massachusetts and Connecticut, historically considered.* By William Chauncey Fowler, LL.D. Prepared from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, with additions. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1873. Octavo, pp. 104.

In these days of political degeneracy, when the place of honor is given to him who can most audaciously deny the truth and ingloriously remove the greatest number of the landmarks of the Republic, it is refreshing to turn from such a spectacle of political and personal depravity, to the more satisfactory one which is afforded by Professor Fowler, in this volume.

There are very few who have studied the constitutional history of the several States and that of the Republic, as carefully and as honestly as Professor Fowler; and there are very few who possess as intimate a knowledge, not only of the events of which that history takes notice but of the causes, and character, and results of those events, in all their varied and important or unimportant phases.

In this volume, the author treats of the *local law*, as contrasted with *imperial law*—the law of the *town*, as distinguished from that of the *Colony* or *Commonwealth*; the law of the *Colony* or *Commonwealth*, as distinguished from that of the *Mother-country* to which the Colony is subject, or from that of the *United States* of which the Commonwealth is a constituent member. He traces the cause of the emigration of the Pilgrim-fathers—first to Amsterdam, thence to Leyden, thence to Plymouth—to their repugnance to the *imperial law* of Great Britain and to the centralized power of the Reformed Church authorities which interfered, or threatened to interfere, with their practice of *local* authority and

self-government. He traces their rejection of proffered homes in Guiana and Zealand, and their selection of American, instead, to the same determination to establish and enjoy the *local-law* of *self-government*; and they avoided Virginia and the Mannhattans, and settled in the wilderness, only because "they did not want *English laws, or Dutch laws, or Virginia laws, but their own laws.*" He treats of their idea of *self-government* and disregard of all assumed governments by *others*—their recognition of the *local* and their disregard of the *imperial law*. He notices their establishment of a *local Government*; of their assumption of *local* sovereignty; of their confederation with other communities, similarly constituted and similarly governed. He examines that confederacy—the New English Confederation of 1648; he notices the provisions of its Constitution; he calls attention to the defeat of Massachusetts when, in 1644, she claimed precedence in the naming of the constituent members of the Confederacy. He tells that, even as early as 1691, it was said, sarcastically, that "all the frame of heaven moves on *one axis*; and the whole of New England's *interest* seems destined to be loaded on *one bottom*, and her particular motions to be concentric to the Massachusetts tropic:" he leaves to our own observation the evidence that the spirit of imperialism, which distinguished the Bay Colony, at that early day, is quite as rampant, to-day, and quite as unscrupulous. He notices the subsequent settlement of the Massachusetts Bay, by non-conforming Episcopalians; their banishment of Ralph Smith from Salem, because that Minister was not "comfortable *to the Government*"—the *local law*; the transportation of the Browns, for the same reason; the re-ordination of their Pastors—who had been already ordained, agreeably to *imperial law*, in England—in order to conform to the demands of their *local self-government*. He refers to the surreptitious transfer of their Charter and Government, as a local corporation, seated in London and vested with authority to make its own By-laws, to Massachusetts, and to their equally audacious assumption of adapting to a Colony what was intended only for a private Corporation—all for the purpose of securing the privileges of the *local-law* and of escaping from a law originated at a *distance* from themselves. He tells of the origin of *towns* in Massachusetts, and their peculiar rights, "before *the law.*" Returning to his notice of the New English Confederacy of 1648, he contrasts the arrogance of Massachusetts, already referred to, with the "shyness" of Connecticut to become subordinate, even by inuendo, to the Bay Colony; and calls attention to her breach of covenant with her sister Colonies, in 1645, and

in 1653, as an instance of the Massachusetts idea of the supremacy of *local-law*, even over *treaty-covenants* and *imperial* parliamentary enactments. Her laws relating to coinage; her rejection of Cromwell's proposals for their migration to Ireland or Jamaica; her disregard of the King's *mandamus*, concerning the Quakers; that of the Home objection to her laws concerning Christmas and *The Book of Common Prayer*; and that of the demands made by the King's Commissioners, concerning those of her Statutes which were repugnant to the Laws of England; her attempt to bribe the King, in order to protect her local Charter, which was then imperilled; the final loss of her first Charter, on *quo warranto*, by reason of her rigid adherence to her own *local* enactments; her Act of 1722, on the local right of taxation; her continued violation of the provisions of the Charter of 1691; and other instances, are referred to as indicating her tenacious adherence to the supremacy of the *local-law*, even when the Sovereign and the Parliament of England opposed them. She resisted the Stamp-act, because she was opposed to a *centralization* of authority in "the General Government," and insisted on the supremacy of the *local-law*. She resisted the enforcement of the tea-tax, for the same reason. She resisted the attempt of Lord London, in 1757, to enforce the dogma that, "in time of War, the rules and customs of War must govern," by insisting that "the rules and customs of War were not the rules which the Civil Magistrate was to govern himself by;" and, in 1769, the General Court declared "that the use of the military power, to enforce the execution of the law, is, in their opinion, inconsistent with the spirit of a free Constitution." Even her mobs shouted defiance to the laws which were not *local*, and outraged those who paid higher honors to the *imperial-law* than to that which was home-made—hanging Stamp-master Oliver, in effigy; burning the records of the Admiralty Court; sacking the house of the Royal Governor of the Colony; pelting the officers of the Customs, with stones; tarring and feathering informers under the parliamentary *Acts of Trade*; picking quarrels with the King's soldiers; and throwing overboard the tea which was subject to the parliamentary tax. All these, Professor Fowler instances, as evidence of the prevailing doctrine, within Colonial Massachusetts, concerning the supremacy of her *local-law* and her unceasing opposition to even a theoretical centralization of authority, in a *distant* power—not, however, without as constant a disposition to arrogate to herself a supremacy over others and to concentrate, within herself, an authority to make laws for the government of others which she would not concede to others, for making

laws for the government of herself. He instances her assumption of sovereign authority, in the place of the King, whom she deposed, under her Act of the first of May—not *April*, as supposed by him—1776, and her subsequent exercise of sovereign authority, in making War, coining money, establishing Peace, requiring allegiance, defining treason, etc. He refers to her assent to the *Articles of Confederation*, becoming thereby a member of the "firm league of friendship," thus organized, which still exists under the title of *The United States of America*; and to her unwillingness to meet in Convention, even for the formation of "a more perfect Union" than had been, previously, created. He notices her subsequent appointment of Delegates to the Federal Convention of 1787, but with limited powers; her conduct in that Convention, concerning *State's* rights; her shyness in ratifying "the new system," and then only accompanied by proposed Amendments which limited the authority of the Congress and guaranteed that of the State; and her special legislation, subsequent to that ratification, including her statute prohibiting negroes from taking up their residence in that State; and he finds, in all these, a complete chain of evidence, as far as Massachusetts is concerned, to establish the fact, legal and historical, that Massachusetts is a perfect Commonwealth, a "nation," a "republic," "public;" that the compacts which she entered into, in 1781 and 1788, were made with similar bodies politic—Commonwealths, nations, republics—and that, in consequence, the United States are nothing more nor less than, what the *Articles of Confederation* declared them to be, "a firm league of friendship"—subsequently made "more perfect," but not less a "league" than it had been before it was thus tinkered. He next refers to Chief-justice Parson's declarations, and Samuel Adams's, and John Hancock's, and James Sullivan's, and Alden Bradford's, on this definition of the character of the Republic; draws a parallel between Colonial Rights and the Rights of the States; to her disposition to dissolve the Union, as early as 1803; to her denunciation of the action of Congress and her threats of secession, because of the Embargo Act of 1807 and of the War of 1812; to the animus which prompted the Convention at Hartford, in 1814, its objects, and its action; to her refusal to allow the jails of the Commonwealth to be used for the confinement of prisoners of War; and to her official "refusal to acknowledge the Act of the Government of the United States," "authorizing the admission of Texas, as a legal Act, in any way binding her from her using her utmost exertions, in co-operation with her sister States, by every lawful and constitutional measure, to annul its condition and defeat

"its accomplishment"—she, herself, being the sole judge of what would be and what would not be "lawful and constitutional," in that opposition. He quotes Mr. Webster's Speech, at Annapolis, in 1851, on "*the original principle*" upon which these Colonies were united," and the Personal Liberty Bill of 1855. He refers to the removal from office of Judge Loring, in 1867; to the Report of her General Court, on the proposition to repeal the Personal Liberty Bill; to the Resolutions of her General Court on, respectively, the assault on Senator Sumner by Representative Brooks of South Carolina, on the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Dred Scott; and on the affairs in Kansas. He then discusses, on the testimony, thus adduced, and from the undeviating practice of the Colony and the State, in adhering to its *local-law* and in asserting its own individual and separate sovereignty, the relations between the State, as such, and the United States, as a Confederacy—that Massachusetts has regarded herself as an independent sovereignty; that she formed a *union* with other States of like character, thereby constituting a federal Union; that that Union was formed by a compact "between the States;" that that compact is a *Constitution*; that, as a party to the compact, Massachusetts claims the right to judge of the acts of the "Government" of the United States; that when any of her citizens are oppressed by the Federal authorities, Massachusetts is bound to interpose, for their protection and relief; that she is ready to contend, with the Federal authorities, for the same rights for which she contended with the mother-country; that the Confederacy can be preserved only by a free communication of their grievances, by suffering States, and a prompt attention to those grievances; that she possesses original sovereignty, and having delegated authority to the Federal authorities, can resume that power, at her pleasure; that her citizens owe *allegiance* to the Commonwealth; that she possesses competent authority to punish a violation of their allegiance, as *treason* against her sovereignty; and that she has steadily maintained and exercised her right to *nullify* a law of the United States, whenever, in *her* judgment, the Federal Constitution has been infringed or her conscience outraged. He introduces extracts from the Constitution of the State; defines the terms "State" and "State rights;" and closes with an analysis of the *local-law* of Massachusetts, its several spheres of action, and its results.

Our readers will perceive, from this survey of the contents of this portion of the volume, just what its character and aim are. There are some portions of the Professor's conclusions to which we cannot give our approval. His facts, as far as we have seen them, are perfectly trustworthy;

and the greater portion of his conclusions, thereon, do not differ a particle from those declared, on the same subject, by Massachusetts' leading statesmen.

The second part, relating to the local-law of Connecticut, applies the same rigid test to the local-laws of Connecticut which, in the first portion, as we have seen, he applied to those of Massachusetts. As we have fully noticed his line of argument and illustrations, in the former case, we need not repeat it.

The volume is very neatly printed; and, both as a "local" of peculiar interest and as copies of papers read before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, at Boston, and the New Haven Colony Historical Society, at New Haven, it will not be overlooked by those who collect on those subjects.

18.—*Lives of the Governors of Pennsylvania, with the incidental history of the State, from 1600 to 1873.* By William C. Amor. Philadelphia: James K. Simon. 1873. Octavo, pp. 538.

We are pleased to invite the attention of our readers to this collection of the memoirs of all those who have held the chief place in the local Government of what is now Pennsylvania, from the days of Cornelius Jacobsen May, Director of the Colony of New Netherland, in 1624, to those of John W. Geary, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in 1872—a collection which possesses unusual interest, and will be very acceptable to all who have occasion to learn any thing of Pennsylvanian history or Pennsylvanian biography, from the days of the Dutch to those of our own children and to all who are interested in the knowledge of the part which Pennsylvania has taken, in the history of America or in that of the world.

In the preparation of these memoirs, Major Amor enjoyed and evidently made use of all the facilities which his official connection with the Executive Department of the State afforded; and he was also diligent in searching, beyond the limits of the capital, for material to make his work as full and as accurate as it could be made. The result of that care and that research is the general accuracy and thoroughness of his sketches; but, here and there, we have seen instances where a little more detail would have improved the narratives, and have helped to make the work more acceptable. For instance, in the memoir of President Reed, allusion is made to the charges against his fidelity to his country, in her hour of deep distress, in the Fall and Winter of 1776: it would have been better if more of that story had been told and its falsity exposed, as it could have been, very readily, by reference to the back volumes of

this work. In the memoir of Vice-president Bryan, no allusion is made to his masterly opposition to the *Constitution for the United States*, as that instrument was originally proposed. Benjamin Franklin's part in the discoveries in electricity which have been attributed to him should have been made less prominent; and, if those discoveries must be referred to, Professor Kinnersley should have been mentioned, as well as Franklin, in connection with them. The Whiskey Insurrection, too, might, usefully have received a more carefully-prepared and more extended notice; and other instances might be referred to, were it necessary.

We noticed, also, inaccuracies in the spelling of several proper names—Christopher Marshall, for instance, is spelled "Christopher Martial," and the Count d'Estaing is uniformly spelled "d'Estang."

We mention these defects with no intention of impairing the general character of the work, as reliable and useful. They are such defects as are generally seen in the work of those who write in country places, away from the libraries and other facilities which the larger cities afford to those who care to enjoy them and, very often, in those of the more favored ones, residing in the cities; and they are pointed out, in this place, in order that those who read the work for instruction may not be misled, and that the errors themselves may be corrected, should a new edition of the work be hereafter called for.

The volume is very neatly printed by Ashmead of Philadelphia, and is liberally illustrated with portraits of the greater number of the "Governors of Pennsylvania."

19.—*History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River; their Origin, Manners and Customs; Tribal and Sub-tribal Organizations; Wars, Treaties, etc., etc.* By E. M. Ruttenber. Albany, N. Y.: J. Munsell. Octavo, pp. 415.

This volume is devoted to a very interesting subject; and it has evidently been prepared with great labor.

Opening with Hudson's advent in the waters of the river which bears his name, the intercourse of that early navigator with the Indians is described; and that is followed by inquiries concerning the origin, manners and customs, etc., of the aborigines, in general, and of those on Hudson's river, in particular. Chapters are also devoted to descriptions of their tribal and sub-tribal organizations and other political relations, to the designation of tribes and their respective territories, to the relations of the Indians and the Dutch and English—including their several wars—and to the War of the Revolution. A very elaborate *Appendix* follows; and an excellent Index closes the volume.

As we said, the author has expended very much labor on this volume; and, to a certain extent, it will be found as useful as it is, unquestionably, interesting. It would have been more useful, however, if the author had more strictly confined himself to the particular subject of the work, and let other subjects remain for other occasions; and careful readers would have read it with far greater confidence had the author sustained his narrative, more frequently, by references, at the foot, to unimpeachable and recognized authorities. There is, also, too frequent a disregard of that careful reading of the authorities which is necessary to ensure accuracy in the minutiae of the subject; and we have seen, here and there, what looks very like a disposition, in the author, to jump at conclusions, sometimes, without seeming to wait for any authority, worth noticing, to sustain that portion of the narrative.

Mr. Ruttenber has done good service, in other fields of historic labor; and, while we cheerfully accord to him due credit for his good intentions and, generally, his successful execution of his work, in this instance, we regret that, sometimes, he has relied on incompetent testimony and been misled by unworthy authorities.

The volume is very neatly printed.

20.—*An historical account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Col. William Crawford in 1782 with Biographical Sketches, Personal Reminiscences, and Descriptions of interesting localities including, also, details of the disastrous retreat, the barbarities of the savages, and the awful death of Crawford by torture* by C. W. Butterfield. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. x., 408.

The campaign, against the Western Indians, which was conducted by Colonel Crawford and resulted in so much disaster, as Mr. Butterfield truly says, "was one of the most notable of the distinct military enterprises of the Western Border War of the Revolution;" and it is, therefore, a remarkable fact that it has been so seldom noticed and then so imperfectly. Had it occurred to the eastward of the Alleghanies, instead of to the westward of them, every detail would have been written about, over and over again, and every man concerned in it would have been regarded as a hero: as it is, the expedition has been overlooked and those who participated in it, with few exceptions, are never alluded to in the annals of the Republic.

It is well, therefore, that one has come forward, from the listless West, to record the sad story of the expedition; and it is creditable to Mr. Butterfield that he has now done so well what has been so long neglected. With few published authorities before him, he has been

dependent on unpublished material, to an unusual extent; and the disadvantage of being compelled to dig his material from the quarry, even after the quarry has been found, offers an obstacle to every historical student, in every instance, which very few, even when favored with the best facilities, have entirely overcome. We have been pleased, therefore, with the unexpected success of Mr. Butterfield's authorial labors: we had hardly dared to hope that, at the distance from the large cities at which he lives, he would have so admirably performed the long-deferred duty which he imposed upon himself.

Tracing the history of the War, on the Western borders, which was conducted under the command, successively, of Neville, Hand, McIntosh, Brodhead, Clark, Gibson, and William Irvine, Mr. Butterfield has laid the foundation for his narrative with unusually good judgment; and, then, he has portrayed the expedition which is the recognized subject of the work, in all its persons and movements, with great particularity and the utmost care. We do not always concur with him, in his conclusions, of course; but we have pleasure in recognizing his unusual accuracy, in his statements of facts, and his great caution in presenting his authorities. As a contribution to the local history of the West, this volume is entitled to high respect.

The usual good taste of Robert Clarke & Co., displayed in the typography of this volume; and it will be welcomed for its beauty as well as for its historical importance.

L.—Meister Karl's Sketch-Book. By Charles G. Leland. (Hans Breitmann.) Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson Bros. Sine anno. Octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 127. Price \$2.50.

During the years 1849, 1850, and 1851, the *Nickerbocker Magazine* contained a series of papers, from Mr. Leland's pen, which was so well received that, in 1855, they were collected into a volume under the title of *Meister Karl's Sketch-Book*. In their new form, they were widely welcomed; and, we believe, their merit is recognized in Europe, even when it seemed to be doubted, in some parts of the Old World, anybody read an "American book." Among our own writers, Mr. Irving was especially pleased with the work; and one of his letters, on that subject, is introduced into the Preface of the volume before us, with that honest pride which becomes the author who was thus honored by that great and good man.

A new edition having been called for, the author availed himself of the opportunity, thus afforded, to "cast off" sundry of Meister Karl's

"old garments," and to add "new ones" to his wardrobe—in other words, he has revised and improved the work; and it is presented to the reading-world of to-day, with the Author's latest improvements.

In the words of Mr. Irving, which we shall not attempt to paraphrase, "it merits a wide circulation, by its raciness, its quaint erudition, its graphic delineations, its veins of genuine poetry and true Rabelais humour. To me, it is a choice book to have at hand for a refreshing morsel, occasionally, like a Stilton cheese or a *paté de foie gras*." With such an endorsement, from such a pen, what need is there for any other?

Topographically, this is a very beautiful volume. It is printed on a very fine, tinted, plate paper; with type of great beauty of face; and is bound, very tastily, in morocco cloth, with beveled boards and the top edge gilded. Altogether, it is worthy a place on any center-table.

22.—Collections on the History of Albany, from its discovery to the present time, with Notices of its Public Institutions, and Biographical Sketches of Citizens deceased. Vol. IV. Albany: J. Munsell. 1871. Octavo, pp. iv., 556.

As we do not know at what time *Albany* was discovered, we are unable to state exactly what period this beautiful volume is intended to take notice of; but we suppose our friend, Joel Munsell, knows, and that is sufficient, for all practical purposes.

The volume before us is a continuation of the series of *Annals* and *Collections* which, year after year, Albany has been favored with, by this modern disciple of Aldus, in Albany; and its importance, beyond the bounds of that ancient city, will be seen in its table of *Contents*—First: *Notes from the Newspapers, 1868-9*, covering eighty-three pages; Second: *A Key to the names of Persons occurring in the Early Dutch Records of Albany and Vicinity*, a most important paper to genealogists and all who shall undertake to trace the names of Dutch settlers, covering eight pages; Third: *Contributions for the Genealogies of the First Settlers of Albany*, a most exhaustive dictionary of Dutch genealogy, embracing all the christenings which occurred in the ancient Dutch church, in Albany, from 1664 to 1800, covering one hundred and nineteen pages of fine print; Fourth: *Diagrams of the Home Lots of the Village of Beverwyck*, a most laborious resurrection of old Albany, by Professor Pierson of Union-college; covering forty-one pages; Fifth: copies of the *Albany County Records*, from the thirtieth of March, 1655, to the third of March, 1679, cov-

ering two hundred and eighty-six pages; and, Sixth: an elaborate *Index* of names and subjects mentioned in the work.

There can be only one opinion concerning the peculiar merit of such a volume, containing such a collection of historical material—it is of the highest importance to every historical student; and, to every one who is interested in the family records of the early settlers of that portion of this State which is near the capital, it is absolutely indispensable.

The beauty of the typography is in keeping with the high character of its contents.

22.—*Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland, delivered in Edinburgh, in 1872.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. xiv., 207.

The well-established reputation of Dean Stanley furnishes a passport for this volume into every well-arranged library which professes to be general in its character and respectable in its pretensions. It is composed of an introductory Sermon, on "the eleventh Commandment"—"Love one another"—and of a series of four Lectures on, respectively, "the Celtic, the Mediaeval, and the Episcopal Churches;" "the Church of Scotland, the Covenant, and the Seceding Churches;" "the moderation of the Church of Scotland," and "the present and the future of the Church of Scotland."

These Lectures were not designed to give anything like a competent account of the Scotch church; and, while those men and those events which are most widely known receive the least attention, the author only proposed and only attempted to call the attention of his hearers and readers to such leading features as may properly be regarded as landmarks for the whole.

The volume before us, therefore, will be found useful, to a greater extent than usual, to those who are not very thoroughly versed in Scottish history and yet, without proposing to drink deep in that spring, desire to learn enough of the subject to understand its leading features. To such we commend it.

It is from the Riverside Press; and very handsome.

24.—*Historical Address on the Early Exploration and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley.* By C. C. Parry, M.D. Delivered in Davenport, Iowa, January 21st, 1873. Davenport, Iowa: Day, Egbert, and Fidler. 1873. Octavo, pp. 86.

In this tract, the author has brought together, in chronological order, some of the principal events in the early exploration and settle-

ment of the Mississippi-valley; and, without presenting anything which will not be recognized, as an old acquaintance, by those who are well-read on that branch of American history, it will serve a good purpose for general circulation among those who have been less favored.

It is neatly printed.

25.—*A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students.* By John Peter Lange, D.D., in connection with a number of eminent European Divines. Translated from the German, and edited, with additions, by Philip Schaff, D.D., in connection with American Scholars of various Evangelical denominations. Vol. VI of the Old Testament: containing the First and Second Books of Kings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872.

The Books of the Kings. By Karl Chr. W. F. Bähr, D.D. Translated, enlarged, and edited, Part I., by Edwin Harwood, D.D. Book II., by W. G. Sumner, B.A. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. vi., 280, 312. Price \$5.

We have so often called the attention of our readers to this elaborate *Commentary on the Scriptures*, that we need not again describe its peculiar character and purposes. It is sufficient for us to say, in that connection, that the same laborious display of scholarship which the preceding volumes have exhibited are to be found on every page of this; and that it will be found quite as serviceable to the scholarly student of the merely literary structure of the Bible, as any which has preceded it. It is edited with care and commendable independence, as we are pleased to see; and American scholars will find it a very useful accession to the biblical apparatus already on their bookshelves.

26.—*The Dark Side of New York Life and its Criminal Classes, from Fifth Avenue down to the Five Points.* A complete narrative of the Mysteries of New York. New York: Fred'k Gerhard, Ag't. 1873. Parts I., II. Octavo, pp. 1-64.

We opened the first of these Parts with misgivings, supposing it was one of those sensational publications, which, every few weeks, appeal to those who feast on sensation; but we closed it, agreeably disappointed; and the second number fully sustains the first. The work is a calmly-expressed description of "the dark side of New York"—her paupers, street-children, police, detectives, thieves, gamblers, counterfeiters, pawn-brokers, etc.—and, as far as it has been published, it has carefully and usefully filled the place, in the local history of

the great city, which other histories have left unnoticed.

We shall notice the subsequent issues, as they shall appear, meanwhile inviting the attention of our readers to its forbidding revelations, as not unworthy of their serious consideration.

27.—*The Heiress of Sweetwater*. By J. Thornton Randolph. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bro. 1878. Sixteen octavo, pp. 2, 21-266.

A novel of the moderately sensational school, filled with narratives of startling adventures, graphically told; and ending, of course, with the discovery of a lost relative and a wedding. There is nothing in it, however, which is obnoxious to good morals or apologetic of bad manners; and it may be read by all, old or young, without disturbing their nerves or impairing their integrity.

It is handsomely printed, with large type, on thick paper of good quality; and it is very neatly bound.

28.—*History of Barnstead, from its settlement in 1781 to 1872*. By Jeremiah P. Jewett, M.D. Since his Decease Revised, Enlarged, and Published by Robert B. Caverly, of the Middlesex Bar. Lowell, Mass.: 1872. Octavo, pp. 264.

This beautiful volume is evidently the product of a pen which is not often employed in writing history; and, while its general appearance and the style in which it is written indicate that, in other departments, its author is no novice, it hardly fills the measure of a history of the first class. Very many details of the history of the town and of the memoirs of its inhabitants have been omitted to make room for other matter—elegantly written, it is true, but yet not such as need have sought places, in such a volume as this—and the result is, the history of Barnstead is yet unwritten.

As an elegant specimen of book-making, this volume is worthy of high praise.

29.—*Palmetto-leaves*. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. Illustrated. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1878. Small octavo, pp. iv., 281.

Whatever proceeds from Mrs. Stowe's pen is entitled to notice and a respectful reading, whether we agree or disagree with her, on the subject matter of the work; and the volume before us, because of its subject and of her treatment of it, is peculiarly so.

Opening with a touching narrative of the adventures of a stray dog, at sea; Mrs. Stowe next describes January, in Florida—January, with the singing of birds, the out-burst of flowers, the glittering of the golden oranges, the out-

door labor of the black washerwoman—glancing, too, as she writes, at abuses of the free-school system. She then dissects the ordinary tourist, in Florida, giving her version of the subject and presenting both the "right-side" and the "wrong-side" of that State—comparing it with New-England; describing its "cold-snaps"; instructing the visitor what to wear and what to expect; and cautioning him against expecting too much. A trip, in a yacht, on the St. John's-river, is next described; and so on, to the end.

Without being a formal description of Florida-life, among northern sojourners in that Paradise of the South, this volume, nevertheless, conveys to the reader an admirable picture of it, garnished with pleasant gossip and laughable descriptions of local adventures, real or imaginary; and we have not found the task an easy one which required us to lay down the book and extend our enquiries in other directions. As an accession to the "local" literature of Florida, it is very welcome: as a readable volume, over which we may very pleasantly spend an hour, now and then, it is equally welcome.

As a specimen of book-making, it reflects credit on Rand and Avery, of whose ability, in that line, the book-reading world is already well-informed.

30.—*Seven Decades of the Union*. The Humanities and Materialism, illustrated by a Memoir of John Tyler, with Reminiscences of some of his Great Contemporaries. The Transition state of this nation—its dangers and their remedy. By Henry A. Wise. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott & Co. 1872. Small octavo, pp. 290.

Under this forbidding title and obscured by other peculiarities of its peculiar author, we find, nevertheless, one of the most important volumes on the later political history of the Republic—say from 1830 to 1860—that the Press has yet produced. It is, in great part, a recital, in detail, of circumstances with which the public is only imperfectly acquainted; and, scattered throughout the volume, are outbursts of secret history which throw new light on men and measures, and serve to revolutionize our written histories and render justice to those from whom justice has hitherto been withheld.

It is, indeed, true that Mr. Wise has encumbered and, sometimes, obscured his narrative by his erratic wanderings into fields which he is not cultivating; but, as we have said, he has rendered a service to all who shall study the history of the United States, during the period of 1830 to 1860, for which they will not cease to be grateful.

The volume is a very neat one.

81.—*Shoshie, the Hindoo Zenana Teacher.* By Miss Harriette G. Brittan. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Sine anno. Small octavo, pp. 232. Price \$1.35.

This volume purports to be an autobiography of a young Hindoo convert, addressed to the young people of other countries, describing the incidents of her life, as one of the lowest caste of her nation; and, incidentally, describing the manners and customs, the religious faith and practises, the prejudices and passions, of that distant people.

It is a very interesting volume, whether considered as an autobiography or a description of the Hindoos; and the style of the work, addressed, as it is, to young people, commends it, especially, to them, without unfitting it for the attentive perusal of those, of an older growth, who are interested in such matters.

It is very neatly illustrated with full-page wood-cuts, and as neatly printed.

82.—*Margaret Matland.* By Mrs. Olyphant. Complete in one volume. Philadelphia: T. R. Peterson & Bros. Sine anno, Small octavo, pp. 239. Price \$1.75.

We have found time to read this work with more care than we can ordinarily devote to works of mere fiction; and that fact will clearly indicate that it offered attractions to us which we have seldom found in such works. It is one of the best-told stories, least extravagant, and most elevated in tone which we have ever encountered in a work of this class; and when the London *Athenæum* said it was "a work which will stand out, amid the fictional issues of the present season, like a pure diamond in the midst of paltry paste," that great authority in English literature expressed an opinion of its peculiar merits which we fully endorse, after having read it for ourself.

It is neatly printed, on heavy paper, and as neatly bound in muslin.

83.—*Life Lessons from the Book of Proverbs.* By William Stevens Perry, D.D. New York: T. Whittaker. Sine anno. Small octavo, pp. 361. Price \$1.75.

The excellent author of this volume needs no introduction to the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE: he is already well known to them from his exhaustive papers, scattered throughout that work, on different historical subjects, and from the unpublished papers, on the same general subject, which he has communicated for publication, therein.

The "lessons" contained in this volume were, originally, discourses delivered to successive congregations under the author's pastoral charge; and while he affects, for them, no exegetical merit or startling originality, it is only justice to

him to say that they are entirely worthy of his pen and of the purpose for which they were originally written.

Based on the wise sayings of Israel's wisest monarch, Doctor Perry successively notices the leading subjects of every-day life and morals, referred to by him—experience, home-life, friendship, industry, purity, wisdom, counsel, trade, temperance, restraint, integrity, holiness, and politics—and, in a style which is at once elegant and vigorous, happily impresses on the mind of the reader the "lessons of life" which were therein inculcated. Nowhere, within our range of information, can be found a more attractive, and yet more manly, presentation of those vital lessons which Solomon so wisely suggested; and if they could be read, and studied, and regarded, more widely, better men and a better state of society would be produced—the lesson on home-life, alone, appeals to every parent and to every house-holder; and, earnestly regarded, would, in its results, revolutionize, advantageously, the society of these our days. This volume, therefore, commends itself to both old and young, as both old and young may learn from it what their duty is and what the advantages to be derived from discharging it.

It is very handsomely printed, on tinted paper, and very neatly bound.

84.—*High Life in New York.* By Jonathan Slick, Esq., of Weathersfield, Connecticut. A series of letters to Mr. Zephariah Slick, Justice of the Peace and Deacon of the Church over to Weathersfield in the State of Connecticut. Embellished with illustrative engravings. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Sine anno. Small octavo, pp. 299. Price \$1.75.

This series of letters describes the "high life," in New York, as it was seen and wondered at, some years ago, by a verdant "green-horn," from Weathersfield; and, for downright drollery and, very often, telling sarcasm, we have seen few to surpass it. It has not that political tone which made Jack Downing's letters so notable; nor is Sam Slick's quiet humor equaled, in all respects, in this more recent outgrowth. But the social peculiarities—no: merely the follies but the features which were strange to the author—of New York "high life" are subjected to the review of an observing countryman, who, then, for the first time, had seen these unusual objects and undertaken to tell "his folks" about them; and those who are better acquainted with those peculiarities will laugh, heartily, over the quaintness of the descriptions and the drollery of the blunders into which poor Jonathan has fallen. We have seen nothing in it which will offend, by its coarseness, the taste of any one.

It is printed on heavy paper, of fair quality; but the press-work might have been improved.

35.—*Unity in Variety*: a series of arguments based on the divine workmanship in our planet; the constitution of the human mind; and the inspired history of religion. By George Warburton Weldon, A. M. New York: T. Whittaker. 1872. Small octavo, pp. 280. Price \$1.50.

Based on the grand old truth that "there are differences of administrations but the same Lord," and on the reasonable conclusion that "an eye for what is good in other forms of faith" is not inconsistent with the most zealous attachment for our own," the argument of this volume urges the catholicity of true Religion and pleads for that common brotherhood, in the Christian world, which laughs at Toleration Acts and defies persecution. It reprobates "that conflict of opinion, between rival parties, which leads to spiritual anarchy and confusion;" but it recognizes, lovingly, that multiform assembly, each portion in its own manner and under its own leader, uniformly pressing forward to the same goal, having the same purposes, and controlled by a common desire.

We have seldom opened a volume, in this department of literature, which we have laid down to unwillingly. The spirit which prompted the author of it is, evidently, of the broadest school of genuine Christianity; the argument by which the proposition is supported is well sustained, in all its parts; and, the style in which it is written is, at once, vigorous and dignified, carrying the evidence of its fidelity to the truth on the front of every paragraph and commending itself to all who read it.

It is very neatly printed.

36.—*Lady Betty's Governess; or, the Corbet Chronicles*. By Lucy Ellen Guernsey. New York: T. Whittaker. Same anno. Small octavo, pp. 269. Price \$1.50.

This is a religious novel, the scene of which is laid in the rural districts of England, during the reign of Charles I.; and it is intended to illustrate the contest, within the *Established Church of that period*, between those ultra churchmen who seemed to approach Rome in their creed and practices and those other churchmen, called Puritans, who were then turning toward America, with anxious eyes as the place where they, too, could rule and persecute as, in England, they were ruled and persecuted.

It is carried out with considerable skill; and it may be read, with profit, by those anxious souls, everywhere, who are not willing that any others than themselves shall enjoy an opinion of their own or have a word to say about it.

The volume is well printed, and very neatly bound.

37.—*Historical Sketches of Plymouth, Luzerne Co., Penna.* By Hendrick B. Wright, of Wilkes-Barre, Pa. With twenty-five Photographs of some of the Early Settlers and Present Residents of the Town of Plymouth; Old Landmarks; Family Residences; and Places of Special Note. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. Same anno. [1873?] Duodecimo, pp., title-page and verso, 16-419. Price \$4.

These sketches were published, originally, in the *Plymouth Star*; and, with some additions, they are spread out, on large type and small pages, to the extent of four hundred duodecimo pages, evidently not for the advantage of the purchaser.

Like most other "sketches" written for newspapers, these possess very little value, as history. They are chiefly hashes from Chapman's and Miner's histories of Wyoming and Pearce's *Annals of Luzerne*; repeating most of the old, exploded stories of the Wyoming-valley; and perfectly guiltless of any employment of the *Archives of Pennsylvania*, officially published by the Commonwealth, or the writings of any of those modern scholars who have thrown new light on the history of those early times. In short, they are gossip, unsupported by authorities, and unreliable as history; their reference to the older families of the town are only general in their character, without any attempt at genealogical services; and, without an index to assist the reader—without even a full table of contents—as a book of reference, even concerning Plymouth and Plymouth-men, it is sadly deficient.

Typographically, the volume is a handsome one. The type is large and clear; the paper is heavy and of good quality; and the workmanship, both of the text and the illustrations, very good.

38.—*Who burnt Columbia?* Part 1st. Official Depositions of Wm. Tecumseh Sherman, "General of the Army of the United States," and Gen. O. O. Howard, U.S.A., for the Defence; and extracts from some of the Depositions for the Claimants. Filed in certain Claims vs. United States, pending before "The Mixed Commission on British and American Claims," in Washington, D. C. Charleston, S. C.: 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 121.

We are indebted, we suppose, to Captain C. H. Simonton, one of the Counsel for Claimants, in the cases referred to for the copy of this exceedingly important volume—important, as evidence, both to the Court and to those who shall desire to learn just "who burnt Columbia," in February, 1865.

We are not ignorant of the result, on the inhabitants and industrial resources of Carolina, of General Sherman's much talked-of "march to the sea;" nor are we wholly ignorant of the outrages which, unchecked by the commanding General, were inflicted by the army

which he commanded. One of the most graphic descriptions of these was furnished in a private letter which was written to us, immediately after the War closed, by our friend, the late William Gillmore Simms, of Midway, South Carolina, in which that distinguished scholar—with one volume of Shakspeare's Works, and that with its top edge burned, as the sole remains of his once magnificent private library—told us, mournfully but indignantly, of the sweeping desolation which the army, under General Sherman, had imposed on the country through which it had passed, sparing nothing which could be destroyed or carried away. We are not surprised, therefore, at anything which this volume has described; and we are filled with shame when we read what those who profess to be Christians, as well as soldiers, can either do or permit others to do, when they put on the shoulder-straps of office and are surrounded with power enough to enforce their decrees. It rather enforces on us the superior propriety of the mode of warfare employed by the Jews and the Indians, which made no pretensions to forbearance and practised none—neither giving nor taking quarter, and utterly destroying whatever was brought within their reach. There was no pretence of legal restraints which no one regarded: there was no cant of Christian virtues which no one practised: there was no affectation of gentility where nothing existed except the veriest barbarism. There was no false pretence: there was no false colors: there was nothing but naked monstrosities.

39.—*An Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill.* Compiled from Authentic Sources. By David Pulsifer, A. M., with General Burgoyne's account of the battle. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 75.

From those who have much, much is expected; and those who, from much, when they send anything, send out only little, ought to be condemned. Those who remain silent, may avoid censure: those who can do, and pretend to do, but do not, are fit subjects for reproof, at all times.

There are few men who are better acquainted with the duties of those who profess to write history than Mr. Pulsifer: there are few men who enjoy greater facilities for doing creditably and usefully whatever they may undertake to do, in that line, than he enjoys: there has seldom been seen so complete an abortion, on any historical subject, as this last "account of the Battle of Bunker Hill." It is written without any of the precision which we have been accustomed to find in Mr. Pulsifer's writings—he goes so far as to lead his readers to suppose that "Bridge's Regiment" was engaged in "the

"Battle of Lexington," and that the "attack" "on Bunker Hill was led by General Howe"—without any reference to the peculiar services of Colonel Stark, on the bank of the Mystic; and with especial reference to glorify General Putnam for what he *did not* do and to remain silent concerning Colonel Prescott and what he *did* do. As a whole, it is unworthy of Mr. Pulsifer; and we wonder that he should have allowed himself to appear as the author of so imperfect and inaccurate an *Account of the Battle of Bunker's Hill*.

The little book is neatly printed by Wilson, and is illustrated with a plan of the battle and a map of Boston, as it was, in 1775.

40.—*Year-book of Nature and Popular Science for 1872.* Edited by John C. Draper, M. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xxiii, 332.

This volume presents a brief record of those investigations, in Nature and Science, in 1872, which possess a general interest; and, without pretending to afford such a record as scholars would especially delight in, it affords to the great body of readers as complete a description of the more important results obtained and opinions advanced, during the year, as will ordinarily be desired.

The scope of the work embraces Mathematical and Physical Science, Chemistry, Geology, Social Science, General Biology, and Mechanical Science; and eight hundred and forty-five different subjects, in these several classes, are presented to the notice of the reader. An admirable Index closes the volume; and, as a whole, the volume is one of rare interest and importance, to thinking men, of all classes.

41.—*A Chapter of the History of the War of 1812 in the Northwest.* Embracing the Surrender of the Northwestern Army and Fort, at Detroit, August 16, 1812; with a Description and Biographical Sketch of the celebrated Indian Chief, Tecumseh. By Colonel William Stanley Hatch. Cincinnati: Miami Printing and Publishing Company. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 2, 6-156. Price \$1.25.

A new chapter of an old history. An old man's story, told while fighting his battles over again, concerning the operations of the Northwestern Army, between the third of July and the thirtieth of August, 1812, and including the movement into Canada, the retreat therefrom, and the surrender of Detroit.

As the author was the Acting Assistant Adjutant-general of the Army and in close communion with the various officers in command, his narrative possesses more than ordinary interest; but there is much in it which is not well-founded, and some things which are only the off-

spring of his own prejudice. Had he seen the papers of General Hull and, from them or elsewhere, learned just what the truth was, he would have toned down some of his criticism and transferred to others a good deal of the denunciation which, uninformed, he has heaped only on the head of General Hull.

It is about time for writers of the history of those events to turn over a new leaf and ascertain, from the records, if those things of which earlier writers have been so profuse in their condemnation were really so. We are not insensible of the fact that this is one of the tender-spots of the War Department; that the memory of General Hull is one of those governmental cess-pools into which every thing of that period that is nasty is conveniently thrown; and that, consequently, the name of that officer has become a stench in the nostrils of the people. But that tender-spot should be examined and the cause of it exposed; that cess-pool should be cleared and its contents noticed, for their true value; and General Hull should be made to carry no more blame than properly belongs to him. We shall welcome such a laborer in this field as can and will, fearlessly and impartially, give us the exact truth of these events.

Nearly one-half of this volume is occupied with an elaborate memoir of Tecumseh, evidently prepared with unusual advantages for securing accuracy of information and with great care; and this is not, in our estimation, the least important portion of the volume.

There has been no attempt, in this instance, to present a handsome book to its readers; but, nevertheless, it is neatly printed, on heavy paper, and very coarsely bound.

42.—*Round the World*; including a residence in Victoria, and a journey by rail across North America. By a Boy. Edited by Samuel Smiles. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 299. Price \$1.50.

A lad of sixteen, a son of the Editor, was taken sick and compelled to seek relief in a sea-voyage and more genial climate. He went to Melbourne; remained in Victoria more than a year; and returned to Europe by way of New Zealand, Honolulu, San Francisco, Chicago, Niagara, and New York. His letters to his father and his diary were so full of observations, such as a young man would likely offer, that it was considered advisable to print them; and his father, whose ready pen is well known, arranged the matter for the press, without materially disturbing the youngster's language, and we have the result before us.

We have glanced over its pages; and that part relating to our own country has been care-

fully examined. It is a narrative which would do honor to any one; and the criticisms of men and manners, of buildings and of society, are such as reflect the highest credit on the young man who wrote them. No more attractive book for a boy can be found.

43.—*Illustrated Library of Travel and Adventure*, edited by Bayard Taylor. Charles Scribner & Co. New York.

Japan, in our day. Compiled and Arranged by Bayard Taylor. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xv., 290. Price \$1.50.

Wild Men and Wild Beasts; or, Scenes in Camp and Jungle. By Lt. Col. Gordon Cumming. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xv. Price \$1.50.

Travels in Arabia. Compiled and Arranged by Bayard Taylor. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. v., 225. Price \$1.50.

Travels in South Africa. Compiled and arranged by Bayard Taylor. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. v., 226. Price \$1.50.

Wonders of the Yellowstone. Edited by James Richardson. Illustrated with Seventeen Engravings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xiii., 264. Price \$1.50.

The great success which has attended the *Library of Wonders*, with which our readers are acquainted, has induced its publishers to undertake the publication of another series devoted to Travel, Exploration, and Adventure, under the editorial supervision of Bayard Taylor. Of this series, the publishers say that it "is designed to furnish a clear, picturesque, and tolerably complete survey of our knowledge of lands and races, as it is supplied by the narratives of travelers and explorers, especially those of our own times. Owing to the great richness and attractiveness of the material, it has been found advisable to devote each volume separately, to a special country or region, rather than to give a connected compilation, extending through many volumes." Each volume, therefore, will be perfect in itself and treat of a particular people; although the series will be uniform in size and style, and form, when complete, a harmonious whole.

The first of the volumes before us relates to Japan, its history, domestic life therein, her Court, her bridges, her police, her art and industrial features, her literature, her recreations, festivals, and theaters, her gymnasts, etc., etc.; and as it is compiled from the latest and best writers on the subject, it unquestionably presents the best picture of that strange people, as it now is.

The second is devoted to a narrative of adventures in the East Indies, wherein tiger-hunt-

ing, wild-hog chases, and bear-hunting afforded hair-breadth escapes enough to satisfy the most daring and the most ambitious of sportsmen; and it is told in that style which will charm those whose tastes lead them in that direction.

The third of the series contains a description of Arabia, including its geography and ancient history; and this is followed by sketches of the various travellers in that country, from the earliest explorers to Mr. Palgrave, including Nieburh, Burckhardt, Wellsted, Burton, etc.; the whole being illustrated with a neat map of the peninsula, and appropriate and fairly executed wood-cuts.

The fourth describes the discovery and settlement of South Africa; a description of its tribes; and descriptions of the several journeys, therein, of Moffat, Livingstone, Anderson, and Magyar, with all their remarkable surroundings.

The fifth describes the wonders of our western wilderness, with its cascades, volcanoes, and geysers, elaborately illustrated with cuts.

These volumes are really elegant specimens of book-making; and they are profusely illustrated with engravings and maps most appropriate for the illustration of the text.

44.—*Meditations for Passion Week.* By Rev. E. Greenwald, D.D. Philadelphia: The Lutheran Bookstore. 1878. Duodecimo, pp. 146.

This volume contains a series of Lectures delivered, day by day, by the author, in the regular discharge of his pastoral duty, during Passion Week, in 1868.

The basis of these Lectures is the *Order for Passion Services* prescribed in the Liturgy of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania; and the Prayers, in many cases, have been translated from Diefenbach's *House Agenda*.

Although especially adapted to the peculiarity of Lutheran worship, the admirable grouping of the several narratives of the four Evangelists—the one supplying what the others omitted—and the deductions drawn therefrom, by the learned author, will be found peculiarly acceptable to all, of other denominations, at any time, who shall resort to them; and they will serve to strengthen the faith, to enkindle the love, and to develop, more completely, the practical religious life of the reader.

The little volume is very neatly printed.

45.—*Illustrated Library of Wonders.* Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., New York.

The Wonders of Water. From the French of Gaston Tissandier. Edited, with numerous additions, by Schele De Vere, LL.D. With sixty-four illustrations. New York:

Charles Scribner & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. x., 352. Price \$1.50

The Wonders of Vegetation. From the French of Palgencé Marion. Edited, with numerous additions, by Schele de Vere, D.D., LL.D. With Sixty-one illustrations. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. Duodecimo, pp. 288. Price \$1.50.

Wonders of Electricity. Translated from the French of J. Balle. Edited, with numerous additions, by Dr. John W. Armstrong. With Sixty-five illustrations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. ix., 385. Price \$1.50.

Wonders of the Moon. Translated from the French of Amedée Guillemin, by Miss M. G. Mead. Edited, with additions, by Maria Mitchell, of Vassar-college, N. Y. Illustrated with Forty-three Engravings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 241. Price \$1.50.

Wonders of Sculpture. By Louis Viardot. Illustrated with sixty-two engravings. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xii., 408. Price \$1.50.

We have referred to this *Library of Wonders* so often that our readers are already well acquainted with its character and objects.

The first of the volumes before us is the opening volume of a second series, larger in size than the first; bound in a different style and more carefully adapted to the wants of American readers. It is devoted to the wonders of water, in all its associations and uses, and it is appropriately and plentifully illustrated with wood-cuts.

The second is devoted to the wonders of vegetation—that fruitful repository of wonders, to all who have cared to watch the progress of any plant, no matter which, from its sprouting to its decay.

The third is devoted to the wonders of electricity, the wonders of telegraphy especially receiving ample notice; and it will be welcomed widely, by all who have been hitherto delighted and instructed by the volumes of the series previously issued.

The fourth relates to the Moon, and the “wonders” which cluster around and on her mountains and hills, her volcanoes and craters, her bands and her clefts—all of them so wonderful and so little understood.

As a popular work, on this interesting theme, with all the advantages of Miss Mitchell's revision and extension, this is a volume which commends itself to both the young and the aged, while its profusion of illustrations, its beauty of typography, and its showy binding, will make it welcome, everywhere.

The fifth is devoted to the wonders of sculpture, ancient and modern; and is illustrated with well-executed wood-cuts.

It is a sad mistake in the publishers to allow so useful a volume as this to be sent to press without due revision on matters, therein referred

to, which relate to America. For instance, Houdon's statue of Washington is said, on page 328, to have been "made for *Philadelphia*," whereas it was, in truth, made for the State of Virginia, was never in Philadelphia, and stands, where it has always stood, in the Capitol, at Richmond. So, too, is the introduction of Houdon—a Frenchman who was in America long enough only to make a cast of Washington, in order to make the statue of that celebrated man to which we have just alluded—and Giuseppe Ceracchi—an Italian adventurer, unto whom American never afforded any other than a temporary abiding-place—among *American* sculptors; and Gevelot, Capellano, and Causici have no more right to be considered in that capacity than we would have. So, too, the author of such a work should have been able to relate the facts concerning Houdon's visit to Washington correctly or have kept entirely silent concerning it—Houdon took *moulds* from the General's entire body, instead of "measurements;" and he carried the *moulds* of the head with him, instead of a completed bust, as stated on page 339, and left the remaining portions of the mould to be sent after him, in another vessel. So, too, the remark concerning the alleged accuracy, as a likeness, of Stuart's portrait of Washington, on page 389, was uncalled for in a work on sculpture and is unfounded in fact—La Fayette wholly rejected it; and the family of the General preferred Trumbull's. Besides, Joseph Story was not "Chief Justice," as he is herein represented, pages 368, 369; and other matters referred to should have been stated differently, if stated at all.

This series, as well as the first, may usefully find a place on the book-shelf of every family who aspires to become well-informed on the subjects to which it relates; and the beauty of the several volumes, both in their letter-press and their illustrations and binding, will make them welcome, both in the parlor and in the sitting-room. They are patterns of typographical neatness, eminently worthy of the well-known house which publishes them.

46.—*Among the Isles of Shoals.* By Celia Thaxter. With Illustrations. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. 1873. 16mo., pp. 184.

Nine miles outside of Portsmouth Harbor, at sea, lies the group of rocky islets which are known, in the aggregate, as "The Isles of Shoals." They are six in number, except when the tide is high, when they number nine. Appledore, Smutty-nose, Cedar, Malaga, Star, White, Seavey's, Londoner's, and Duck's, by name—Shag, Mingo, Square, Old Harry, Anderson's, and the Devil's-rocks not being en-

titled to the appellation of islands. They are little better than rocks, the soil being scarce and the vegetation scanty; and, as we shall see, until recently, the inhabitants have been of that questionable character which may reasonably be found in a small body of fishermen, cut off from the wide world, by nine miles of salt water, and uncontrolled by any influences other than their own sweet wills.

These islets were vastly more important before the War of the Revolution, however, than they have been since that period; and the ruined cottages and half-filled cellars, the tumble-down walls and crumbling grave-stones—to say nothing of the written memorials and the well-told traditions of the past—tell of by-gone generations, resident on these rocks, who were vastly more intelligent and moral in their character and conduct, if not much more numerous, than those which, since that great event in the world's history, has distinguished the inhabitants of the Shoals. For more than a century before the opening of that War, the Isles of Shoals were populated with an intelligent and prosperous community, duly organized in their municipal and ecclesiastical relations, and noted for the educational advantages which they offered to those, on the main, who desired both safety and instruction for their children. There, William Pepperrell, the father of Sir William, lived: there, Messrs. Hull, Brock, Belcher, Moody, Tucke, and Shaw—good and faithful men—successively preached: there, lived and died a people not less intelligent nor less moral than those on the main, nine miles distant. But the War of the Revolution—that great panacea of the quacks of that day—laid the foundation for a disastrous change, in these islands; and New England rum has, subsequently, continued the work of desolation, producing a wilderness which only modern dissipation can displace by the introduction, instead, of another form of extravagance, not less destructive to health and morals, notwithstanding it is vastly more fashionable.

The little volume before us is the work of one who, as the light-keeper's daughter, on White-island, was a resident on the Shoals, for many years, while the Shoals and Shoalers were untouched by modern pleasure-seekers, and who knows every corner and rock on the islands; and we have never laid down a book, descriptive of a locality and its population and recounting its traditions and its history, which has greater charms of style or more apparent sincerity and truthfulness in the narrative, than this. Without seeming to know that she has done so, the author has managed to weave into the web of her descriptions of the Shoals and

the Shoalers, very much of their history and many of their traditions; while every bush and every flower, every rock and every nook, every fish and every sea-bird, every wave and every breeze which are to be found on or around the islands, are described with all the easy, intelligent precision of one who is perfectly and personally acquainted with them and with all the affectionate consideration of an old and loving friend. One can almost see the quaint old neighborhood and hear the rough conversation of the fishermen of which we read, so graphically has the author described them; and the charming description of the bright-colored flowers which she presents and the quiet which she describes almost tempt those of us who are wearied with the world's unrest to wish that we, too, could become, in their seclusion, a Shoaler, on the coast of New Hampshire.

The little volume is as dainty a specimen of book-making as it is of authorship; and it will offend the taste of no one, in either respect.

47.—*Methodism forty years ago and now*: embracing many interesting reminiscences and incidents. Also, the responsibilities, present and prospective, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. Newell Culver. With an Introduction by Rev. Lorenzo D. Burrows, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873. 16mo., pp. 309.

Forty years ago, and what was "Methodism" compared with what it is now? We knew it, then; and we know it, now. It is now nearly forty years since we first saw it, in old Bedford street; and, more than thirty years since, we saw it, in its out-croppings of greater gentility, in Vestry-street. We remember, too, the Methodism of the country-places, more than thirty years ago, when homely, honest, seven-day-in-the-week Christians took off their coats, in their earnest zeal, in order that they might sing with the greater joy and pray with the greater fervor. That was the time when "Hal-lujahs" were shouted in honest, out-spoken sincerity; when Class-leaders could rely on their members; when Stewards received, from the scanty means of the givers, their humble contributions from what God had given them, without expecting or desiring a puff of it to be published in the next week's *Christian Advocate and Journal*. We remember, too, when Vestry-street, with its pews, was repudiated, as un-Methodistical, by such good men as Peter E. Coon, and William and John McLean, and John Green; and when the poor were preached to—not in chapels of inferior grade, as matter of mere grace, but in Methodist churches of the highest grade, by preachers of the highest ability, as a matter of duty, most willingly dis-

charged. Well may Mr. Culver write of "Methodism, forty years ago," as something different from the Methodism of to-day.

We do not incline to Methodism, nor did we then; but we respected, then, and we respect, now, the earnest zeal, the undeviating sincerity, the patent unselfishness of the Methodism of that day, toiling in the discharge of accepted duties and passing no one—no matter how poor or how ragged—who possessed a soul to be saved. It would be ungracious in us to arraign the Methodism of to-day, by contrasting it with the Methodism of forty years ago—by its fruits, to-day, compared with its fruits, then, it may be known of all men.

We have read this little volume with unalloyed pleasure; and, if for nothing else than the record which it presents of the Methodism of forty years ago—of the inner life of one of the great denominations of our country, before it became corrupted by modern extravagances—it ought to find a place in every historical collection.

It is very neatly printed.

48.—*The Offertory. A Lost Act of Worship*. By H. Miller Thompson. New York: T. Whittaker. Since 1873? 16mo., pp. 12. Price 5 cents.

A very "admirable presentation of the great truth that the offering of a portion of our substance is a part of the act of Christian worship," as its object has been well described by Rev. Doctor Smith.

We have seldom read so good a tract, on any subject; and if it could be circulated and read, it would be very useful, both within and without the churches.

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SCRAP.—Mr. John Howard Payne, the author of *Home, Sweet Home*, was born in New York city, in 1792, and lived, for several years, in Brooklyn. He died in poverty, at Tunis, Africa, in 1852. He attained a degree of popularity by his plays and other writings; and his name is surely worth honoring by some monument. With the exception of the stone placed over his grave, in Tunis, by the United States Government, there is no memorial of the poet in existence. It is the intention of the Faust Club—a Society of journalists and professional men, in Brooklyn—to erect a suitable monument in Prospect Park and, if possible, to bring the remains from Tunis to Greenwood Cemetery. It is a worthy movement, and deserves success.

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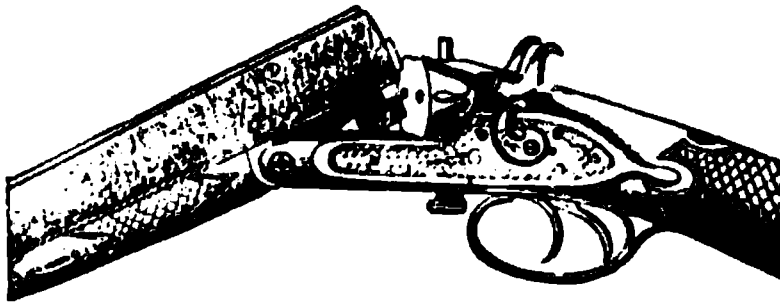
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AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

Aug., 1873

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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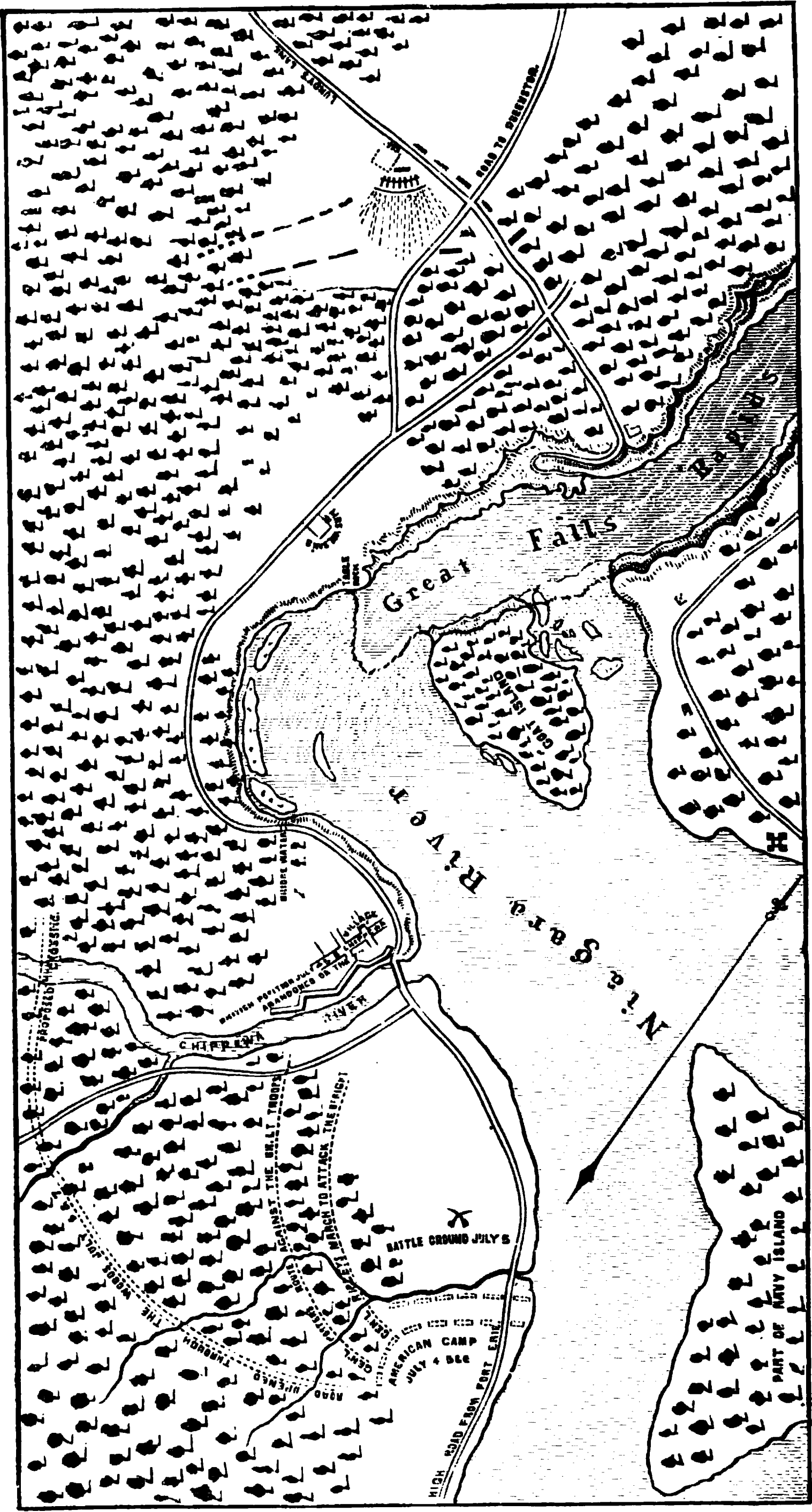
TO OUR READERS.

I. With this number we conclude our publication of General Ethan Allen's remarkable paper on the Human Soul and the not less important Minutes of the Conventions of the revolutionary Vermontese. The series of Lectures, by the late Major Douglass, on the War on the Niagara frontier, is continued; and President Tuttle's graphic portrayal of the origin of "the Great West" will not fail to attract your attention. The series of papers, commenced in this number, and *The Confederate Rag-bag*, will be continued, from month to month, as fragments shall be found.

II. In our next number we shall print a very interesting paper, on *Castine, the young hero*, by Hon. John G. Godfrey, of Bangor, Maine, and read by him, before the Maine Historical Society, together with the third Lecture of Major Douglass—in which the celebrated siege of Fort Mifflin is described with great particularity—the remainder of President Tuttle's paper on the "The Great West," a continuation of Mr. Randall's history of Chenango-county—in which he narrates the history of the town of Norwich—and, if there shall be room, other papers of historical importance.

III.—The Index and title-page of the last volume—kept back, until now, by reason of inability, from ill-health, to prepare the Index—will be found in this number.

IV.—The Map provided for the illustration of this number will be sent out with the number for September, for the illustration of which, also, a Map is now in the hands of the engraver.



MAP OF THE NIAGARA RIVER AND ITS VICINITY.
ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE NARRATIVES OF THE CAMPAIGN ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.
From the original manuscript of Major Douglas.

MAP OF FORT ERIE AND THE ADJACENT WORKS.

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THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. THIRD SERIES.]

AUGUST, 1873.

[No. 2.

I.—*REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814, ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.*—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE DAVID B. DOUGLASS, LL.D., FORMERLY CAPTAIN OF ENGINEERS, U. S. A.; COMMUNICATED BY HIS CHILDREN, FOR PUBLICATION IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

LECTURE SECOND.

In the Lecture of last evening, I attempted to give a brief outline of the military operations of the two Campaigns of 1812 and 1813.

My chief object in doing this was to indicate, precisely, the circumstances which gave rise to the Niagara Campaign of 1814, and to show how intimately it was connected with a general plan for the systematic prosecution of the War, in Canada; for there is, probably, no question connected with the military policy of the War, which has been so greatly mystified and misrepresented as this. The reason can easily be made apparent. The disappointments and failures of the preceding Campaign naturally led to great changes in the *personnel* of the Northern Army; and the old officers, who were displaced, scarcely agreeing in anything else, were unanimous in this, that those who succeeded them were incapable of doing anything which would reflect the least honor on themselves or their country. The leaven of this ill-feeling was chiefly collected in the large cities; and, symbolizing with political biases of the time, the newspapers, during the Campaign and for a long time after, were busily engaged in disparaging every thing connected with the Army operations, on the northern frontier. The Niagara Campaign, standing conspicuously among these operations, had, of course, its full share in these detractions. It was said to have no motive or plan, consistent with sound military policy: nay, it was diametrically opposed to such a policy—an absurdity in design, only less monstrous than in execution. The allegation to which I alluded, in my former Lecture—that the whole Campaign was the result of a mistake, in the construction of his Orders, on the part of General Brown—is of a

piece with these slanders; the whole of which, collectively, it was my intention to expose by the narrative then given. If I have been successful in conveying, to the minds of my audience, a just conception of the facts, as they actually transpired, it will be seen that the Campaign, so memorable, as all admit, for its hard-fought battles, was no mistake; on the contrary, that it was a natural sequence to the operations of 1813; maturely planned, with a wise and judicious reference, not only to the particular object, but to the ulterior prosecution and termination of the War.

The official character in which the speaker is introduced to you demands a word of explanation, as to the relative military duties of the Corps of Engineers.

All military service is distributed under the two general heads of executive and administrative. To the executive, belong all the active, specific military operations—all offensive and defensive movements, manœuvres, battles, and the like, of which the results are given in ordinary military dispatches; and the aggregate force by which these are performed is called the Line of the Army. To the administrative, belong the supply of all the various wants and exigencies of the operative force, their munitions, provisions, means of transport, clothing and pay, their drill, discipline, and inspection, and, generally, whatever is necessary to prepare them for service and keep them in an active, healthy, and efficient condition, as an operative body. The officers assigned to these duties, from the Line of the Army, having a superior responsibility, were generally designated, in the French service, by the word "Major;" and the aggregate of officers, so assigned, was called the "Etat Major"—from which word "Etat," by a slight corruption, is derived our word "Staff." The proper executive and military services of the Army, then, are performed by "the Line" of the Army: the subsidiary, though all important, duties of administration, by "the Staff."

"The Line" is composed of four different descriptions of troops, called, severally, "arms of service"—Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery, and

Engineers—differing from each other in their weapons and mode of warfare. The first three need no explanation, in these respects, except as they all differ from the fourth: viz, that, while *their* appropriate weapons are, in every instance, transportable, from place to place, those of the Corps of Engineers are strictly local and fixed. They consist of Intrenchments, Breastworks, Batteries, Ramparts, and the like, erected on the ground where they are to be used, either in the attack or defence of positions. Its *material* is thus the result of its own invention, applied to the circumstances of each particular case, with a knowledge of the powers of all other arms, as well as of its own. In European service, this Corps is generally termed the "*Corps du génie*;" and, in our own *Rules and Articles of War*, its functions are spoken of as connected with the highest branch of military science.

But, besides these executive functions, the duties of the Corps of Engineers are also intimately connected with the military administration, or General Staff, of the Army. In all questions, in which the local facilities and capabilities of ground are concerned—such as the formation of Orders of Battle, the disposition of camps, the attack and defence of positions, the forcible passage of rivers, and, frequently, orders of march—in these and other like questions, the chief agent and counsellor of a Commander is his Corps of Engineers.

Such were the relations in which, more than on any previous occasion of the War, this Corps was recognized and employed in the Campaign of which I am speaking. The two Colonels, McRee and Wood, enjoyed, in a high degree, the confidence of the Commander-in-chief, and were in the councils of every movement and plan; and, it is worthy of remark, to the honor of General Brown, that he was always prompt and explicit in acknowledging his official obligations to them. Under such circumstances, although I was probably the youngest subaltern, save one, in the Army, the department of service with which I was connected, my relations to the General Staff and Head-quarters, and, above all, my confidential intercourse with the Field-officers of my Corps, gave me opportunities for the improvement of the Campaign which few officers of my grade could, in any equal degree, have enjoyed. It was my desire, on my arrival at the Quarters of the Army, to have relinquished the command of the Company of Sappers and Miners, distrusting my experience for such a command, in active service; but there was no Engineer officer intermediate in rank between Colonel Wood and myself; and the command being restricted, by law, to the Corps of Engineers, I was obliged to waive my objection. Nor

had I reason to repent it, afterwards, as it increased my sphere of responsibility and afforded me many valuable opportunities which I could not otherwise have enjoyed.

The Strait of Niagara, on which the Campaign was fought, demands a momentary notice, before I proceed with my narrative. Its length—from Lake Erie, of which it is the outlet, to Lake Ontario, into which it empties—is about thirty miles; the first seventeen above the Falls being navigable, in connection with Lake Erie, and the last five, below Queenston, in connection with Lake Ontario; the intermediate distance, embracing the Falls and the upper and lower Rapids, is, of course, not navigable. Beginning at the foot of Lake Erie, about a mile and a half above where the Lake is considered as passing into the river, we have, on our side, Buffalo, the place of rendezvous of the Army, before the opening of the Campaign; and, nearly opposite to it, on the Canada side, about three miles distant, Fort Erie. Two miles below Buffalo, on the American side, is the present village of Black Rock; and, about fifteen miles further down, at the head of the Rapids, immediately above the Falls, is the position of the old French trading-post of Fort Schlosser, on our side, and, opposite to it, the little village of Chippewa, at the mouth of the Chippewacreek, in Canada. From Lake Erie to this point, the river is generally deep and rapid, varying in width from half a mile, at Black Rock, to two miles, at Chippewa; and containing several islands, one of which, called "Grand-island," embraced between two widely diverging channels, contains nearly thirty square miles of surface. From the village of Chippewa to the Falls, following the road, on the Canada side, is about two and a half miles; and half a mile further to Lundy's-lane, the site of the battle. The heights of Queenston, on the Canada side, and of Lewiston, on ours, are about five miles still further down, with the villages of the same names, respectively, immediately below. And, finally, at the confluence of the river with Lake Ontario, five miles below Queenston, are situated Fort George and an outwork called Fort Missisanga, both on the Canada side, and Fort Niagara, on ours.

At the opening of the Campaign, on the third of July, Fort Erie was a small unfinished work, occupied by a garrison of about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty men, commanded by a Major. The American Army, in crossing, was organized in two Divisions, one of which landed above the Fort and the other below, while it was yet dark, on the morning of the third; and having sent a light force of Indians and Volunteers, through the woods, in rear of the work, its pickets were

all driven in, and the Fort itself, after a slight show of resistance, surrendered. An American garrison was then placed in it; and, on the following morning, the advance of the Army, under General Scott, moved down the Niagara and took position, at Street's-creek, about a mile and a half above Chippewa—his front protected by the creek, and his right flank, supported by artillery, resting upon the Niagara—and in this position, he was joined, the same evening, by the Commander-in-chief, with the main body of the Army. General Riall, with a British force, was, at the same time, posted behind a heavy line of intrenchments, below the Chippewa-creek. The situation of the two Armies, then, on the morning of the fifth of July, may be easily apprehended—Chippewa-creek being in front of the British; Street's-creek in front of the Americans; and a level plain, a little more than a mile wide, between the two; bounded by the Niagara-river, on one side, and woods, with occasional patches of low ground, on the other.

The early part of the day passed without any particular hostile movement, on either side. A firing of pickets and scouts occurred, in the woods, on our left, which, a little after noon, became rather spirited; and General Porter was detached, with his Volunteers, about four o'clock, with directions to move, in a circuit, beyond the skirmishing parties, and compel them to retire or, if possible, to intercept them. This he did, as to the movement; but the enemy having obtained notice of his approach, drew back, without his being able to cut them off; and, being strongly reinforced by a corps of embodied Militia and light troops, they presently became, in turn, the attacking party; and the General was compelled to retire.

It soon appeared that the troops, which had thus been thrown forward for the dislodgment of our Volunteers, were a part of the enemy's advance, intended to cover a regular sortie; and that he was now already in motion, across the plain, with his entire force, in order for battle. To receive them, in a becoming manner, General Scott was immediately thrown across Street's-creek, with the First Brigade, consisting of the Ninth, Eleventh, Twenty-second, and Twenty-fifth Regiments of Infantry and Towson's Artillery—the latter taking post near the river, and the former displaying, in order of battle, to the left, with the extreme left thrown forward. It was all done with the promptness and accuracy of a grand review; and the instant the line was displayed, it was engaged with the enemy. The latter was allowed, however, to deliver his fire, several times, and approach to short point-blank distance, without any return. A tremendous fire was then opened, from the whole of our

line, firing with deliberate aim, by word of command—the left, under Colonel Jessup, bearing upon the enemy's right—and, as the enemy were seen to be thrown in some confusion by it, the word was passed to "Cease firing!" "Recover arms!" and "Charge with the bayonet!"—all which was done with admirable coolness and promptitude, and with an effect which, considering the nature of the troops opposed, it was hardly possible to realize. The columns which had been in full march upon us, but a few moments before, were now, in another brief minute, routed and flying, in uncontrollable disorder, towards the Chippewa.

The coolness and deliberation with which the enemy were received, in this, the first conflict of the Campaign, was a new event for both parties. From ourselves, owing to the circumstances I have mentioned, it has scarcely ever received the commendation to which it was entitled; while British officers, who were in the battle, speak of it in the most enthusiastic terms. "We had never seen those grey-jackets before," they said. "We supposed it was only a line of Militia-men; and wondered why you did not run, at the first fire. We began to doubt, when we found you stood, firmly, three or four rounds; and when, at length, in the midst of our hottest blaze, we saw you 'Port arms' and advance upon us, we were utterly amazed. It was clear enough we had something besides Militia-men to deal with."

General Riall, in his official Report, speaking of the critical point of the action, says, "I immediately moved up the King's Regiment to the right, while the Royal Scots and the One hundredth Regiment were directed to charge the enemy, in front, for which they advanced, with the greatest gallantry, under a most destructive fire. I am sorry to say, however, in this attempt, they suffered so severely that I was obliged to withdraw them, finding their further efforts against the superior numbers of the enemy would be unavailing." And what was the superiority in numbers! In another part of his Report, he represents the aggregate force, on our side, at six thousand men; having been augmented, he says, by a very large body of troops, immediately before the commencement of the action; whilst his own force, exclusive of Militia and Indians, is stated at fifteen hundred. Before noticing the battle, in any other respect, let us correct these numbers and present the case as it actually occurred. Our entire aggregate force, in Canada, on the day of the battle, was less than three thousand five hundred men. Of these, the Volunteers were engaged in the woods, with about an equal number of the same description of troops, on the part of the enemy; and these, therefore, may be paired off against each

other. A large part of the Artillery was wholly unengaged. General Ripley's Brigade was put in motion, to act on the flank of the enemy, through the woods, and made praiseworthy exertions to do this; but, in point of fact, it did not reach its ground in season, and did not, therefore, take any part in the action. The main battle on *our* part, was fought, then, entirely by General Scott's Brigade and Towson's Artillery, amounting to about one thousand men against one thousand, five hundred. It was a fair trial of nerve and discipline, between these forces; on plain, open ground; without any local advantage or any adventitious circumstance, on either side; and the result was the entire *repulse*, to use no harsher phrase, of the more numerous party.

We claim this result, then, without illiberality, as a fair triumph, on our side; the more signal, as we estimate, highly, the gallantry of the veteran troops opposed to us and the peculiar circumstances under which we met them. Our one thousand, it will be observed, were many of them new in service, and most of them now meeting, for the first time, a disciplined enemy, in the open field. They were hastily displayed, on ground not before occupied by them, with all the moral disadvantage of feeling themselves on the defensive. On the other hand, one thousand, five hundred veteran soldiers, in the highest possible state of discipline—being composed of the Eighth, or King's, Regiment, of the line, the One Hundredth of the line, and the Royal Scots—unsurpassed by any troops in the British Army for bravery or loyalty; the ground chosen, at the option of the British Commander, and with which he was perfectly familiar; and *they*, the assailants. If it had been an appointed combat for trial of strength, between equal parties, what advantage could have been asked, on the adverse side, which was not enjoyed? Yet, with a disparity in the ratio of two to three against us, we were eminently victorious.

The Battle of Chippewa may be called a small affair, and certainly was not, as to the numbers engaged, entitled to the rank of a great battle. It required less generalship, on that account; but the conduct of the troops was, in no respect, inferior; and it is but fair to conclude that the same elements multiplied in any ratio, and as well marshalled, would, with the corresponding disparity of force, have accomplished a similar result. Such was the view taken of it by British officers as well as ourselves. During all the previous Campaigns, no opportunity had occurred so favorable for a trial of strength, in which the victory had not been decidedly on their side, or questionably, at least, on ours. Here there was no room for doubt; the victory against great odds had been fairly

won by us, and now, for the first time, during the War, was it felt that the *esprit du corps* of real service and real discipline had been attained.

The Battle of Chippewa was not more remarkable as the exponent of discipline than as the beginning of a new era, in the mutual confidence and esteem of the opposing forces. They greatly mistake who imagine that such encounters provoke anything like personal animosity or vindictiveness, between the parties concerned. Quite the contrary! The sentiment excited in every generous mind is that of respect and esteem for a brave and loyal enemy—the more decided, as those qualities are more distinctly characterized; and, probably, no persons interested in a state of War are so free from every sentiment of personal hostility as the very combatants themselves. The result of this battle, then, was to awaken a new and far more generous intimacy between the two services, if not between the two Nations, than had ever existed before.

The two days following the battle were employed in opening roads and providing the means for crossing the Chippewa, above the village. The British General, seeing the vigor with which these works were advanced, in spite of his attempts to prevent it, and alarmed for his safety, in flank and rear, as soon as the end should be accomplished, hastily broke up his camp, on the seventh, and retreated down the river. On the ninth of the month, General Brown moved forward, with the main body of the Army, and occupied the camp on the plains of Queenston, where I joined, on the tenth, and where, on the eleventh, he was also joined by the Volunteers having charge of the baggage and stores of the Army, who took post on Queenston-heights.

The week following my arrival in camp, though not marked by any movement of consequence, in the operations of the Army, was, to me, a period of the deepest interest. My local position, in the encampment, was designated and occupied, near Head-quarters, in the centre of a vast semi-circle, on the circumference of which were posted thirteen different Regiments, detachments, and Corps. It would be difficult to transfer, to this peaceful hour and place, an adequate impression of the military sights and sounds which gave animation to the scene. The various guards mounting; the drills and parades; the regimental beats and bugle-calls, converging from so many different points, at once; retreat-beating and parade, at sundown; tattoo, at nine o'clock; and, above all, the fine old spirit-stirring reveille of Baron Steuben, at the earliest dawn of day. These beats commenced, generally, with the Regiment on the extreme right; then

the next; the next; and so on; till the whole circumference was one grand chorus of the most thrilling martial music. To some, perhaps, these sounds may be familiar; and a reference to them, in a Lecture, may seem common-place; but few, I presume, who hear me, can have been privileged to hear them in the associations of actual War, in the presence of an enemy, and under circumstances of so much interest as in the case now referred to.

Occasionally, the scene was varied by occurrences of a more particular kind. On the thirtieth of July, a strong reconnoitering party, of several Regiments, with a detachment of Artillery, was seen, under arms, at an early hour in the morning; and, shortly after, moving off, in the direction of Fort George.* A number of officers rode to the heights, to get a view of the scene of action; but, though the smoke of the Artillery was occasionally visible, near Fort George, and a heavy firing heard, the detachment, itself, was hid by the foliage; and we were left in uncertainty as to the nature of the encounter, until its return, at evening. It was then ascertained that the object of the enterprise had been accomplished, the pickets and outposts of the enemy having been beaten back, and the ground examined to within a short distance of the Fort. But the morrow had a tale to tell. The booming of minute-guns, from some battery, on the heights over our heads, and the close roll of the muffled drum, announced the funeral of a General officer, in the camp of the Volunteers—General Swift of the New York Volunteers.

The little Corps of Sappers and Miners, in the mean time, had been armed with a part of the battering-train of artillery; and my own attention was now unceasingly required in distributing and training them for their new duties. From the tenth to the twentieth of the month, with very little intermission, their whole time was employed in the most laborious drills and field-exercises, for which I was fully compensated when the "Marching Order" came out, on the day last mentioned, in contemplating my little Corps, with its long cavalcade, armed, and in complete order, the first in readiness to move.†

* The object of a reconnoissance, is to obtain information as to the enemy's position, and force, and disposition, and intentions, and the local resources of the country. This may be accomplished, with sufficient accuracy, under certain circumstances, by only one or two individuals. But, at other times, the object of the reconnoissance can only be obtained by using a heavy detachment, like the one mentioned above.—*Major Douglass.*

† The whole Army was put under marching orders, "last evening, to move, very early, this morning; and the Bombardiers had the honor to be the first in readiness,

The Orders for marching came out on the evening of the eighteenth, but were countermanded, on the following morning. But, on the twentieth, however, the whole force was in motion, at an early hour, in the direction of Fort George; and, at mid-day, we were in position about a mile from the Fort, having our right on the river, and our left thrown back. The distance was so small, that our picket-guards, on the right, were nearly in contact with those of the enemy; and, almost immediately after they were posted, a running fire commenced, between the first two and their opponents, which continued, without any long interval, while we lay in that position.*

The day after our arrival, when this firing was more than ordinarily brisk, I was invited by my friend, Colonel Wood, to join him, in a personal reconnoissance, towards the Fort, as a military exercise, for my own benefit; and, having obtained the permission of the Chief Engineer, we mounted and rode towards the outpost. We passed down the high road, leading to the Fort, under cover of an intervening piece of woods,

"being ready to strike their tents before reveille. The tents were struck about seven o'clock, throughout the camp. I had all my drivers mounted and every man at his post, from that time till near eleven, when an Order came to re-encamp. The marching order is renewed, this evening; and the same scene is to be acted over again, to-morrow morning, only with a different catastrophe."—*Letter, by Lieutenant Douglass, dated July 18th, 1814.*

July 30th. "It is morning, and one Brigade has just moved off. It was a glorious sight. The Heavy Artillery will probably move in the course of an hour, and, with it, of course, my own Corps, and then follows the remainder of the Army. I wish you could see my present line of march. It consists of two very long and heavy eighteen-pounders, drawn by six horses each; two caissons, drawn by four horses each; two shot-wagons, drawn by four horses each; and two two-horse wagons, loaded with implements and camp equipage. "I have also a good horse for myself."—*Letter from Lieutenant Douglass, July 30, 1814.*

* In the arrangements of a camp, in the vicinity of an enemy, small detachments of Infantry or Cavalry, called "Pickets," are thrown out, at various points, beyond the line of the camp sentinels. These pickets are often again divided into small parties, which are thrown still further forward, and which may again be sub-divided into individual guards. In this method, the whole range of country, for one, two, or three miles, in every direction, may be completely under the surveillance of a military encampment. Desertions are prevented; the enemy's reconnoitering parties are intercepted; and, should the enemy appear in force, timely notice is given for his proper reception, while, at the same time, various annoyances may be employed for his obstruction. In the case of a forced reconnoissance, a very strong detachment is sometimes required to beat in these pickets.—*Major Douglass.*

near which our picket No. 1 was posted. As we approached this, we discovered that the firing was chiefly at the second picket, about two hundred yards to the left; and, crossing the fences, we came out into the open fields, in rear of that position, having no longer the cover of woods but the Fort, in full view, before us, at the distance of about half a mile. The field in which we were was full of stumps and trunks of trees, behind which, on the side nearest the Fort, our picket-guard was sheltered; and the next field, in the direction of the Fort, of the same character, was similarly occupied by the picket of the enemy. They were pretty closely engaged, and, of course, our appearance, on horseback, gave increased animation to the fire, on both sides—our picket endeavoring to drive their opponents and divert their attention from us; while the British, on their side, were equally endeavoring to get the best positions and the best aim for hitting us. We, ourselves, kept apart and in motion, moving irregularly, with our eyes chiefly directed upon the Fort; and, though the balls whistled around us, in great numbers, it so happened, miraculously, as I then thought, that neither of us was hit.*

* The passing remarks of the lecturer were, we are assured, almost literally the following: "Perhaps you would like to know how I *felt* when, for the first time, I heard the balls whistling about me. I have no objection to telling you. I have heard of a Spaniard who said he never knew what fear was. Such was not the case with me. I should like to have had a strong stone-wall between me and the enemy, for I expected to be either killed or wounded; and I certainly did not want to be either. When the close *tschit* of the balls was particularly sharp and spiteful, I could hardly avoid putting up my finger, with the impression that the tip of my ear, at least, must have been touched.

"I may remark, by the way, that many observations have convinced me how great a mistake it is to imagine that courage, in a high sense, consists merely in insensibility to danger. So far from this being the case, I affirm that true courage may be consistent, not only with the knowledge, but even with the apprehension, of danger. The courage, so called, which is utterly blind to danger, is of a lower order of qualities. It is rather of a character with the courage of a brute animal, who does not know nor consider the extent of the opposition which he shall meet with, and is, certainly, in this respect, insensible to fear. But I am tempted to say that the man who never knew what fear was, could neither, on the other hand, realize the greatness of courage. That is true courage, which advances, in the very face of danger, even to the cannon's mouth—not ignorantly, but with a full view of all the hazards and responsibilities of the position; not because there is no sense of peril, but because all individual and personal considerations are thrown aside, for the higher claims of a manly responsibility in the path of duty, where *only* true honor lies."

My attention was presently diverted by my companion calling to me, in a hurried manner, to "*Keep back!*" as they were manœuvering a gun upon us. "Don't let them take us in range," he said; and, raising my eyes to the Fort, it was easy to see that they were preparing to fire. They did not do so, however, probably thinking it not worth while to waste a shot upon either of us, singly; and, after a few moments further delay, we returned to picket No. 1. Here, it was our intention to reconnoitre through the woods; and a couple of videttes having crept cautiously forward, with guns cocked, to see that no lurking foe was secreted in the bushes, we were enabled to penetrate nearly through the coppice. We then betook ourselves to the trees, climbing till we could just see the Fort, at the distance of about seven hundred yards, over the foliage; and, having completed our observations, in about twenty minutes, without interruption, we returned quietly to camp.

An attempt was made by the enemy, in the course of the same day, to reconnoitre us, from the tops of a small schooner which stood a little way up the river, for that purpose. A battery being formed to open upon them, and a fire kindled for heating shot in rear, they became alarmed and immediately dropped down again to their ordinary anchorage. A slight alarm, raised on one of the pickets, on the following morning, brought us to our feet in apprehension of an attack. It amounted to nothing, in fact; but, as it was near daylight, when it occurred, we continued under arms till morning.

On the morning of the twenty-second, we broke up our camp, at Fort George, and moved back again to Queenston; occupying the heights, this time, with the village of Queenston, on the plain, below, as an outpost. My own particular position, in this case, was on the brow of the hill, precisely at the spot since occupied by Brock's monument; and, here, as the view was very commanding, the Staff-officers, particularly the two Colonels of Engineers, were in the habit of making their rendezvous and employing much of their time, during our continuance at the place, in sweeping the horizon of the lake with their glasses. It was the expectation that the fleet might make its appearance, and bring with it an additional supply of battering-guns and other ammunitions, for the attack of the Forts and possibly, the plan of a combined attack upon Kingston, for which the time appeared not so favorable.

I allude to this expectation, on our part, as a fact, connected with the operations of the Campaign, and far from intending any reflection to the grounds upon which it was built or the circumstances which prevented its being realized. No two Commanders, during the War, estab-

ed higher claims to the esteem and gratitude of their country, than Commodore Chauncey and General Brown; for no two men, within the circle of my own personal intercourse, had I a more entire esteem and regard, while living, or to their memories a more profound respect, when dead. They differed in their views of this co-operation; and who will doubt that, in so doing, *both* of them were guided by pure and patriotic motives? *They*, at least, entertained no such doubt; and, though a temporary cloud did come over their intercourse, at the time, it was dissipated, immediately after the War, and they continued in uninterrupted intimacy and friendship, as long as they both lived.

We remained in our position, on Queenston-heights, until the morning of the twenty-fourth, at which time the expectation of the fleet and every mode of co-operation, in that quarter, was given up. In a conversation, on the preceding morning, I was apprised that the plan of our future operations was about to be changed; the attack upon Fort Niagara and Fort George to be abandoned, for the present; and an attempt made to intercept the enemy's line of communication, round the head of Lake Ontario, by an attack upon Burlington-heights: which, if once occupied by us, and the Lake *also* in our possession, would isolate General Riall's Army, with the forts, and place them, virtually, at our disposal. The execution of this plan, with due caution and effect, made it necessary for a better connection with our depot at Buffalo, to fall back, temporarily, from Queenston-heights to Chippewa; and this movement was accordingly made, on the twenty-fourth, and the ground occupied, on the South side of the Chippewa, fronting northward, with the village in advance.

Such was the state of things, when the circumstances which led to the Battle of Lundy's-lane intervened, and gave a new relation to all our affairs. After the Battle of Chippewa, and during the time we had been manœuvring on Fort George, General Riall had retired, up the lake, in the direction of Burlington-heights and, there, intrenched himself, at Twelve-mile-creek; but having recently received reinforcements, and learning, as we afterwards found out, that a large addition to his force was at hand, under the command of Lieutenant-general Drummond, he advanced from his secure position, and began, again, to hover in our neighborhood; and, on the twenty-fifth, in the morning, one of his advanced parties was discovered by our picket-guard, in the vicinity of the Falls.

It was on the afternoon of that day—a fine July day, not excessively hot—between five and six o'clock. The Sappers and Miners had just been dismissed from drill. My attention was

called to a column, in the act of moving out from the encampment of the First Brigade. My own encampment was on the bank of Chippewa-creek, at the South end of the bridge, between the high-road and the river. As the column approached the bridge, my good friend, Colonel Wood, rode up to me, with a countenance of unusual animation, and gave me an opportunity of learning its object. "The British," he said, "are understood to be crossing the Niagara, at Queenston, and threatening a dash up the river, on that side. They are also in movement, on this side. We wish to find out what their dispositions are; and the detachment before us, under the command of General Scott, is ordered to make a reconnaissance and create a diversion, should circumstances require; and, if we meet the enemy, we shall probably feel his pulse." "May I go with you?" said I. "If McRee will let you," he replied. Having obtained the approbation of the Chief Engineer, I mounted; and, joining him, we rode forward to the front of the vanguard.

We had proceeded nearly three-fourths of the distance from Chippewa to the Falls without any particular incident, when, in passing round a small copse of woods, we came in sight of an old dwelling-house, the residence of Mrs. Wilson. There was a number of Cavalry-horses, in the yard, caparisoned and holstered, with one or two mounted Dragoons attending; and, almost at the instant our eyes fell upon them, eight or ten British officers stepped, hastily, from the house and mounted their horses. Some of them rode away briskly; but three or four, after mounting, faced towards us, and surveyed us with their glasses. An elderly officer, of dignified and commanding mien, stationed himself in the middle of the road, a little in advance of his companions, and coolly inspected the head of our column, as it came in sight. They waited until we had approached within perhaps two hundred and fifty yards; and then retreated, slowly, with their glasses scarcely withdrawn, until the leading officer, closing his glass, waived, with his hand, a military salute, which was promptly returned by us, as they all wheeled and rode swiftly away.

During this time, bugle signals were passed, hurriedly, in various directions, through and beyond the woods, to the distance, apparently, of about half a mile beyond the house. Colonel Wood and myself being a little in advance, were first met, at the door, by Mrs. Wilson, who exclaimed, with well-affected concern, "Oh, Sirs! if you had only come a little sooner you would have caught them all." "Where are they, and how many?" we asked. "It is General Riall," she said, "with eight hun-

"dred Regulars, three hundred Militia and "Indians, and two pieces of artillery." General Scott then rode up, with his Staff, and, dismounting, the group of officers entered the house and closely interrogated the woman. When she had given all the information which could be elicited, the eye of the General ran round the circle until it rested upon the person of, perhaps, the most youthful officer present. "Would you be willing to return to camp, Sir?" said he. Not aware of the purport of these words, and doubtful, in my inexperience, whether or no the General wished to test my disposition to sustain the hazard of a conflict, I remained silent. Colonel Wood, however, noticed my embarrassment, and immediately relieved me, by introducing me and saying, "Lieutenant Douglass will, no doubt, be happy "to bear your commands to General Brown." "Very well, Mr. Douglass, return, immediately, "to camp, and tell General Brown that I have "met with a detachment of the enemy, under "General Riall, numbering eight hundred Regulars, three hundred Militia and Indians, and "two pieces of artillery, and shall engage it, in "battle." I mounted and rode off; but, before I turned the angle of the road, the troops were already beating down the fences and preparing for action.

As I spurred my wearied and foaming horse, over the bridge, at Chippewa, I heard the distant sound of the first firing; and, upon entering the camp, I found myself the object of general and anxious attention. Riding, directly, towards the quarters of the Commander-in-chief, I soon perceived General Brown and Colonel McRee listening to the reports, with very earnest attention. The General led the way to his marque, without a word; then turning—"Well, Sir?" "I left General Scott at "Mrs. Wilson's. He desired me to say that he "has met with a detachment of the enemy, "under General Riall, numbering eight hundred "Regulars, three hundred Militia and Indians, "and two pieces of artillery." "*And th's firing?*" interposed the General. "General "Scott said that he should immediately engage "with the enemy," I replied. After a few words and comments, with Colonel McRee, Generals Ripley and Porter were instantly ordered to advance and support General Scott. Colonel McRee directed me to return to the field, observing that he would soon follow me; and, in this expectation, I resolved to put myself on the *qui vive* for him, there.

It must have been at least a quarter past eight, for it was quite dark, when I approached the field of battle, on my return from camp. A little beyond Mrs. Wilson's house—which was brilliantly lighted up, for the accommodation of

wounded men—I found the road diverging strongly to the left, through a piece of woods, after passing which, it again inclined to the right; but, directly forward, in front of the opening, there could be traced the dim outline of a hill, occupied by a battery of the enemy's artillery, in full play. It was very easy to see that there were more than two pieces. Several of the shots raked through the opening of the road. They appeared, generally, to pass over my head; but, occasionally, the limbs of trees were cut off by them, and dropped in the way. Here and there, I met parties returning with wounded men. Arriving at the open ground, I discovered the principal part of General Scott's Brigade, on the left of the road, actively engaged with what appeared to be the right wing of the enemy; and I accordingly turned and rode down, in rear of the line, in that direction, nearly to its left; but, not perceiving the officers I was in quest of, and observing, at the same time, some movements on the extreme right, which I had not before noticed, I turned and rode, in that direction, in expectation of finding them, there. As I reached the road, however, one of General Brown's Aids met me, in quest of General Scott; and, soon after, Colonel McRee came up, riding alone, at speed, and it was understood that General Brown and his Staff were not far behind.

"Come," said the Colonel, "let us see what "these fellows are doing;" and, instead of riding down to the left, where the Infantry of the line were chiefly engaged, he spurred forward towards the British battery, to reconnoitre the field. It was now quite dark; but the firing of musketry indicated, plainly enough, the position and extent of the lines engaged; and, having examined these, with great animation, he drew up, at last, at the foot of the knoll on which the battery was posted. After contemplating it, for a few minutes, he turned to me, and raising his hand, he said, with his peculiar emphasis, "That hill is the key of the position, "and must be taken;" and immediately led the way, to meet General Brown.

The General was already near at hand, and rode to the field, in company with the Chief Engineer, who expressed his opinion to him, in the same terms as to me, and entered somewhat more fully into the explanation of them. In the mean time, Colonel Wood joined them, and informed me, a few minutes after, that arrangements had been made to detach the Twenty-first Regiment, under its gallant Colonel, Miller, to storm the height.

I am particular to mention all these circumstances, because the question has been mooted as to who originated the charge upon the British battery, at Lundy's-lane; and particular at-

tempts have been made to attribute the suggestion of this movement to General Ripley. It is, in my view, a subordinate question, altogether; yet, in point of fact, I believe I am correct in saying that it was first suggested to the mind of the Commander-in-chief by Colonel McRee. The storming of the height had been fully discussed and arranged before General Ripley arrived. It was probably ten minutes after all this, before the head of the Second, (General Ripley's) Brigade arrived, through the opening of the woods, on the scene of action; and the order being then taken, the Twenty-first immediately took up its position for storming the height.*

And now a word for the Twenty-first and its Colonel, Miller. Colonel Miller—now the venerable General James Miller, for I am happy to say his life is still spared to us—was a rare union of personal excellency of character with a strength and firmness of mind and body, seldom surpassed even in his own Granite State. He had been long in service, having joined the Army with the old Fourth Regiment, under Colonel Boyd, and had been seasoned in every Campaign, from Tippecanoe, downwards. His Regiment was somewhat of the same character with himself; raised, chiefly, in his native State, and devotedly attached to him; and in a fine

state of discipline. A better selection, therefore, could not have been made, for the arduous duty of storming the British battery.

The reply made by him, when it was proposed, was quite characteristic. "Colonel Miller," said the officer, "will you please to form up 'your Regiment and storm that height!'" He raised his herculean form and fixed his eye, for an instant, intently upon the battery: then turning his bit of tobacco, with great sang-froid, he replied, with a significant nod, "I'll try, Sir! 'Attention—the Twenty-first!'" and, immediately, led away this Regiment in the direction required.* The other Regiments of the Second Brigade filed along the road and halted, as a right wing to General Scott's Brigade; and, in this direction, the group of officers, with whom I was, moved, also, to avoid being brought in range when the assault upon the battery should take effect. Meantime, the Twenty-first was moved forward, silently and cautiously, but in perfect order, to a fence on the slope of the hill, about forty or fifty yards from the battery, behind which it drew up, in line; and, after pouring one well-directed volley into the battery, they pushed the fence flat before them, and rushed forward with the bayonet. The whole was the work of an instant; the hill was completely cleared of the enemy, in almost as little time as I have been narrating it, and the battery was ours.

Our troops then moved forward, on the right and left, and formed, in Order of Battle, on precisely the ground occupied by the British, at the commencement of the action, only fronting in the opposite direction and having the captured battery in rear. This formation was completed a little after, perhaps half-past, ten. A new moon, which had given a little light, in the early part of the evening, had now gone down; and it was quite dark. Indeed, we had, at no time, after my return from camp, light enough to see the face of our enemy; but it was very evident, from his fires, that he was vastly more numerous than had been represented to us, by Mrs. Wilson; and this we shall be able to account for, presently, by the exhibition of his own Official Report. For the present, it was sufficient for us, that, whatever his numbers were, we had gained possession of his ground; and, although there was no reason to suppose that we should long enjoy it, without opposition, the successful issue of the battle, thus far, gave great animation and confidence to the troops; and enabled them to prepare, with cool-

* From the rough draft of a letter from the author to the late Hon. John Armstrong: "It will perhaps appear strange to you that a statement bearing, as you will perceive, in many of its particulars, upon some of the questions touching that battle—by which the service and the community were so much excited, in the year '1516—should have escaped all the investigations of that period and be now, for the first time, communicated as matter of history. I will, however, explain this circumstance. I was probably the youngest officer in service, 'if not in age, in the Battle of Bridgewater; and, feeling my position to be that of a pupil, it did not occur to me that anything which was seen or heard by me, in that battle, was equally, if not better, known to my superiors in rank.

"It happened, moreover, that the particular agency assigned to me, at the eve of the battle, was not stated in the Official Reports, either of General Scott or of General Brown. Colonel Jones was named as the officer by whom the first intelligence from the field was brought to the latter; and, my name not being mentioned, I was never called upon as a witness. The omission, if it deserves to be called by so serious a name, was not, at the time, considered as of any importance. Before it was known, the Campaign had already furnished occasions of higher consideration to myself, personally; and no motive then existed for calling the attention of those esteemed commanders to it. After the controversies to which I have alluded, I regretted not having done so; but it was then too late to be of use; and the subject was again suffered to sleep."

* It is said that Colonel Miller, himself, first advanced, cautiously, up the hill, alone, to reconnoitre the ground; and, then, returning, gave the necessary directions to his Regiment.—*Major Douglass.*

ness and determination, for the terrible conflict that awaited them.

They were yet but imperfectly formed, on their new ground, when the enemy re-appeared, in great force, as the assailant; and, after a few sharp volleys, given and received, the two lines closed in a desperate conflict with the bayonet.

The bayonet, you can well conceive, is a potent weapon, on the side of high discipline and strong nerves, and, especially, when united with the characteristic determination of the British soldier. The charge of bayonet is not often used, except as a last resort; and then seldom goes beyond the mere crossing of the weapons—one or the other party then breaks or retires. But it was not so, in this instance. It was maintained, on both sides, with an obstinacy of which the history of war furnishes few examples; and, finally, resulted in the second repulse of the enemy. A succession of similar charges—sometimes repelled by counter attacks, upon the flanks of the assailing party, and sometimes by the fire of musketry, in front, in volleys perfectly deafening—were continued, in rapid succession, for nearly an hour, with the same result; until the enemy, having suffered very severely, and wearied with the obstinacy of the combat and hopeless of success, abstained from further attacks, and left us in undisputed possession of the field.

In the meantime, in consequence of wounds received by General Brown and General Scott, the command had devolved upon General Ripley, who, after the termination of the battle, retained quiet possession of the field, for about an hour; and then retired, without the slightest molestation, to the encampment. In one particular only was this movement to be regretted. We had not brought off the captured artillery; and, upon this ground alone, can our antagonist, with any plausibility, dispute with us the palm of this victory.

About the time of the enemy's second attempt to dispossess us of our position, I had been directed to return to camp and prepare my command for action, in case they should be required on the following day. Before leaving the height, I rode around, for the second or third time, among those pieces, to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing and handling them. They were eight in number—brass guns, of the most beautiful model, of different calibres, from six to twenty-four pounders. Not the slightest apprehension came over my mind that I should not, on the following morning, see them all drawn up, on the Camp Parade, at Chippewa; and, even with this assurance, I parted from them not without some reluctance. What, then, think ye, was the bitterness of my disappointment and

regret, when I found, on the morning of the twenty-sixth, that the guns had been *left on the field*. Such, however, was the fact. In the absorbing interest of the strife, no one seems to have thought of providing means for getting off or destroying this artillery; and the omission was unfortunately not discovered until it became too late to remedy it.

Irrespective of this circumstance, however, the immediate issue of the battle was in the highest degree honorable and glorious to the American arms. It had been sustained by about five hours hard fighting, and against what disparity let us now examine by a reference to the British official account. It appears that, almost at the moment of commencing the action, General Riall, whose force may have been previously not far from that stated by Mrs. Wilson, had been joined by Lieutenant-general Drummond, with an addition of about one thousand veteran troops, making, with Riall's force, an aggregate of one thousand, eight hundred Regulars, besides three or four hundred Militia and Indians, which are known to have been in this part of the battle; and this was the state of the field, on the British side, from the beginning of the battle until about nine o'clock. On our side, during the same time, it was contested by General Scott's Brigade only, with a small detachment of Artillery, amounting in all to about eight hundred and fifty, say nine hundred, effective men. About nine o'clock, both armies were simultaneously reinforced—ours, by the Brigade of General Ripley, a part of Porter's Volunteers, and some Artillery, in all about thirteen hundred men; that of the enemy by the One hundred and third and One hundred and fourth Regiments, with the balance of the Royal Scots, amounting, by the statement of General Drummond, to about fourteen hundred Regulars, in all—and, as near as can be estimated, the state of the field, including the killed and wounded of the previous fighting, was then a little less than four thousand, on the part of the British, against, at the utmost, not more than twenty-five hundred, on our side; and such it continued to be, through all the subsequent strife, to the end of the battle.

Again; as to the character of the troops and the nature of the position occupied by them. Three of the British Regiments had been detailed from the Peninsular Army; and the others were, probably, not surpassed, in discipline, by any troops of the British service. Being previously on the ground, they were enabled to select their own position, and secure to themselves every local advantage; and it was in the position thus chosen and occupied, that we attacked them. Yet, under all these circumstances—superiority of numbers and position, veteran service, expe-

rience, discipline, and *esprit de corps*—his left wing was driven back, with great loss, at the first onset; his right wing only for a time saved from the same fate, by the commanding influence of his battery and the strong position of his light troops, in the woods. Finally, in the second stage of the battle, his battery, the key of his position, was stormed and taken; his whole re-inforced line driven back; his own position occupied and held by us, in spite of the most determined efforts to retake it; and still held in undisputed possession, for nearly two hours, after those efforts had ceased. Will any one say that this was not a victory?

In the darkness of the night, it is true, we lost sight of the captured artillery; but that event can, in no degree, affect the historic reality of the enemy's complete repulse. It is easily accounted for, by the peculiar circumstances under which the battle was fought and the absorbing interest of the fight. The guns would have been a gratifying evidence of the result; but they are not the only evidence. The facts, as I have stated them, are corroborated by abundant testimony; and the absence of these trophies no more invalidates such testimony, than the absence of an incidental memorandum would impair the validity of a contract or a title similarly avouched.*

* The following correspondence will not be without interest in this connection. It is referred to, in a marginal note of the lecturer, and is well authenticated:

"HEAD QUARTERS BUFFALO,
July 29, 1815.

"To BRIG'S GEN PORTER &

"BRIG'S GEN MILLER,

"GENTLEMEN:

"Not a doubt existing on my mind that the Enemy were defeated and driven from the field of battle, on the 25th July last, near the Falls of Niagara, leaving us in peaceable possession of all his Artillery, I have, on all occasions, so stated.

"Learning that some diversity of opinion has appeared upon this subject, so interesting to the Army, I have to request of you, Gentlemen, to state your views regarding it. You remained on the Field after I had left it, and know if the Enemy did or did not appear when our Army marched off, or if a gun was fired, for a considerable time before the Army moved, upon its taking up the line of March, or on its way to Camp.

"I do not enquire of you who were the heroes of the day, or which of the Corps particularly distinguished themselves. But I call upon you to vindicate the fair and honest fame of the Army which has done so much to exalt our National character. Do not permit its reputation to be tarnished by the faults or follies of its Commanders. The victory was achieved by Americans over the best troops of Britain; and the fact being established is all that concerns the honor of the country or the glory of her arms.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"JAC. BROWN."

The British commander, in accounting for the length and severity of the conflict, quoted the force opposed to him at five thousand men, and gave us credit for a more than ordinary share of gallantry, on that estimate. "It cannot escape observation," says the annalist of *Doddsley's Annual Register*, in speaking of this battle, "that, although British valour and discipline were finally triumphant, the improvement of the American troops, in these qualities, was eminently conspicuous." Such is the language of British historians, on the supposition that our force was five thousand strong. What should be the language of impartial history, when it is verified that we were, in fact, less

"BUFFALO, 26th July, 1815.

"SIR:

"In answer to your letter of this date, we have no hesitation in saying that, in our opinion, the character of every incident attending the battle of Niagara Falls, and particularly the mode of its termination, exhibits clear and unequivocal evidence that it resulted in a decided victory on the part of the American Army.

"We found the enemy in possession of a commanding eminence, in the centre of open and extensive fields, without any woods, ravines, or other cover sufficiently near to favour an attack, and supported by a Battery of 9 pieces of field ordnance. From this position they were driven at the point of the Bayonet, with the loss of all his Artillery. After our Army had possessed itself of their position and Artillery, the Enemy received reinforcements, and made not less than three deliberate, well-arranged, and desperate charges to regain them; in each of which he was driven back in confusion, with the loss of many prisoners; but the darkness of the night and the surrounding woods did not permit our Army to avail itself, as it might, under other circumstances, of these repeated successes. The Battle commenced a little before sunset and terminated a little before or near eleven o'clock. After the Enemy appeared, the last time, they exhibited evidences of great confusion by distant scattering firing in the woods; and our Troops were drawn up, in great order, on the field of Battle, forming three sides of a hollow square, with the whole of our own and the Enemy's Artillery in the centre. In this situation we remained for more than an hour, and in our opinion the Troops were in a condition to act with more decisive effect than at any former period of the contest. During this interval, we do not recollect to have heard a gun, or seen any other indication of the Enemy being near us; and at the close of it the Army retired slowly to camp, without any molestation by, or the appearance of, a foe. We left on the field the Enemy's Artillery and other trophies of Victory, which were, at the time of our leaving it, and had been for a long time before, in our undisputed possession.

"We are, Sir, very respectfully

"Your obt Servants

"PETER B. PORTER.

"JAMES MILLER.

"To Maj Gen'l BROWN."

than half that number? And yet there have not been wanting Americans!—shall I not say *recreant* Americans?—who, for the gratification of their personal malevolence, have defamed and disparaged this battle, in almost every particular.

“The darkness of the night, during this extraordinary conflict,” I quote, in part, the language of General Drummond, “occasioned several uncommon incidents—gunners’ implements and accoutrements were interchanged; British guns limbered up on American limbers, and vice versa.” Corps sometimes intermingled friends and enemies, in the strangest confusion. In one instance, a line was seen forming up, in order of battle, supposed to be one of our own Regiments; and an American Staff-officer, riding close up, inquired “What Regiment is that?” “The Royal Scots,” “Sir,” was the prompt reply. It was by an error similar to this, that General Riall and his whole Staff fell into the hands of the Twenty-fifth Regiment.*

A few minutes before Miller’s attack upon the British battery, I was in company with a large number of Staff-officers, in the road, near his right flank, waiting the result. We were nearly in the position which had been occupied, in the early part of the battle, by the British Forty-first. A non-commissioned officer, whose badges and uniform I could not, of course, see, approached me, and with the appropriate salute, recovering his musket, said: “Lieutenant-colonel Gordon begs to have the three hundred men, who are stationed in the lane, below, sent to him, as quick as possible, for he is very much pressed.” He was beyond arms-length, and I affected not to hear him distinctly;

* General Riall, with his Staff, was captured by one of Major Jessup’s flanking parties, under Captain Ketchum.

It is said that an Aid of General Riall, mistaking the Company for British soldiery, and observing that they obstructed the way, called out, “Make room there, men, for General Riall.” At which Captain Ketchum, seeing a party follow the officer, at the distance of a few horse lengths, promptly responded, “Aye, Aye, Sir;” and suffered the Aid to ride quietly on. As the General, with his Staff, approached, they found the passage intercepted by an armed force, which closed instantly upon them, with fixed bayonets; their bridles were seized; and they were politely requested to dismount. “What does all this mean?” said the astonished General. “You are prisoners, Sir,” was the answer. “But I am General Riall!” he said. “There is no doubt, on that point,” replied the Captain; “and I, Sir, am Captain Ketchum, of the United States Army.”

The General, seeing that resistance was useless, quietly surrendered, remarking, in a kind of half soliloquy, “Captain Ketchum! Ketchum! Well! you have caught us! sure enough!”

whereupon he came nearer and repeated the message. Much to his astonishment, I seized his musket and drew it over my horse’s neck. The man could not comprehend the action. “And what have I done, Sir? I’m no deserter.” “God save the King, and dom the Yankees.”

It was past twelve o’clock, at night, when I arrived in camp, and proceeded to make the necessary preparation for the anticipated duties of the following day. To this end, my own little encampment was changed from the bank of the Niagara to a more commanding position, on the left; my guns placed regularly in battery; the furniture, equipments, and munitions inspected and arranged, for instant service; and, in this attitude, we bivouacked for the night.

The din of battle had ceased, for some time, when the troops returned from the field and, immediately, betook themselves to the rest and refreshment of which it may be supposed they stood greatly in need. In consequence of the omission to bring off the captured artillery and the deep regret universally felt, on that account, orders were presently issued, by General Brown, to return, with as little delay as possible, to the field; and, at a very early hour, therefore, part of the troops were again in motion, for this purpose.* The inevitable delays of that movement, however, were such, that the enemy were found already posted on a strong position, near the Falls, when our troops arrived in that neighborhood; and, finding from some prisoners, that further reinforcements had arrived, during the night, General Ripley, after skirmishing with the out-posts, till about eleven o’clock, returned slowly to camp.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

II.—AN ESSAY ON THE UNIVERSAL PLENITUDE OF BEING AND ON THE NATURE AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL AND ITS AGENCY.—

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 32.

BY ETHAN ALLEN, ESQ.

SECTION IV.

Of the natural impossibility of our acting, both necessarily, and freely, in the same action, and at the same time, and of the confusion which attends our reasoning from false analogy.

From the preceeding reasonings, on the nature and agency of the human soul, we may discern that many perplexing questions may arise, relating to the

* There were upwards of seven hundred effective men in camp, whose services in the field of Lundy’s-lane had not been called for, and who did not even see the action.

tive thereto, and though our researches, and critical examinations into its essence, and manner of action, may be more or less embarrassed, in consequence of the weakness of many, and the sophistry of a comparative few; yet it ought not to militate against the reality of our being free agents, any more than against our cogitative and conscious existence, for if a conscious intuition of the existence of the soul is to be relied on, the Intuitive knowledge of our agency is likewise to be depended on, as before argued.

In our disquisition on the subject of human agency, we have frequently made use of two words, where one (to the learned) would have done without the other, the more clearly, and unexceptionably to be intelligible to readers in general, to wit, *free agent*, or *liberty of agency*, or *power of agency*. Those who are versed in language and logic, well know, that agency implies the liberty of agency, and that agent, implies a power of agency, or action. Agency likewise implies a being, or agent, in whom it inheres, or is united, from whose power action is exerted or suspended, in short, agency (in man,) implies or includes the Idea of a power, which is compitent to act, or not act, within the circle of its capacity of action, or agency, or as applicable to the objects of it, and those of mankind only, who have such a power, are truly agents (or accountable creatures,) and if agents, free, since liberty is essential to agency, and agency to an agent, in whom it inheres or is united, so that logically speaking, the words *free agent*, or *power of agency*, does not enlarge or alter the definition of the word agent, as the Ideas of freedom, liberty, and power, are necessarily included in our complex Idea of an agent, and are the constituent parts of its being. Free agency is therefore (strictly speaking) tautology, it is the same as agency, agency. Abstract the Idea of freedom from an agent, and it would cease to be one. The point therefore in dispute, is resolved into this single question, to wit, whether we are agents or not. It is however my opinion, that in logical and close reasoning, we had better use some tautology, of both words and Ideas, than such conciseness as would not be clearly explanatory, to the majority of readers. The flowery stile of oration, would be very improper, for the investigation of the abstruse parts of Science, or to make new discoveries therein, though it is pleasing to the fancy, and accelerating to the passions like poetry or music, when it is judiciously displayed, on those kind of subjects, for which it is calculated. We will now return to our subject, which demands strong plain language and Ideas. By comparing the senseless part of the creation with the moral, we shall easily perceive that there is an obvious difference between them, the former is by nature

incogitative, and the latter intelligent and conscious. The solar system does not move, but is moved, it has not the power of spontaneous motion or action, but its orbits are mechanically and involuntarily actuated, and their motions periodically regulated, by the superintending power of the universe; for they are senseless and passive, and have their being and Order, merely for the subserviency of moral beings. Omnipotent power could not govern moral agents, (or beings,) by such absolute unconditional and necessary laws, as those that actuate the stupid solar system, since agency is essential to them, as long therefore as moral beings retain their nature, they must retain their agency, and as long as inanimate and senseless beings, retain theirs, they must be incapable of it, and therefore if moved at all, it must be done by something that is not inherent in themselves, as they are void of understanding and volition, and consequently of the power of spontaneous action.

Hence it is that God could not [] that the Ideas which the generality of mankind connect with the word *plenum*, are the same which they connect with solidity, and as absolute solidity would (if true,) preclude all motion, they have therefore inferred (most commonly) the impossibility of a plenum; which if solid (as they suppose it must be,) would not only preclude motion in itself, but exclude all manner of existence but itself, whether of God, man, angel, or spirit, and render all our notions of alloy, mixture and temperature delusory and false. And it must be acknowledged, that the foregoing inference would be just, provided a plenum and a solidity were identically the same. But a universe of inconceivable kinds and varieties of specific entity; both cogitative and incogitative, together with such sort of entity as comes within the notice of our senses, may and must needs be replete with entity of one kind or other; and consequently constitute a plenum, for this plain reason, because any premised vacuum either great or small, if it exists at all, must exist of something which is, as nonentity cannot constitute a vacuum, and if a vacuum exists of substance however imperceptible to our senses, whether cogitative or incogitative, it is a contradiction to call it a vacuum, since it is replete with real existence of one kind or other, and as nonentity or the absence of all being cannot give an existence to a vacuum, any more than it could to the Universe. Therefore we infer a Universal plenitude of being.

That God by his omnipresence pervades all nature, is a doctrine conceded to by Philosophers and Christians, though none can comprehend the manner of such an Existence but God himself: he cannot be included in any place, or excluded from any place, for that he [] presently

possesses all places, otherwise he would be circumscribed and consequently finite, and therefore not a God. Nevertheless our organized senses are not acute enough to perceive anything of the Divine essence: nor of the essence of our own souls, or of intelligent substances in general, yet as they have an existence they must possess place, and must therefore exist of substance; whereby they are capable of occupying the same as before argued. But intelligent beings do not possess space in the same manner as dense Bodies does. Was the Divine Essence perfectly solid, it must have excluded the existence of the creation, in which case God would not have pervaded all things, but actually have been all existence himself; and on the other hand, was the creation absolutely solid, it would exclude the existence of a God. Therefore neither God nor his Creation are absolutely solid. That there is a God, creation evinces, and that there is a creation our senses evinces, therefore both God and his creation exist, but there is no such thing as real solidity in the Universe. We are apprized by our senses and by experiments that some substances are more dense than others, this comparative Idea of solidity, is all that we can conceive of about it, for of solidity in the abstract we have no perception. Nor have we a perception of a plenum, nevertheless have from the reason and necessity of things demonstrated the impossibility of a vacuum, which necessarily infers a plenum. Thus it is from logical reasoning, and not from our External senses, that we are apprized of the reality of a plenum. For our organs of sense give us no perception at all of Intelligent substances, and but very little about those compounded of matter [

] internal essence of things in general are not perceptible to us. We know that such bodies which we (erionously) call solid, by reason of certain degrees of densities, with which (to us) they are mysteriously possessed cannot two of them, be in the same place at the same time, for though they are not perfectly solid, yet have such a simularity towards it, that one body would repulse the other, and make it impossible that both should occupy the same place at the same time. This we know in fact to be true, but as to the subtile ether, and other thin or rarified substances of the incogitative nature, which are not perceptible to our senses, or to senses assisted by instruments of human art, how, or in what manner they occupy space we know not, yet that they do it, somehow or other, we are certain; or at least as certain, as that they have an existence. Should we deny the existence of all substances and beings which escape the perception our external senses we should of consequence deny the existence of a God, the human soul, and other intelligences since intelligent na-

ture is not an object of sense. Yet it may be argued that since we are conscious beings we cannot dispute the reality of our existence. Be it so, yet we have no consciousness of the existence of a God nor does he come within the notice of our senses but his existence we infer from that of our own and from external things with which we have a sensible acquaintance. Furthermore we deduce the inference of the real substance of the soul and that of its immortality from a chain of logical reasoning and not from either a sensible or conceious demonstration for our senses or immediate consciousness are inadequate to such discoveries though after we have investigated those truths by reason we are conscious that our conclusions are Just provided we reasoned with propriety but with respect to our intuitive consciousness there is no proof about it inasmuch as it is always right. Thus it is that [

but after all that hath been argued on the platitude of being, it may be urged that there is no such thing, or that there is not a universal plenum, for that it would preclude motion in general, not only that of the heavenly Bodies but in man, and all other things. Should two or more of the Planets of the Solar system be so altered in their motion, as to strike each other the contact would be dreadful, yet I believe there is no danger of it, since their motions were regulated by perfect wisdom, as well as moved by omnipotent power. But the question is, whether they could move in a plenum or not. If that kind of substance we call ether which is Imagined to extend through the heavenly spaces were as dense as those Planetary worlds, it would have prevented their motion, though elastic, or subtile substances could not prevent the motion: nor would intelligent substances do so. A solid plenum, as has been before observed, would have precluded motion, and all other existence but itself, but a plenum consisting of an incomprehensibly diverse specific entity, may exist does consist with motion, for it is not merely an entity which excludes motion, but it is a heterogeneous or dense kind of substance only that does so. There may be millions of real incogitative substances in the universe, of which our senses have no apprehension, and yet are perceived by other Intelligences therein, who are, or may be endued with senses, as diverse from ours, and those specific kinds of substances are different in nature, from those substances with which our senses we are acquainted, all which may be as essential in constituting a plenum of universal being, as such kind of substances which come within the notice of our senses. Nor is it at all probable that those Intelligences are dispersed through the Universe whose modes of sensations are very different from ours we

specific orders of beings be able with their respective diverse senses to perceive [] it have prevented the wickedness of mankind, for that in their nature he has foreclosed himself, from any subsequent interposition of preventing power, by making them (free) agents. Had it been among the number of possibles, that God could have prevented the wickedness of his creatures, by any omnipotent subsequent exertion of his power, consistent with that agency, with which he had by nature invested them, what reason can be assigned why God has not done it, and thereby have prevented the evil of sin. That God could not have prevented moral evil, is evident from the following considerations, to wit, that of all possible systems of being and providence, Infinite wisdom must have devised the best, and in the vast scale of being, comprised in that perfect system, there must be nowhere such a rank, order, or condition of creatures as man, in order to make the universal and systematical scale of being and providence complete, and make an Infinite display of the natural attributes, and moral perfections of the Divine nature, and as a deficiency of the creatures called man, would have rendered the system of being and providence incomplete, consequently have negated the perfection of God, therefore the creation and existence of man was essentially necessary, and consequently must be, as they are by nature, since no other specific kind of creatures, could have filled identically man, or filled that place and rank of being, for which the creation and existence of man was necessary, and inasmuch as man, in order to be man, must be a (free) agent, must have it in his power to do both moral good and evil, in the agency whereof God would not have controled him, having originally made him free, without violating the essential powers and faculties of his nature, or annihilating him, either of which would infringe his wisdom, and rend his system of being and providence incomplete, and abortive. That moral evil cannot be attended with the consequences of eternal damnation, has been fully proved in the third chapter of the theology. In the position that there is any moral evil in the conduct of mankind, it will follow of necessary consequence, that we are agents, and in a state of trial and proficiency, since God would not be the efficient cause of the wickedness of his creatures, for if so he would be the blamable cause thereof, which would of conscience exempt us therefrom, as there cannot be two efficient, and blamable causes of the same Sin, therefore if it be in God, (which is phemous to suppose,) it cannot be in man, which would render an atonement for us, un-

necessary and preposterous; as on this thesis the efficient cause, must have been responsible for man, and the premised sufferings and atonement, of the son of God for Sin, could only apply to the efficient sinful agency of God; in the passive actions of man, which is inadmissible, since on this position, God would be the offender as well as the redeemer.

We cannot in a moral sense become good or evil, in consequence of the mere act, or efficient agency of God, since it would be the act of another, and not our own, in which we could have no consciousness of praise or blame, or of intelligent happiness or misery: nor would a premised series, or concatenation of causes from God, which controal, or necessitate the behaviour of all mankind in life, alter the foregoing argument, inasmuch as a concatenation, or order of pre-existing causes, which necessitate events, either in the natural, or moral World, render those events inevitable, and therefore if in those train of events, human conduct is included, it is also inevitable, and if so, agency would be excluded from the nature of man, and center wholly in God the efficient cause, of the order of pre-existing causes; for on this thesis, there could be but one real agent or active being, who caused the whole train of events, produced by the order of pre-existing causes, and consequently every action or event, in the concatenation of causes, would have retrospectively proceeded from God, who only has been an agent in every action or event, that has taken place among mankind, as well as in the natural World, and consequently the human race, and all other beings made use of, in bringing about those actions, have been no more than innocently passive, having been necessitated to motion, not action, (properly speaking,) by the superintending power of the universe, which would involve the God of nature in moral evil, or exclude it from the World, either of which is inadmissible. Therefore man is truly an agent, and more or less sinful, which Justifies the Divine Being, in his creation and providence, and lays the blame of moral evil to the vicious agency of man, where we are conscious it ought to lay.

The professors of Fatalism are divided and sub-divided, in their notions of it, some are of opinion that every action of man in life, is altogether passive in the manner as is before described, and against which we have been arguing: and there are others who hold that we act both necessary and free, in the same action and at the same time, through the course of human life. The former notion of fate, is the most consistent with it self, however repugnant to matter of fact. And as we have already

demonstrated the certainty of the agency of man, and consequentially his accountableness, we proceed nextly to inquire into the doctrine of his necessary and free agency, which is a palpable contradiction. Necessity and freedom, in the agency of beings in a state of proficiency and trial, are incompatible with each other. They are diametrically Opposite, and therefore cannot be united in the same personal agency. The Ideas of necessity and freedom, in the same actions or behaviour of man, are perfectly heterogeneous, and in nature incapable of an association together. Necessity relates wholly to incogitative beings, and freedom to moral ones, and the manner of the exertions of necessity and freedom, are as diverse from one another, as the nature of incogitative, and cogitative beings are different from each another. There is no more of an agreement, uniformity, or connection between necessary action, and free action, than there is between north and south, life and death. A man may as well be said to be naturally alive, and at the same time naturally dead, as to act necessarily and freely, in the same action and at the same time, or to exist and not exist at the same time. Human agency excludes necessity, and necessity excludes human agency. A necessary probationary agent is a contradiction, and both parts of a contradiction cannot be true, if they could, it would blend truth and falsehood together, and confound their distinctions, and consequently overthrow all science and knowledge, we must therefore be considered as necessary beings, or as free beings for this obvious reason, that if we are the one, we cannot at the same time, be the other, since there is an Original, and intrinsic difference between them, upon which distinction, together with the understanding of right and wrong, all other notions of moral good and evil are founded.

This doctrine of the necessary and free agency of man, is by its adherents, thought at least to be in it self possible, from the consideration of the necessary and free agency of God, in the kingdom of his providence, which they Imagine to be necessary, because that of all possible systems, infinite wisdom must have adopted the best, and free, because that God from choice adopted it. Hence they infer, that the system of providence became both necessary and free, and from hence deduce the Inference, at least, of the possibility of the necessary and free agency of man.

These are far fetched comparisons, which cannot with any propriety apply to human agency, the analogy is infinitely dissimilar. It is because that God is absolutely perfect, in his natural attributes of wisdom and power,

and in his moral perfections of Justice goodness and truth, that he cannot (without ceasing to be God) in the agency of his providence, deviate from the rules of eternal unerring order, and infinite reason, and it is because that man is imperfect, and capable of sinful agency, that he can do it, and considered as a weak probationary creature, accountable and dependent wholly on God, who is eternal, self-existent, and unlimitedly perfect, will render the analogy of the Divine, with the human agency, altogether inapplicable and unlike each other, and therefore foreign to, and impertinent in the solution of the question; relative to human agency. We know from experience, that we are not under any necessity of acting conformable to our reason; or to our knowledge of the moral rectitude of things. Therefore it is not with our agency, as it is with the agency, or display of the providence of God, the one is imperfect and sinful, and the other is morally fit, and absolutely uniform. Had we been under a necessity of a conformity to moral rectitude, such a conformity must have taken place, and exempted us from sin, and consequently the moral necessity of a perfect decorum, which is in God (the analogy,) cannot be in man, as the argument from the analogy would have it, for if the same kind of necessity, (arising from perfect fitness) was in man which there is in God (the analogy,) man could not have failed of acting up to the eternal rule of right, as God has done. Therefore the arguments deduced from the necessary, and free agency of God, in his providence, to evince the necessary and free agency of man, are quite foreign to the investigation of human agency, and only serves to delude the mind, by sophistically reasoning, from an Infinitely imperfect analogy.

In our argumentations, and investigations of the reason and nature of things; we ought to be very careful and exact, in the use we make of analogy, for that they either serve to illustrate, or perplex and obscure the subject matter of inquiry; according as they are either pertinent or impertinent thereto. A just comparison of things, has a tendency to elucidate and explain our Ideas of the matter in dispute, but if we make an unjust application of the analogy, of one thing to another, or of one argument or inference from another, which their respective natures do not, and cannot compare together, we confuse our reason with the impropriety of comparison, and lose sight of the point we are endeavouring to investigate. We should therefore be very circumspect, and critically nice in our analogical comparisons; for if we draw an incorrect conclusion, of one argument or thing from another,

other, we must be sure that the analogy is Just, or that it agrees with the final issue of the matter or question in dispute, for if it does not we loose sight of, or are diverted from the point at Issue, by deducing our conclusion from things, arguments, and other prior inferences which are dissimilar, and unlike the thing, or subject, we are endeavouring to investigate, and which are impertinent to the question under consideration; as in the instance of inferring, the necessary and free agency of man, from the necessary and free agency of God in his providence; in which case there is no Just comparison, and consequently no conclusion to be deduced from the Divine agency, which will agree to that of the human, as before argued.

To conclude that one thing is true, because another thing is so, makes such a conclusion wholly dependent on the analogy, that the one thing has to the other for its truth. If the analogical comparison of things, or arguments agree, the comparison is Just, but if they disagree it is unjust. The agreement of the analogy with the subject, point, or thing to be investigated, is therefore of the utmost importance, in all analogical reasonings, since the conclusion to be drawn therefrom, is altogether predicated on the agreement, or disagreement between the analogy, and the point in question to be decided. Therefore as little use as possible, should be made of analogy in our reasonings: since in many cases it is as abstruse, as the thing to be investigated, and stands as much in need of other analogy, to illustrate the former, as to illustrate the subject matter of inquiry, in which cases they are useless, or worse than indifferent.

We should likewise be very accurate, in our analogical comparisons of things, which agree but in part, and disagree in part, the more so, as the degrees of agreement and disagreement, are almost or quite innumerable, and in many cases inconceivable to us, as the degrees of the similarity of things, either cogitative or incogitative, are to us in their extent incomprehensible. But in such of the comparative Ideas of things, that come within our understanding, when rightly improved and cultivated, we should be inquisitively careful and nice, in making use of the comparative Ideas of, or inferences from things, to things, in our argumentations on any subject, doctrine or final conclusion. It is for want of attention to such maxims as these, that we are so much confused in our problematical and religious disquisition of things. Truth is perfectly uniform, and in our progress of its investigation, we must proceed in our ratiocinations with a uniformity of reasoning; and Just comparison of Ideas, so

as that our chain of reasonings is Just, which is the same as truth it self, for any error in the progress of investigation, as far as it influences the conclusion, or respective conclusions, in the chain or system of arguments, so far the reasoning is inconclusive or false. the same as an error in mathematical calculations, would spoil their conclusion, or respective conclusions.

The natural World, commonly so called, is ruled by irresistible necessity, and every analogy or comparison we bring from thence, to elucidate our agency, disagrees with it, inasmuch as senseless beings are not, and can not be capable of volition, design, or agency, and consequently as far as such analogies, have a place in our reasonings, on the (nature or) agency of the soul, they confound it, with the mechanism of incogitative beings, and therefore all such analogy is inadmissible in this Investigation

The knowledge that we have of our internal power of agency, may be properly denominated Intuitive; since it is immediately perceived by the mind, without reasoning or inferring one thing from another. In this perception of things we all agree, and therefore cannot be mistaken, or deceived therein, as in the deductions of reasoning, in the scientific parts of learning, and consequently we may lay it down for a certain rule, that all our argumentations and conclusions, that militate against the intuitive (or conscious) knowledge, that we have of our spontaneous agency, are so many blunders, mistakes or deceptions of our own making, for the intuition of natural conscience, is Gods revelation to us, who cannot, and will not deceive us.

The strong and universal sense, which we intuitively have of our agency, must have established the reality of it, in the minds of mankind beyond all doubt, had not the learned Jargon of the schools, with some sectarians of Ecclesiastic's, reasoning from false analogy, in some measure obscured it, and caused more or less dissension.

The uncultivated part of mankind, however obscure and exempt from science, do not distrust their conscious knowledge, this is a privilege we derive from learned sophistry, in which the ignorant, and barbarous nations do not have a share. They never dreamed, that any necessity attended their actions, but with one consent, suppose them to be spontaneous.

The introduction of arts and sciences, have been attended with their advantages, and disadvantages, the same learning or art, that teaches logical reasoning, teaches sophistry, and the learned have hitherto been able to obtain more wealth, and power from the great

mass of the vulgar, by deluding them, than by informing their understandings. Hence arises the numerous sectaries and party disputes, which to a person of good understanding, are almost equally nonsensical. Probably we are the most selfish, oddest, and cunningest medley of beings, of our size, in the universe. However to compleat the general schale of being, it seems to have been requisite, that the link of being called man, must have been, and since under the Divine government, we have a positive existence, we can not ultimately fail, of being better than not to have been.

Finis.

III.—THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 29.

By JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

We return to the Diary, under date of "*July 8, Sunday*," to get a look into the social life of New York city.

"I dined at Sir John Temple's. Sir John was so complaisant as to invite Dr. Holton and Mr. Dane, which he said he did purposely on my account, as we were countrymen. The Hon. Dr. Lee, Hon. Mr. Walton (an Englishman and a member of the British Parliament) and Mr. Dawse were the other company. Sir John is a complete gentleman; but his deafness renders it painful to converse with him. Lady Temple is certainly the greatest beauty, notwithstanding her age, I ever saw. To a well proportioned form, a perfectly fair skin and completely adjusted features, is added a soft but majestic air, an easy and pleasing sociability, a vein of fine sense, which commands admiration and infuses delight. Her smiles—for she rarely laughs—could not fail of producing the softest sensibility in the fiercest savage. Her dress is exceedingly neat and becoming, but not gay. She is now a grand-mother; but I should not suppose her more than twenty-two. Her real age is forty-four. But my admiration was still more excited by their little daughter, Augusta. To me, she appeared a perfect prodigy; she is only six years of age. She introduces herself with an easy politeness to every person in the company; and is never at a loss for a subject of conversation, and so sensible and pertinent are all her observations and remarks, that she never fails of pleasing. She distinguishes

"characters with a judgment and precision which would do honor to mature age. No lady is more completely mistress of all the little *etiquette* which adorns a finished education. The purity and elegance of her language, witty turns, and well-turned sarcasms, rather diminished pleasure by exciting constant admiration.

"Our dinner was in the English style, plain but plentiful—the wines excellent, which is a greater object with Sir John, than his roast beef or poultry. You cannot please him more than to praise his *Madeira*, and frequently begging the honor of a glass with him. The servants are all in livery. The parlor, drawing-room, and dining-hall are in the second story, spacious and richly furnished. The paintings are principally historic and executed by the greatest masters in Europe. The parlor is ornamented chiefly with medals and small busts of principal characters, now living in Europe, made of plaster of Paris or white wax. He dines at two, on Sundays.

"At half past three, Mr. Dawse and I withdrew from Sir John Temple's dinner-table and attended church in St. George's Chapel. This is a magnificent edifice. The tower and steeple are larger and higher, I believe, than any other in America. The inside of the church is very large, having some paintings and carvings. We sat in the Governor's pew, which is the same, here, as in the Presbyterian Church, being one on each side of the meeting-house. Dr. Beach read prayers, and Dr. Moore preached an elegant sermon, on benevolence. The church was exceedingly crowded, and the congregation were richly, but not splendidly, dressed. In the time of the first singing, the Wardens visited every pew with their pewter platters, into which every person, small and great, put a copper. This seemed to be killing two birds with one stone; for, while they were engaged in singing the psalm (for every body sings) they were as busy fumbling their pockets for their coppers and rattling them into the platter."

"Monday, July 9. Waited this morning very early on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information of the Western country, from Pennsylvania to the Illinois; and advised me, by all means, to make our location on the *Muskingum*, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole Western country.

"Attended the Committee, before Congress opened, and then spent the remainder of the forenoon with Mr. Hutchins."

"Attended the Committee in Congress Chamber. Debated the terms, but were so wide

apart that there appears little prospect of closing a contract.

"I had an opportunity of observing, minutely, the Chamber where the Supreme Councils of the nation are held. For, after these debates were over, the gentlemen of the Committee were polite enough to show me everything curious within these walls. Congress Chamber is an apartment in the second story of the City Hall. This Hall is a magnificent pile of buildings, in Wall Street, at the head of Broad Street, near the centre of the City. It is more than twice the width of the State House, at Boston; but I think not so long. The lower story is a walk; at each corner are rooms appropriated to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City and the City Guards. Between the corner rooms, on each side and at the ends, it is open, for a considerable space, supported by pillars. In front, is a flight of steps from the street, over which is a two-story piazza, with a spacious walk, which communicates with Congress Chamber, at the west end, and with the Chamber where the Mayor and Aldermen hold their Courts, at the east end. Congress Chamber is up the eastward stairs; it is nearly square. On the southward side, the floor is raised several feet, which is ascended by steps and enclosed by banisters. In the centre, is a large chair, raised still higher, lined with red damask silk; and over it a curious canopy, fringed with silk, and with large flowing damask curtains descending from the sides of the canopy to the floor, partly furled with silk cords. This is the seat of the President of Congress. And the appearance at the other end of the Chamber is superb. On the floor of the Chamber, at the right and left, from the President's chair, are two rows of chairs extended to the opposite side of the room, with a small bureau-table before each chair. The chairs and tables are of mahogany, richly carved, the arms and bottoms covered with red morocco leather. On the right side of the President's chair, within the banisters, are chairs and tables, similar to those of the members, for the use of the Secretary and his clerks. In the midst of the room, is a vacant space, in form of a broad aisle. The curtains of the windows are red damask, richly ornamented with fringes. At the East end is a portrait of General Washington, at full length, well executed. At the opposite end are some of the portraits of General Officers that fell in the late war. On the right side opposite the President, are the portraits of the King and Queen of France, as life. These were drawn by the King's own portrait-painter, and presented by His Majesty to Congress. The drapery of the pic-

tures infinitely exceeds anything of the kind I ever saw before. They are dressed in their robes; and life and animation are imitated to perfection. When the damask curtains which cover them were drawn, their eyes were fixed upon us with a vivacity that bespoke life itself; and their majestic countenances seemed to chastise our insolence in approaching them with so little reverence.

"July 10. This morning, another conference with the Committee. Called on Dr. Crosby. Visited, by his invitation, the Columbia College. Was introduced to the Governors.

"Dined with Col. Duer, in company with Mr. Osgood, President of the Board of Treasury, Major Sargent, and several other gentlemen. At the table, we were honored with the company of Mademoiselle La Touche, a French lady of the family of the *Noblesse*, and Lady Kitty, the wife of Col. Duer. Lady Kitty—for so she is called—was the daughter of Lord Starling and inherits the title from her father, who had no male heir. She is a fine woman, though not a beauty; very sociable; and most accomplished in her manners. She performed the honors of the table most gracefully; was constantly attended by two servants, in livery; and insisted on performing the whole herself.

"Col. D. is Secretary of the Board of Treasury, and lives in the style of a nobleman. He had, I presume, not less than fifteen sorts of wine, at dinner, besides the most excellent bottled cider, porter, and several other kinds of strong beer. As Congress was now engaged in settling the form of Government for the Federal Territory—the North West—for which a Bill has been proposed, and a copy sent to me, with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, and which I had taken the liberty to remark upon and propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable opportunity to go to Philadelphia; accordingly, after I had returned the Bill, with my observations, I set out, at 7 o'clock.

"July 11. Arrived at Princeton, N. J.

"July 12. Rose, very early, and took a view of Princeton. At half past five, I ventured to call on Col. Morgan, to whom I had a letter, though I feared I should not find him up. He was, however, in his parlor, with his books, and received me very politely. He is a farmer, in the strictest sense, and I believe the first in America, in the knowledge of agriculture, and, besides, a literary character. His house stands a little back of the College, and in a situation which commands a complete view of his whole farm, consisting of about 200 acres.

"Here I saw verified what I had often heard.

“observed, that the boundaries of his farm
 “might easily be distinguished from his neigh-
 “bor’s from its state of cultivation. He gave
 “me a general history of his improvements and
 “of the experiments he was then making. His
 “barn and yard are truly a curiosity. His gar-
 “den consists of three acres, and is principally
 “used for making experiments, which appeared
 “to me to be well judged, and critically attend-
 “ed to. Here, I saw the Hessian fly, as it is
 “called, which has done immense injury to
 “wheat, in our country. Our country is indebt-
 “ed to this gentleman, for the discoveries he
 “has made and the information he has given
 “respecting this insect, in consequence of his
 “experiments. In his garden, he had Indian
 “corn growing in long rows from different
 “kinds of seed, collected from the different
 “latitudes on this continent, as far North as
 “the northern parts of Canada, and South as
 “far as the West Indies. His aviary struck me
 “with astonishment. On the southern side of
 “his garden, he had 64 swarms of bees, in a
 “line, which I judged extended more than fif-
 “teen rods. He takes the honey when he
 “pleases, without destroying the bees. I much
 “regretted the want of time, being determined
 “to reach Philadelphia, this day. Was obliged
 “to take my leave, before my curiosity was
 “half gratified. It was with the utmost diffi-
 “culty I could prevail on him to excuse my
 “tarrying any longer, particularly as a son of
 “his, who was then from home, but every
 “moment expected, had begun the study of
 “Botany. He intended to make him a master
 “of the science. He was very anxious that I
 “should converse with him, and give him par-
 “ticular directions for pursuing the study.
 “Nothing would avail but a promise to call on
 “him, on my return, and a consent to take his
 “son under my instruction, if he could find no
 “person sufficiently versed in the science near
 “him.”

We may simply add, in passing, that this Colonel Morgan was greatly trusted by Congress and General Washington, for his influence with the Indian tribes; and that he was often sent to them, on important business, which he is said to have discharged with great ability and fidelity. It was before his house that the mutineers of the Pennsylvania line, in 1781, had that celebrated interview with General Wayne. His farm adjoined the College-grounds; and he had the good sense and generosity to plant a row of cherry-trees, the entire length of the line, for the exclusive use of the College-students. He afterwards removed to Washington, Pennsylvania, and was there solicited by Colonel Aaron Burr to engage in his treasonable expedition and to induce his four sons, also, to join it.

This he peremptorily declined, and is said to have been the first one who gave authentic information, to the Government, of Burr’s movements. He or his sons were witnesses on the trial of that notorious man, at Richmond’.

“I then called on Dr. Smith, the Vice-Pres-
 “dent of the College, to whom I had letter
 “He is a young gentleman, and lived in a
 “elegant style, and is the first literary character
 “in this State. He waited on me to College
 “introduced me to the tutors, and showed me
 “the apartments of the College. The Speaking
 “Hall is ornamented with several paintings—
 “particularly of the famous battle in this town
 “the next morning after the capture of the
 “Hessians, at Trenton. It is more than a
 “feet square, done on canvas, and executed in
 “a masterly manner, by Mr. Peale of Philadel-
 “phia. The principal figure is General Wash-
 “ington, emerging from a thick wood, forming
 “and advancing, in a regular manner, the British
 “fleeing in confusion, leaving many slain on
 “the ground; but the pleasure of the scene
 “greatly diminished by a view of General Mif-
 “fer, wallowing in his gore, who was at the
 “head of the advanced guard, and slain in the
 “first attack. After viewing this scene, on the
 “canvas, we ascended to the cupola of the Col-
 “lege, and took a view of the ground itself,
 “which the battle was fought, the manner of
 “the attack, and the several directions in which
 “the British fled. It was no small gratification
 “to take so extensive a view of the place where
 “so important an event in the history of the
 “American Revolution took place. Here, again,
 “I feel myself straitened for time, and am
 “obliged to take my leave of Dr. Smith, who
 “had showed me the most polite attention,
 “rather abruptly, but I promised to call on him
 “on my return.

“Trenton—this town stands in the list of
 “fame and will be remembered by future ages
 “on account of the memorable victory—obtained
 “indeed, the first complete victory—obtained
 “by the illustrious Washington, over the British
 “army.

“Made our next stage at Bristol. Dined in
 “company with the passengers in the stage, among
 “whom were Gen. Armstrong and Gen. Franks.
 “Gen. Armstrong is a member of Congress, with
 “whom I had a small acquaintance, at New York;
 “Franks was an Aid to the British. Both of them
 “highly affected, as I conceived, to hold the
 “England States in contempt. They had repeatedly
 “touched my Yankee blood, in the conversation
 “at the table; but I was much on the reserve,
 “until, after we had dined, and after severe
 “reflections on the conduct of the

"Island and the Insurgency in Massachusetts—
 "placing the two States in the same point of
 "light—induced me to observe that 'I had no
 "doubt but that the conduct of Rhode Island
 "would prove of infinite service to the Union;
 "that the insurgency, in Massachusetts, would
 "eventually tend to invigorate and establish
 "our Government; and that I considered
 "the State of Pennsylvania—divided and
 "distracted as she then was, in her Councils,
 "the large County of *Luserna* on the eve of
 "an insurrection—to be in as hazzardous a sit-
 "uation as any one on the Continent.' This
 "instantly brought on a warm *Fracas*, indeed.
 "The cudgels were taken up, on both sides;
 "the contest as fierce as if the fate of Empires
 "depended on the decision. The attention of
 "the whole company was engaged. My little
 "companion" [whom he met at Trenton] "was
 "roused; fire sparkled in his eyes; and, like a
 "faithful second, he was determined to support
 "me. Right or wrong, he would contradict
 "everything advanced by my antagonists. At
 "length, victory declared in our favor. Arm-
 "strong began to make concessions. Franks,
 "with more reluctance, at length, gave up the
 "ground. Both acknowledged the New Eng-
 "land States were entitled to an equal share of
 "merit with any in the Union, and declared
 "they had no intention to reflect. We had the
 "satisfaction to quit the field with an air of
 "triumph, which my little companion enjoyed
 "with an high relish; nor could he forget it,
 "all the way to Philadelphia. But we parted
 "with our antagonists on terms of perfect good
 "humor and complaisance. My companion
 "frequently, afterwards, mentioned the pleasure
 "it gave him to see Armstrong and Franks 'so
 "completely taken down,' as he expressed it,
 "which led me to conclude he was of the party
 "opposed to them, in the political quarrels of
 "Philadelphia.

"Arrived at Philadelphia, my companion con-
 "ducted me to the 'Indian Queen,' a livery
 "tavern. Here we exchanged our names; but
 "I was so unfortunate, in less than ten minutes,
 "as to lose his name, and cannot recollect it.
 "He promised to call on me the next morning.
 "I spent the evening with several members of
 "the Convention (Federal)."

Doctor Cutler's diary contains so many inter-
 "esting facts concerning Philadelphia and the
 "noted men who then resided there, that we need
 "not ask the permission of our readers to make
 "some copious extracts.

"July 13. The 'Indian Queen' is situated
 "in Third, between Market and Chestnut-street.
 "The apartment assigned me was a rather small
 "but very handsome chamber (No. 9) furnish-
 "ed with a rich field-bed, bureau with drawers,

"a large looking-glass, neat chairs, and other
 "furniture. Its front was East, and, being in
 "the third story, afforded a fine prospect towards
 "the river and the Jersey shore. The servant
 "that attended me was a young, sprightly,
 "well-built, black fellow, neatly dressed in a
 "blue coat, sleeves and cape red, buff waist-
 "coat and breeches, the bosom of his shirt
 "ruffled, and his hair powdered. After he had
 "brought up my baggage, and properly depos-
 "ited it, he brought two of the latest London
 "Magazines, and laid them on the table. I or-
 "dered him to call a barber, furnish me with a
 "bowl of water for washing, and to have tea on
 "the table by the time I was dressed. Being
 "told, while at tea, that a number of the mem-
 "bers of the Continental Convention (now con-
 "vened in this city for the purpose of forming a
 "Federal Constitution) lodged in this house, and
 "that two of them were from Massachusetts,
 "after tea, I sent into their Hall, to Mr. Strong,
 "and requested to speak with him. We had
 "never been personally acquainted, but had a
 "hearsay knowledge of each other; and Mr.
 "Gerry had mentioned to Mr. Strong that he
 "daily expected me, in consequence of a letter
 "he had received from Gov. Bowdoin. Mr.
 "Strong very politely introduced me to Mr.
 "Gorham, of Charlestown, Mass., Mr. Madison,
 "and Mr. Mason, and his son, of Virginia,
 "Gov. Martin, Hon. Hugh Williamson, of
 "North Carolina, Hon. John Rutledge and Mr.
 "Pinckney of South Carolina, Mr. Hamilton of
 "New York, &c. Spent some hours with Mr.
 "Strong and Mr. Gorham, after the other gen-
 "tlemen had retired; they very politely offered
 "to wait on me to any part of the city. Rose
 "early, & with Mr. Strong, called on Mr.
 "Gerry. His lady is young, very handsome,
 "and exceedingly amiable. She appears to be
 "possessed of fine accomplishments. I should
 "suppose her age not more than seventeen, &
 "believe he must be turned of fifty-five. I was
 "surprised to find how early ladies in Philadel-
 "phia rise in the morning; and to see them at
 "breakfast, at half-past five, when, in Boston,
 "they can hardly see a breakfast-table at nine
 "o'clock, without falling into hysterics. I ob-
 "served to Mrs. Gerry that it seemed an early
 "hour for ladies to breakfast. She said she
 "always rose early, and found it conducive to
 "her health. She was inured to it, from her
 "childhood, in New York; and that it was the
 "practice of the best families, in Philadelphia.
 "Mr. Gerry had received a letter from Gov.
 "Bowdoin, requesting him to wait on me to Dr.
 "Franklin's, in person, when I arrived in the
 "city. Although I had several introductory
 "letters to the Dr., yet I wished for the com-
 "pany of some gentleman of my acquaintance,

"when I paid my respects to that venerable Sage. Mr. Gerry expressed a great deal of satisfaction, in having the opportunity of introducing me to the Dr.; and supposed the best time would be about five in the afternoon, which was agreed on. Mr. Strong went with me, after breakfast, to Dr. Morgan's, to whom I had letters from Dr. Warren, of Boston, and from his brother, at Princeton. He received me with politeness, and went with us to Dr. Clarkson's, when he and Mr. Strong left me.

"Dr. Clarkson is one of those fine, accomplished, benevolent characters which inspire the most exalted ideas of human nature. I found him to fully answer the character I had received of him. My letters to him were from his much-esteemed friend, Mr. Belknap and his brother-in-law, Mr. Hazzard. When he had read my letters, he received me, not merely in the common formalities of politeness, but with the warm affection and friendship of an intimate acquaintance that had been long absent. When he found my stay in the city must be very short, he dismissed all his business; and sent his servant to inform his patients that it was not probable he should be able to see them on that day or the next. If any thing special occurred, he must be particularly informed; and devoted himself, entirely, to wait on me. I was formally introduced to his son, who had just before received Episcopal ordination from Bishop White, of this State, and is about to be settled in one of the churches of this city, and to his three little daughters. Mrs. Clarkson was confined, upstairs, by a nervous illness of long standing, which prevented my seeing her. After engaging me to dine with him, he ordered his Phaeton to be harnessed, that we might take a general view of the city, &c. In this tour, I delivered most of my introductory letters; but had only time to deliver them, as the Dr. waited for me, in his carriage, as my stay would be very short, was obliged to decline all their invitations. We returned to the Dr's house, about twelve, having rode, by the Dr's computation, twenty miles. His horses were very large and fine; and he had as much as he could well do to rein them in.

"After refreshing ourselves we took a ramble, on foot; called on Dr. Rush, whom we fortunately found at home. The Dr. is the complete gentleman, and one of the first literary characters in America. After reading my letters and the usual ceremony, he expressed much satisfaction in having an opportunity to see me and told me had, for some time, wished for a correspondence. He has thanked me, very particularly, for my botanical paper,

"in the *Memoirs of the American Academy*, and said that Dr. Franklin and he had desired the printers of the *Columbian Magazine* to publish the extracts from it, which had appeared in that publication. He approved of my plan and appeared anxious that I should pursue it. He observed that they were endeavoring to raise a fund for establishing a Botanical Garden in that city; and assured me that I was the only person that had been in nomination to take the superintendency and give the Botanical Lectures to the students, in the University. This led me to inquire after Mr. Corbridge, the present Professor of Botany, in the University, and observed that I was not so fortunate as to have a letter to him but wished in favor of being introduced, as I understood he had studied under the immediate instruction of the great Linnaeus. Both of the gentlemen readily offered to introduce me; but observed that they believed it would afford me very little satisfaction; that he did not pretend to give lectures; had never attended to the practical part; and, perhaps, was not a very complete master of the theory. Finding that they seemed inclined to keep their Botanical out of sight, I did not insist on seeing him. Dr. Rush observed that Mr. Bartram had much more botanical knowledge than Corbridge and employed much of his time in the examination of plants. He imagined that I should be pleased with him; & wished I could find time to visit him. Dr. Clarkson proposed to ride, early the next morning, to Bartram's seat, two miles beyond the Schuylkill. The next day was the time for the formal visit to Dr. Rush to the Hospital. He invited me to attend the visitation, with him. I then concluded to go out to Bartram's, with Dr. Clarkson at six; and we were to meet Dr. Rush at the Hospital, at 11 o'clock, and engaged to dine with him. Returned to Dr. Clarkson's and dined.

"Immediately after dinner, we called on Mr. Peale, to see his collections of paintings and natural curiosities. We were conducted to a room by a boy, who told us Mr. Peale would wait on us in a minute or two. He desired, however, to walk into the room where the curiosities were; and showed us a long narrow entry that led into the room. I observed through a glass window, at my right hand, a gentleman, close to me, standing with a pencil in one hand and a small sheet of ivory in the other; and his eyes directed to the opposite side of the room, as though he was looking at some object on his ivory sheet. Dr. Clarkson did not see this man, till he stepped into the room; but instantly turned about, and came back, saying, 'Mr. Peale is very

“taking the picture of something, with his pencil. We will step back, into the other room, till he is at leisure.” We returned, through the entry; but, as we entered the room, we met Mr. Peale, coming to us. The Doctor started back, in astonishment, and cried out, “Mr. Peale, how is it possible you should get out of the other room to meet us here?” Mr. Peale smiled and said, “I have not been in the other room, for some time.” “No?” said Dr. Clarkson, “Did not I see you, there, this moment, with your pencil and ivory?” “Why do you think you did?” asked Peale. “Why do I think I did?” replied Dr. Clarkson; “I saw you there, if I ever saw you in my life.” “Well,” says Peale, “let us go and see.”

“When we returned, we found the man standing, as before. It was a piece of wax-work, which Mr. Peale had just finished, in which he had taken a likeness of himself.

“The walls of the room are covered with paintings—both portraits and historic. Under a small gallery, his natural curiosities are arranged, in a most romantic and amusing manner. There was a mound of earth, considerably raised, and covered with green turf, from which a number of trees ascended and branched out, in different directions. On the declivity of this mound, was a small thicket, and, just below it, an artificial pond; on the other side, a number of large and small rocks, of different kinds, collected from different parts of the earth. At the foot of the mound, were holes dug and the earth thrown up to show the different kinds of clay, ocher, coal, marl, &c., which he had collected, from various parts—also ores and minerals. Around the pond, was a beach, on which were exhibited a fine assortment of shells, turtles, frogs, toads, lizzards, water-snakes, &c. In the pond, a collection of fish, with their skins stuffed—water-fowl, such as geese, ducks, cranes, herons, &c., all having the appearance of life, for their skins were admirably preserved: on the mound were such birds as commonly walk on the ground, as the ground-partridge and heathhen, also wild animals, as the bear, deer, leopard, tiger, wild-cat, fox, raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, &c. In the thickets and among the rocks, land-snakes, rattle-snakes, of an enormous size, black & a number of other snakes. The trees were loaded with birds from almost every species in America & many exotics. Mr. Peale’s animals reminded me of Noah’s ark, into which was received every kind of creeping thing, in which there was life. But I can hardly conceive that even Noah could have boasted a better collection. Mr. Peale was very com-

“plaisant, and gave us every information we desired. He requested me to favor him with any of the animals and fossils from this part of America, not already in his museum, which it might be in my power to collect.

“From Mr. Peale’s went to the State House; from there to the Mall; and next a visit to the University. Called at Dr. Ewing’s, the Provost of the University, who is absent, with Mr. Rittenhouse and Mr. Hutchins, to settle the line between New York and Mass. I saw the Dr. at New York. He gave me a letter to his lady, which I delivered. She had already received a letter from the Dr. informing her that I should be in the city, that week; and that I had given him encouragement, if I spent the Sabbath in the city, of supplying his pulpit. I assured Mrs. Ewing that it would not be in my power to supply the desk, as I was absolutely obliged to leave the city before the Sabbath. We also called on Bishop White and Dr. Sproat, to whom I had letters, and on Mr. John Vaughan, son of Sam. Vaughan, Esq., and the brother of my friends, Charles and Samuel Vaughan. The old gentleman was gone a journey into the Ohio-country. His son received me, cordially; and dismissed all business, to attend me. His mother and sisters are gone with his brother’s son, to London—himself and father keep bachelors’-hall, in an elegant house, in Front St. He proposed to accompany us to Dr. Franklin’s, whom he considered as a father. When we came to Mr. Gerry’s, he was waiting for us. As I was fatigued, we remained half an hour. Two young ladies, of the name of Hamilton, were visiting Mrs. Gerry, dressed very richly, sociable, and agreeable. Mr. Vaughan took a large share in the conversation; and, with his easy and natural pleasantry, kept us in a burst of laughter. I knew Mr. Vaughan was not acquainted with Mr. Gerry: I, therefore, introduced him, which Mr. Gerry likewise did to his lady and the company. But I immediately supposed the young ladies, from his instant and free sociability, were of his intimate friends. But, on our way to Dr. Franklin’s, he asked me if those young ladies were of my acquaintance & what were their names. This excited my astonishment. I asked if he had never seen them, before. He said ‘No,’ and was sure they did not belong to Philadelphia, or he certainly should have had some knowledge of them. They were from New York, Mr. Gerry informed us, and of Mrs. Gerry’s particular acquaintances. What advantages are derived from a finished education and the best of company, How does it banish that awkward stiffness, so common when

"strangers meet in company, and engages the
"most perfect strangers in all the freedom of an
"easy and pleasing sociability common only to
"the most intimate friends."

"Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street; his
"house stands up a court-yard, at some distance
"from the street. We" [*Mr. Gerry of Massachusetts and Doctor Outler*] "found him
"sitting upon a grass-plat, under a very large
"mulberry, with several other gentlemen and
"two or three ladies. There was no curiosity
"in Philadelphia, which I felt so anxious to
"see as this great man, who has been the wonder
"of Europe, as well as the pride of America.
"But a man who stood high, in the literary
"world, and had spent so many years in the
"Courts of Kings, particularly in the refined
"Court of France, I conceived, would not be
"of very easy access, and must, certainly, have
"much the air of grandeur and majesty about
"him. Common folks must expect only to
"gaze at him, at a distance, and answer such
"questions as he might please to ask. In
"short, when I entered his house, I felt as if I
"was going to be introduced into the presence
"of an European monarch.

"But how were my ideas changed when I
"saw a short, fat, trunched, old man, in a plain
"quaker-dress, bald pate, and short white
"locks, sitting without his hat, under the tree;
"and, as Mr. Gerry introduced me, rose from
"his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his
"joy to see me, welcomed me to the city, and
"begged me to seat myself close to him. His
"voice was low, but his countenance open,
"frank, and pleasing. He instantly reminded
"me of old Captain Cummings, for he is nearly
"of his pitch, and no more the air of superiority
"about him. I delivered him my letters. After
"he had read them he took me again by the
"hand, and, with the usual compliments, introduced
"me to the other gentlemen, the most
"of whom were members of the Convention.
"Here we entered into a free conversation and
"spent our time very agreeably, until it was
"quite dark. The tea-table was spread under
"the tree; and Mrs. Beach—a very gross and
"rather a homely woman, who is the only
"daughter of the Doctor and lives with him—
"served it out to the company. She had three
"of her children about her, over whom she
"seemed to have no kind of command. They
"seemed to be exceedingly fond of their grandfather.
"The Doctor showed me a curiosity he
"had just received, and with which he was
"much pleased. It was a snake, with two
"heads, preserved in a large vial. It was taken
"near the confluence of the Schuylkill with
"the Delaware, about four miles from this
"city. It was about ten inches long, well pro-

"portioned, the heads perfect, and united to the
"body, about one-fourth of an inch below the
"extremities of the jaws. The snake was of a
"dark brown, approaching to black, and the
"back beautifully speckled (if beauty can be
"applied to a snake) with white. The belly
"was rather chequered with a reddish color and
"white. The Dr. supposed it to be full grown,
"which I think is probable, and thinks it must
"be a *sui generis*, of that class of animals.
"He grounds his opinion of its not being an
"extraordinary production, but a distinct genus,
"on the perfect form of the snake, the probability
"of its being of some age, and there
"having been found a snake, entirely similar,
"(of which he shewed us a drawing) near
"Lake Champlain, in the time of the late
"War.

"He mentioned what the situation of this
"snake would be, if it was traveling among
"bushes, and one head should choose to go one
"side of a bush and the other head should prefer
"the other side, and neither would be willing
"to come back or give way to the other!
"He was then going to mention a humorous
"matter that had occurred, that day, in Convention,
"in consequence of his comparing the
"snake to America—for he seemed to forget
"that every thing in Convention was to be kept
"a profound secret—but the secrecy of the Convention
"matters was suggested to him, which
"stopped him, and deprived me of the story he
"was going to tell.

"After it was dark we went into the house
"and the Doctor invited me into his library,
"which is likewise his study. It is a very
"large chamber and high. The walls were
"covered with book-shelves filled with books;
"besides, there are four alcoves, extending two-
"thirds of the length of the chamber, filled
"in the same manner. I presume this is the
"largest and, by far, the best private library in
"America.

"He showed a glass machine for exhibiting
"the circulation of the blood, in the arteries
"and veins of the human body. The circulation
"is exhibited by the passing of a red fluid,
"from a reservoir, into numerous capillary tubes
"of glass ramified, in every direction, and then
"returning, in similar tubes, to the reservoir,
"which was done with great velocity, without
"any power to act, visibly, upon the fluid, and
"had the appearance of perpetual motion.

"Another great curiosity was a rolling press,
"for taking copies of letters or any other writing.
"A sheet of paper is completely copied
"in two minutes, the copy as fair as the original,
"and without defacing it. It is an invention
"of his own, and extremely useful, in
"many situations in life. He also showed me

his artificial arm and hand, for taking down and putting up books, on high shelves, & his great arm-chair, with rockers and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself & keeps off the flies while he sits reading, with only a small motion of the foot. He showed me many other curiosities & inventions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over his mantle-tree he has a great number of medals, busts, and casts, in wax or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe.

But what the Doctor wished principally to show me was a huge volume on Botany, and which, indeed, afforded me the greatest pleasure of any one thing in his Library. It was a single volume, but so large that it was with great difficulty that the Doctor was able to raise it from a low shelf, and lift it on the table; but, with that senile ambition that is common to old people, he insisted on doing it himself, and would permit no person to assist him, merely to show us how much strength he had remaining. It contained the whole of Linneaus's *Systema Vegetabilium*, with large cuts of every plant, and colored from nature. It was a feast to me; and the Doctor seemed to enjoy it as well as myself. We spent a couple of hours in examining the volume, while the other gentlemen amused themselves with other matters. The Doctor is not a Botanist, but lamented that he did not, in early life, attend to this science. He delights in Natural History; and expressed an earnest wish that I should pursue the plan that I had begun, and hoped this science, so much neglected in America, would be pursued with as much ardor, here, as it is, now, in every part of Europe.

I wanted, for three months, at least to have devoted myself entirely to this one volume. But, fearing, lest I should be tedious to the Doctor, I shut the book, tho he urged me to examine it longer. The Doctor seemed extremely fond of dwelling on philosophical subjects, particularly Natural History; while the other gentlemen were swallowed up with politics. This was a favorable circumstance for me; for almost the whole of his conversation was addressed to me, and I was highly delighted with the extensive knowledge he appeared to have, of every subject, the brightness of his memory, and the clearness and vivacity of all his mental faculties. Notwithstanding his age—eighty-four—his manners are perfectly easy; and every thing about him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom and happiness. He has an incessant vein of humor, accompanied with an uncommon vivacity, which seems as natural and involun-

tary as breathing. He urged me to call on him, again; but my short tarry would not admit. We took our leave, at ten, and retired to my lodgings."

July 14. Doctor Cutler visited Bartram's Botanical Garden, about two miles from Philadelphia. He was in illustrious company, as his party was made up of "Mr. Strong, Gov. Luther Martin, Mr. Mason and son, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge, and Mr. Hamilton, all members of the Federal Convention, and Mr. Vaughan, and Dr. Clarkson and son." The Doctor commends the garden; and yet severely criticises it, by declaring "every thing is very badly arranged, for they are neither placed ornamentally nor botanically, but seem to be jumbled together, in heaps." He speaks of Governor Martin as having "a smattering of Botany and a fine taste for Natural History."

At 11, attended Dr. Rush, in his visitation to the Hospital. Was much interested. Visited the room in which the Declaration of Independence of the United States was framed, signed, and declared by Congress. The room is in Carpenter's Hall, and is now improved as the depository of the trophies of War, which established and crowned that bold and glorious Declaration."

Having made a number of calls on gentlemen in the city, all of whom expressed regret at his leaving so soon, he "left the city, at half after six, for New York."

On his way home, he visited Morristown, New Jersey, where he found some relatives. On the seventeenth of July, passing over Newark Mountains, and through Newark, he came to Bergentown, near which place he visited the Botanical Garden of M. Mechart, who came as the French King's Agent, to collect plants for the Royal Gardens, at Paris. The visit greatly disappointed him.

Arrived at New York, about sunset, & lodged again at Mr. Henderson's, who received me with the greatest cordiality."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

SCRAP.—The first building ever used in Chicago for postal or other business, was a small one and a-half story frame-house, occupied as a grocery and dry-goods store, in the front of which a home-made, swinging signboard informed the passer-by, that John Hogan was proprietor of the place and Postmaster of the embryo city. The nearest Post-office was Detroit; and the mails were forwarded, very irregularly, from that point, alone. That was just forty years ago.

IV.—A REMINISCENCE OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, IN SOUTH CAROLINA.*

COMMUNICATED BY REV. DR. HOWE, OF COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHESTER DISTRICT, S. C., July, 1836.

By reference to a number of this paper of July, 1835, the reader will see that, at a celebration of the Fourth of July, at the house of Mr. John Bonner, a Committee was appointed to wait on the Revolutioners present, and request that they would furnish particulars that came under their observation, which are not to be found in history, that such information be not lost to posterity.

Joseph Gaston, Esq., has at length favored the Committee with the object of their request, which, we think, will be read with great interest by every person who is proud of the gallant achievements of our patriotic forefathers.

We would observe, that while the aged author and hero relates his brief history, he says but little of self, whereas he is known to have suffered the most extreme toils and privations, that were known in these perilous times; was severely wounded in an engagement, in the face, the ball cut through the cheek-bone more than the size of itself, which for many years was painful and ulcerating, which left his cheek flat and very visible.

The Committee have to lament the death of James Harbison, Esq., who died on the third of November last. He had promised to write out some incidents, which the Committee had great expectations from, as he was an "eye and ear" witness to the thunders of his country's sons, for liberty. He was one of the most gallant Revolutioners; had an iron constitution; a strong mind and honest heart; a very retentive memory; and in his mind lived, as if it had passed yesterday, every scene of the Revolution.

JAMES McDILL,
Chairman of Committee.

[MR. GASTON'S NARRATIVE.]

SIR:

With pleasure, I, at this late hour, have attempted to comply with the polite request made by your respectable Committee, to the soldiers of the Revolution, present with you on the fourth of July, 1835. Your request was that they would furnish you with a few of the most important facts of those times which "tried men's souls;" and which are not related by, or perhaps, were not known to, our historians; but might be thought worthy of being preserved.

* This letter was originally printed in the *Columbia Hive*, of August 6, 1836.

Sir, there is one train of events which has almost sunk into oblivion; and which, I hope, you will think worthy of being considered as one of the brightest pages in the history of our State. I would publish it, as a tribute of respect, to the memory of those undaunted patriots who were engaged in it, as well as to set before our countrymen, what invincible courage may achieve when determined on liberty or death! At the time, when the Capital of our State had surrendered to the invading enemy; our army of the South disarmed and imprisoned; and not a vestige of armed force on our behalf in the State, as far as can be discovered from the history of those gloomy times; five young men bound themselves, and made an effort, which is, perhaps, without a parallel!

Captain John McClure, a young man, perhaps twenty-five years old, had taken a part of his Militia Company on, towards Charleston, and was at or near Monk's-corner, when the town surrendered. His men then returned home; and he, on his way, called at the house of John Gaston, Esq., in the then Chester-county. When there, he and his friends received intelligence of the shocking massacre of Colonel Bradford's men, by Tarleton, two days previous, about twenty miles from the place where he had stopped—this massacre took place, perhaps, on the nineteenth of May, 1780. On the reception of this news, he (Captain McClure), and three of said Gaston's sons, and Captain John Steek, I think, arose upon their feet and made this united and solemn declaration: "that they 'would never submit nor surrender to the enemies of their country; that 'Liberty or death,' from that time forth, should be their motto!" Each of these young men had served three years in the Company of Captain Eli Kershaw, of the Third Regiment of South Carolina Militia, commanded by Colonel William Thompson, with the above motto inscribed on the front of their military caps.

About this time, a man calling himself Colonel Housman, came to the house of John Gaston, Esq., in a dress altogether plain, accompanied by about fifty of those plundering banditti which British policy had dignified with the name of "loyalists," and exhausted a considerable share of his logic, in advising the gentleman to have his sons brought in, on a certain day, to give up their arms, at his encampment. His camp was to be pitched at Alexander's old fields, now Beckhamville.

The eloquence of the orator was inadequate to the task. True, they met him on the appointed day; but, for a purpose very different from that which he desired. These young men immediately visited the settlements of Fishing-creek, Rocky-creek, and Sandy-river, that they might

obtain assistance to carry into effect the desperate effort they were about to make, and see who would favor the forlorn hope. In the course of the day and night, they collected together, in all, thirty-two volunteers: they were principally of the Knoxes, Walkers, Morrows, McClures, and Johnsons. James Johnson, then known as Adjutant Johnson, brother of Samuel and John Johnson, of Fairfield, was among the most zealous and persevering, on that occasion. With this Spartan band, Captain McClure attacked Colonel Housman, on the appointed day, and routed about two hundred men without losing a man. Two of the Captain's men were wounded: William McGarrety, (lately deceased) slightly; and Hugh McClure, brother to the Captain, and father of James McClure, Esq., of this district, had an arm broke. It is most possible that McClure's men did not wish to kill, knowing that many good men might be there who knew of no relief, but to submit and take parole. Only one was killed, and he was known to be a real friend to his country. The design was to raise the fallen standard of liberty once more in South Carolina, though it should be at the expense of their lives.

This little band then rushed to another collection of Tories, of still worse materials, at Mobley's meeting-house, in Fairfield, where the Tories suffered much. A number were killed!

The intrepid movements of this little band surprised them like a peal of thunder from a clear sky. News of McClure's movements instantly spread, and drew together, in a few days, from York and Fairfield, a few of those patriotic spirits that feel a courage which disregards numbers when "their all is at stake." After this second engagement, his number was, in a short time, doubled. Among those who joined him, were Captain A. Gray and John Gray, maternal uncles of Rev. William B. Luers. This alarming news was soon conveyed, by the terror-stricken Tories, to the British, at Camden. McClure and his men retreated into the lower part of North Carolina, where they found the patriotic General Thomas Sumter giving notice that he had a General's Commission, from Governor Rutledge of South Carolina, and inviting volunteers to his standard; and this small band formed the nucleus of his army.

The venerable Judge Johnson, in his *Life of General Green*, i., 286, states that, about this time, both General Sumter and Marion had gone to North Carolina; and, for want of this particular article of history, gives the credit of the first effort to breast the storm, to the men of Ninety-six, Waxhaws, and York District, and states that they never relinquished the effort until the enemy was driven out of the country. But as I was eye and ear witness to the solemn

commencement, above stated, I believe that it was the opening wedge to the recovery of South Carolina, though one only of those five men survived the contest—Captain Steele being the only one who lived to see liberty purchased. The four others fell fighting under General Sumter, three of them at Hanging Rock—the Captain and two of the others. This was the fifth battle in which they had been engaged, from their embarkation for "Liberty or death!" viz: Beckhamsville, Mobley's meeting-house, Hoik's defeat at Williamson's, now Brattons ville, Rocky Mount, and Hanging Rock. Lieutenant Alexander Gaston, the fourth one, died of small-pox, in Sumter's retreat from Wright's Bluff, at the house of a Mr. McConnel on Black-river.

General Sumter's Camp, at this time, was pitched in the Indian land, near the Nation Ford, on Catawba-river, where he soon learned that a detachment of British, from Camden, under Colonel Turnbull, had rushed up to Rocky Mount, to avenge the insult offered to his Majesty's friends, there. A part of these, under Captain Hoik, pursued on to Fishing-creek-church, then occupied by the Rev. John Simpson, whose dwelling they reduced to ashes, on the eleventh of June, 1780, being Sabbath morning, and, in sight of this, they murdered an unoffending young man, William Strong, with his Bible in his hand, near to his father's door. They then proceeded on and burned Colonel Hill's Iron-works, and returned, loaded with plunder, consisting of every article that the hand of rapacity could carry off. They were those who were politely called "New York Volunteers," alias, the green-coat Tories who had joined the British, in New York, and were now increased by some of the same honorable stamp, from Rocky Mount, under a suitable commander, Captain Hoik, who never failed, on convenient occasions, to curse Bibles and Presbyterians; and who had orders, when killed, from Colonel Turnbull, "To destroy and distress the hardened rebels, as far as possible."

About a month after this execution, the same detachment of blood-hounds set out, once more, and encamped at Williamson's, the residence of the father of Rev. John Williamson and Samuel Williamson, where McClure's Company, with others, from Sumter's camp, attacked them on the twelfth of July, 1780, soon after daylight; and killed Captain Hoik and a number of his men, without losing a man or having any wounded.

McClure, under Sumter, fought, next, at Rocky Mount, on the thirty-first of July, 1780. We retreated, thence, to Land's Ford, without making much impression on Colonel Turnbull, he being stationed in a strong log-house; and

while at Land's Ford, General Sumter ordered an election for General Officers in the Chester Regiment. McClure's Company, that day, numbered about one hundred and twenty men. He was elected Colonel. Major John Nixon, father of Mrs. McKeown and Mrs. Hemphill, widow of Rev. J. Hemphill, was elected Lieutenant-colonel—Colonel E. Lacy having, at that time, become unpopular among the Chester Whigs.

From Land's Ford, General Sumter marched to Hanging Rock, on the seventh of August, 1780, where we—the writer having joined McClure's Company—attacked a Tory camp of seven or eight hundred men, mostly riflemen, hunters from the forks of Yadkin-river, under the command of Colonel Morgan Bryant. From that post, the British lay about a quarter of a mile. Our force, I think, was not more than four hundred men. Our order of battle was in three lines, about one hundred apart in files of two. The enemy's lines were extended from a point at right angles. McClure commanded the front of the centre line, against the united point of the enemy's line; and, on this account, sustained much of the enemy's first fire. The loss of our men, in the action, was twenty-three, nine of those were of McClure's Company, he being one of the nine; and nine more wounded, who recovered. The Captain, and perhaps three others, lived a few days after the battle.

I had been detached to go with my aged father, that he might be removed from the Tories, who sought his life, for being the friend of his oppressed country as well as for bringing nine sons into the field, for its defence. He was disappointed by the Tories on Cross-creek, of getting to a brother's, in Newbern, North Carolina, a Doctor Alexander Gaston, who was killed by the British, about this time. He then took a different route.

In my return, I marched with a detachment of men from Mecklenburg, North Carolina, and think the heroic patriotism of an old lady, on that occasion, worth recording: A Mrs. Haynes, of that County, as her son was about to leave the door and domestic circle, for the camp, as her parting counsel to him said: "Now Alexander, fight like a man, and don't be a coward." This I had from an eye and ear witness. We joined General Sumter in the time of the engagement at Rocky Mount, and not long after our arrival I met young Haynes coming out of the fight, with satisfactory proof that he had obeyed the injunction of his patriotic mother, a ball having passed through his face—of this, however, he recovered, with the loss of an eye.

A Mr. Robert Walker, the maternal grandfather of R. W. Gill and E. Gill, late of Lancasterville, in this State, when engaged in the battle of King's-mountain, during the desperate

effort made there, by both parties, of advancing and retreating, was shot through the body, near the heart, by one in his view; and, having his gun loaded at the time, he after this took deliberate aim and shot his opponent dead. He survived, and many heard him and his officer, Colonel E. Lacy, relate this fact.

N. B. I beg leave to mention that Captain John McClure was a younger brother of the late General William McClure, of Newbern, North Carolina, who endeared himself so much to our sick and wounded, in Charleston, during and after the siege of that place, by his medical assistance to them.

I added two anecdotes by way of conclusion, because I considered them well worthy inserting.

With most sincere respect, I am yours.

JOSEPH GASTON.

June 28th, 1836.

V.—CONFEDERATE RAG-BAG.

[Under this title, we propose to publish, from time to time, such detached papers, written by Confederate States officers, as are disconnected with others and, in themselves, too short or too unimportant to be published as distinct articles.

We shall be pleased to receive copies of all such papers, long or short, as our readers may be inclined to send to us, for this purpose.—EDITOR.]

I.

*General Brackinridge's Commission as Major-general of the Confederate States' Army.**

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,

WAR DEPARTMENT,

RICHMOND, April 18th, 1862.

SIR,

You are hereby informed that the President has appointed you Major General &c. &c. To take rank April 14, 1862. In the Provisional Army in the service of the Confederate States. You are requested to signify your acceptance or non-acceptance of said appointment: and should you accept you will sign before a magistrate, the oath of office herewith, and forward the same with your letter of acceptance to this Department. You will report for duty to Gen Beauregard.

GEO W RANDOLPH,
Secretary of War.

Major Gen JOHN C. BRACKINRIDGE

[At the foot.]

Nobly won upon the field, With the hearty congratulations of

BRAXTON BRAGG.

G. T. B.

* From the original, in the collection of Captain C. W. Elwell, of New York.—EDITOR.

II.*

General Johnston to the President of the Confederate States.

H^D Q^{RS} CENTREVILLE :
MARCH 3^d, 1862 :

M^R PRESIDENT :

I respectfully submit three notes from Major-General Jackson, and one from Brig^{er} Gen^l Hill, for the information they contain of the enemy.

Your orders for moving cannot be executed now, on account of the condition of the roads and streams.

The removal of public property goes on with painful slowness—because, as the officers employed in it report, sufficient number of cars and engines cannot be had.

It is evident that a large quantity of it must be sacrificed—or your instructions not observed.—I shall adhere to them as closely as possible.—In conversation with you and before the Cabinet, I did not exaggerate the difficulties of Marching in this region. The suffering and sickness which would be produced can hardly be exaggerated.

Most respectfully

your ob^t serv^t

J. E. JOHNSTON
General.

His Ex^{cy} JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President.

Endorsed :]

Col. Myers will read and report whether any increase can be made to the number of cars and engines—

JEFFER : DAVIS.

[COLONEL MYERS'S REPORT ON THE ABOVE LETTER.]

CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA,
QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
RICHMOND, March 7, 1862.

To THE PRESIDENT,

I have the honor to report that, I have read Gen^l J. E. Johnston's letter of March 3^d to you, with your endorsement, directing me to report if any increase can be made to the number of cars and engines to Manassas.

All the cars belonging to the Va. Central Railroad in running order are on the Orange Road. All the engines which are acceptable, except one are on that road.—that one is kept to run the mail train between Rich^d & Gordonsville. From reports of Conductors sent from the Central Road to Manassas, I am inclined to think that, there are too many trains now on that road—they are not able to pass each other on the turnouts.

* From the originals, in the possession of John C. Ropes, Esqr., Boston, Massachusetts.—EDITOR.

Some Engines have been 36 hours in making the trip from Manassas to Gordonsville—Some cars sent on Sunday night last were at Gordonsville on Thursday morning. A letter from the Superintendent of the Orange Road to the President of V^a C. R. R. states that he expects to have all that stores away from Manassas this (Friday) evening—Some pork on the Manassas R. would require 4 or 5 days more for removal.

The cars and engines of the Manassas Gap road & Orange R. & V^a C. R.—are all I believe in use at Manassas—No further increase can be made—I respectfully return Gen^l Johnston's letter, & am your most ob^t serv^t

A. MYERS

Q. M. Gen^l.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VI.—“THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS”
OF VERMONT.

MINUTES OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THEIR
CONVENTIONS.—CONCLUDED FROM VOLUME I, PAGE
292.

NOW FIRST PRINTED, WITHOUT MUTILATION, ALTERATION, OR INTERPOLATION, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

New Hampshire Grants (alias) }
New Connecticut; Windsor } June 4th 1777
Convention opened According
to Adjournment.

Present the following Members.

Capt. Joseph Bowker in the Chair

1st Voted Lieutenant Martin Powel Assistant
Clark.

Bennington	{ Nathan Clark Esqr Mr Simeon Hathaway Capt John Burnham Doct ^r Jonas Fay
Shaftsbury	{ Major Jeremiah Clark Mr Gideon Olin
Arlington	{ Capt Ebenezer Willoughby Mr Abel Benedict
Sunderland	{ Lieut Joseph Bradley Mr Eli Brownson
Manchester	{ Mr Thomas Bull Lieut. Martin Powell
Dorset	{ Mr Cephas Kent
Reupert	{ Doct ^r Gaius Smith Mr Moses Robinson
Paulet	{ Capt. William Fitch Capt. Jonathan Willard
Wells	{ Mr Caleb Smith

Poltney	{ Capt. Zebediah Dewey
Castleton	{ by a Letter from s ^d town
	{ Acquiescing in forming a
	{ New State
Hubberton	{ Mr Jesse Churchhill
Danby	{ Capt. Willam Gage
Tinmouth	{ Capt. Ebenezar Allen
	{ Benj ^a Spencer Esq ^r } Major
Clarendon	{ Whitefield Foster } Part
	{ Joseph Smith } Minor
	{ Stephen Place } Part
Rutland	{ L ⁱ John Southerland
	{ Capt Joseph Bowker
Pittsford	{ Capt. Jon th Fassett
Neshobe	{ Capt. Josiah Powers
Whiting	{ Capt Josiah Powers
Cornwal	{ Mr Gani ^l Panther
Colchester	{ Capt Ira Allen
	{ Capt Heman Allen
Williston	{ Col ^o Tho ^s Chittenden
Willmington	{ Mr W ^m Millin
Hallifax	{ Doct ^r W ^m Hill
Guilford	{ Col ^o Benj ^a Carpenter
	{ Capt John Barney
Brattleborough	{ L ⁱ Israel Smith
Townshend	{ Mr John Dyer
Dummerston	{ L ⁱ Leonard Spalding
Putney	{ Mr Denis Lockland
Westminster	{ Nath ^l Robinson Esq ^r
Rockingham	{ Doct ^r Reuben Jones
Chester	{ L ⁱ Jabez Serjeant
Kent	{ Mr Edward Aikins
Cavendish	{ Capt John Coffin
Brumley	{ Capt W ^m Utley
Windsor	{ Mr Ebenezar Hosington
Hertford	{ Maj ^r Joel Matthews
	{ Mr W ^m Gallop
Woodstock	{ Mr Benj ^a Emmonds
Hartford	{ Col ^o Joseph Marsh
	{ Mr Stephen Tilden
Pomphret	{ John Troop
	{ John Winchester Dana Esq ^r
Bernard	{ Mr Asa Whitcomb
	{ Mr Asa Cheadle
Norwich	{ Col ^o Peter Olcott
	{ Maj ^r Tho ^s Moredock
	{ Mr Jacob Burton
Sharon	{ Joel Marsh Esq ^r
	{ Mr Daniel Gilbert
Thetford	{ L ⁱ Abner Chamberlain
Stratford	{ Mr Fredireck Smith

Fairley	{ Mr Amasa Woodworth
Moorton	{ Doct ^r Bildad Andress
	{ Mr Benj ^a Baldin
Corinth	{ by a Letter Aquesing
	{ in a State
Newberry	{ Mr John G D Bailey
	{ Capt Robert Johnson
Reading	{ Mr Andrew Spear

[*Note* —The manuscript record of the proceedings of the Convention ends, abruptly, at this place; and as we have not proposed to do more than faithfully re-produce the official Minutes of these early Conventions, we leave the subject where their Secretaries left it.

We are not insensible of the fact that what purported to have been reports of some portions of the subsequent session of this Convention appeared in some of the newspapers of that period; but our faith in newspaper reports, even those of the period in question, is not sufficient to induce us to elevate them to the dignity of an official record—such a work can best be done by that portion of the Vermont Historical Society which does not hesitate to alter or make additions to a record, whenever the teachings of that record clash with their own apocryphal narratives or with their narrow ideas of what should have been written, but was not.—*ERROR.*]

VII.—*HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO COUNTY, NEW YORK.*—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16.

By S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

III.—*COUNTY ORGANIZATION AND HISTORY; COUNTY AND CIRCUIT COURTS; IMPORTANT TRIALS; COUNTY OFFICES.*

ORGANIZATION AND HISTORY.—In the year 1798, the County of Chenango was erected, from parts of Herkimer and Tioga-counties, including in that taken from the former, the present towns of Nelson, Eaton, Madison, Georgetown, Lebanon, Hamilton, Brookfield, De Ruyter, and a portion of Cazenovia, in the County of Madison, and the town of Bridgewater, in Oneida-county, with its southern boundary on the present County of Broome, including the towns of Smithville, Oxford, Guilford, Greene, Coventry, and Bainbridge, taken from Tioga-county; separated from the County of Otsego and a small portion of Delaware, on the East, by the Unadilla-river; and bounded, on the West, by that portion of the "Military Tract" embraced in Cortland and the South-eastern part of Onondaga-county, including the present towns of Lincolnaen, Pitcher, and German, and by a small portion of Broome-county.

In 1806, Madison-county was erected from parts of Oneida and Chenango, taking off, from the latter, the town of Bridgewater, now in Oneida, and the towns of Cazenovia, De Ruyter, Nelson, Eaton, Madison, Georgetown, Lebanon, and Hamilton, on the North, and leaving it with its present boundaries, including the six towns of Smithville, Oxford, Guilford, Greene, Coventry, and Bainbridge, on the South. The towns of Pitcher and Lincklaen were subsequently taken from German, on the West. There are, therefore, remaining, or were, up to the erection of Afton, in the County, under its new organization, the same number of towns, as in the original "Twenty Townships."

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.—The first Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace for the County, was held at Hamilton, in the School-house, near the dwelling of Elisha Payne, in June, 1798. The presiding Judges were Isaac Foote, Joab Enos, and Joshua Leland, with Assistant-Justices Oliver Norton and Elisha Payne. Thomas R. Gold, Joseph Kirkland, Nathan Williams, Stephen O. Runyan, Nathaniel King, Arthur Breese, Peter B. Garnsey, and Medad Curtis were admitted as Attorneys and Counsellors of the Court; and five civil causes were tried. The second term was held at Oxford, in October of the same year, when John Lincklaen, of Cazenovia, and Benjamin Hovey, of Oxford, took their seats as additional Associate-justices. General Erastus Root, of Delhi, was, on motion of Mr. Garnsey, admitted a Counsellor of the Court. The Terms were held, thereafter, alternately, at Hamilton and Oxford, in July and October of each year. In July, 1799, Joel Thompson, of Norwich, and Gershom Hyde, of Oxford, took their seats on the Bench, as Associate-justices. In July, 1800, Isaac Foote was appointed First, or presiding, Judge, and Jonathan Forman took his seat as an Associate-judge. In July, 1804, General Obadiah German, of Norwich, and Jeremiah Whipple were added to the Bench, as Associate-judges; and, at the October Term, Abner Purdy and Casper M. Rouse, of Norwich, took their places, as Assistant-justices. In October, 1805, Thomas Lyon, Junior, took his seat as an Associate-judge, and Samuel Payne and Nathaniel Medbury as Assistants.

In 1807, Peter Betts, of Bainbridge, was appointed an Associate-judge of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions. In January, 1808, the first Term of the Court was held at North Norwich, pending the erection of a Court-house, at Norwich, which was completed in the Spring of 1809, upon a site given by Peter B. Garnsey, Esq., on what is now known as the West Green, or Commons, and

on which the present Court-house was erected, in 1838. Joel Thompson, Esq., was appointed First, or presiding, Judge of the new Court, with General German and Judges Rouse, Purdy, Lyon, and Betts, Associate-judges and Assistant-justices Payne and Medbury.

At the June Term of the Court, in 1809, held at the Court-house in Norwich, Anson Cary took his seat as an Associate-judge, in place of Judge Lyon. In 1810, William McCalpin, of Oxford, Tracy Robinson, Nathaniel Waldron, of German, and Elisha Smith, of Norwich, were appointed Associate-judges; in 1811, Ebenezer Wakeley, of German; and, in 1813, John Gray, Junior, and Asa Norton, of Norwich, with John S. Flagler and Joel Hatch, of Sherburne, as Assistant-justices. In 1814, General Obadiah German, of North Norwich, was appointed First Judge, and Obadiah Sands, Samuel Campbell, and John S. Flagler, Associate-judges, with John Twichell, of Norwich, and Chester Hammond, as Assistant-justices. In 1815, Nathaniel Waldron was re-appointed an Associate-judge, and Casper M. Rouse and John Noyes, of Norwich, and Isaac Sherwood, of Oxford, also took their seats as Judges. In 1816, Tilly Lynde, of Sherburne, and Barnabas Brown, of New-Berlin; and in 1817, Charles Joselyn, of Greene, were appointed Associate-judges. In October, 1819, Uri Tracy, of Oxford, took his seat as First Judge; and, in 1822, Nathan Taylor and Levi Bigelow were appointed Associate-judges, in place of Charles Joselyn and Barnabas Brown. In October, 1824, John Tracy, of Oxford, was appointed First Judge and Surrogate, with Judges Noyes, Taylor, and Bigelow, Associate-judges. In 1829, Ezekiah Read, of Pharsalia, and, in 1831, Charles York, of Norwich, were appointed Associate-judges, in place of Judges Noyes and Taylor. In 1833, Smith M. Purdy, of Norwich, succeeded Judge Tracy, as First Judge and Surrogate; and, in 1837, Samuel McKoon, of Oxford, and Joshua Lamb, of Columbus, re-placed Judges Read and York, and Judge Bigelow was appointed First Judge. In 1838, Solomon Ensign, Junior, of Pitcher, and, in 1841, Philo Robinson, of Oxford, re-placed Judges McKoon and Lamb, on the Bench. In 1843, Roswell Judson, of Sherburne, was appointed First Judge, with Austin Hyde, of Oxford, and Adam Storing, of Otsego, as Associate-judges. In 1846, Erastus Dickinson, of Guilford, was appointed in place of Judge Robinson. At the first election of Judges, under the Constitution of 1846, Smith M. Purdy and Harvey Hubbard, of Norwich, and Francis E. Dimmick, of Plymouth, were elected Judges, Judge Purdy presiding.

CIRCUIT COURT AND COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER.—The first Circuit Court and Court

of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail delivery, was held at the Academy, in Oxford, on the tenth of July, 1798, by the Hon. James Kent, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, remaining in session, however, only for an hour or two, no business being in readiness. The second Term was held at Hamilton, in July, 1799, by Justice Jacob Radcliff, of the Supreme Court, with a similar result. Justice Morgan Lewis presided at the third Term, on the thirtieth of June, 1800, at Hamilton, when two jury causes were disposed of. Justice John Lansing, Junior, held the fourth Circuit, in June 1801, also at Hamilton. The fifth Circuit was presided over by Judge Kent, at Oxford, in June, 1802; and the sixth by Justice Smith Thompson, at the same place, in June, 1803. At the seventh, in May, 1804, at Oxford, Justice Ambrose Spencer presided; and the two ensuing Terms, in 1805 and 1806, were held by Justices Daniel D. Tompkins and Brockholst Livingston, at Hamilton.

At the first Circuit after the re-organization of the County, held at Oxford, in May, 1807, Justice Daniel D. Tompkins presiding, Henry Van Der Lyn, Esqr., of Oxford, was admitted as Attorney and Counsellor. In the ensuing year, at North Norwich, Justice Yates presiding, James Birdsall of Norwich was admitted to the same honor; and, in 1809, at the same place, Justice Thompson presiding, William M. Price and James Clapp, of Oxford, and David Buttolph, of Norwich, were admitted as Counsellors. A Mr. Hill was tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hung, at this Term, for the murder of a child. The sentence was, however, subsequently commuted by the Governor, to imprisonment.

After this period, the Circuit Courts were held at the Court-house in Norwich, by Chief-justices Kent and Spencer, and Justices Van Ness, Woodworth, and Yates, until the adoption of the Constitution of 1821, under which Samuel Nelson, of Cortland, was appointed Judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, including the Counties of Otsego, Delaware, Boone, Tioga, Cortland, and Chenango. On his transfer to the Bench of the Supreme Court, in 1836, Robert Monell, of Greene, Chenango-county, was appointed his successor, and continued to occupy the position until he became disqualified by age, when he was succeeded by Hiram Gray, of Delaware. Judge Gray remained in office until the adoption of the Constitution of 1846.

IMPORTANT TRIALS.—One of the most important trials in the Chenango Circuit, took place in September, 1812, at Norwich. General David Thomas, then State Treasurer, was indicted by the Grand Jury for the alleged bribery, or attempt at bribery, of Casper M. Rouse, a member of the State Senate, for the District of which

Chenango formed a part, in order to procure his influence and vote for a Bill, then pending before the Legislature, for the incorporation of the Bank of America, in the city of New York, and in which General Thomas, individually and as a leading politician, felt a deep interest.

The charge, involving, as it did, the public and private integrity of an important functionary of the State Government, and intimately connected, as it was, with an exciting political campaign, created an intense interest, not only in the vicinity where the alleged offence was committed, but throughout the State, at large. Those were not the times when corruption of this nature was allowed, either on a great or a small scale, to taint the purity of the legislative ermine. It was felt to be absolutely necessary, on the part of the great political party to which Thomas belonged, and with which he was known to be closely identified, effectually to clear its skirts from all participation in this nefarious transaction. The most eminent legal counsel in the State were engaged, both for the prosecution and the defence. Thomas Addis Emmett, the Attorney-general—known, far and wide, as one of the highest luminaries of the profession—conducted the case, on behalf the People; and Elisha Williams, of Columbia, the ablest and most successful jury-lawyer of the State, was retained by the accused. The forensic combatants were, in all respects, equally matched, and each worthy of his foeman's steel. The trial took place before the Hon. William W. Van Ness, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court—a jurist whose long experience, eminent abilities, and incorruptible character, were eminently adapted to enable him to hold the scale of justice equally poised.

The principal, and most important, witness, on behalf of the prosecution, was, of course, Senator Rouse, himself. He testified, in substance, that General Thomas, as the agent of the applicants for the Bank, in passing through Norwich, in the Autumn of the preceding year, on a mission to the southern and western Counties of the State, visited him, at his residence, and asked for and obtained a private interview: in the course of which, after alluding to the efforts of a party or clique, in the city of New York, known as the Lewis, or "Martling," men, and to whom he knew the witness was strongly opposed, to procure a Charter for a Bank, in which they were interested, he apprised him of the intention to apply, at the ensuing Session, for the Bank of America, to be located in the same city, and informed him that, if this application should prove successful, he, Rouse, *should have ten shares in it.* The witness, in reply to this suggestion, said he had not a favorable opinion of Banks, and, besides, had no money

to invest in bank-stock; to which Thomas responded that "if he did not wish to keep the stock, he would pledge his honor that he, Rouse, *should realise one thousand dollars, clear profits, from the shares.*" It did not clearly appear, from his testimony, whether a definitive answer was, or was not, given to this proposition; but, on leaving him, Thomas requested him to call, on his arrival at Albany, on Solomon Southwick, Editor of the *Albany Register*, and a leading Democratic politician, interested in the success of the application. Rouse, however, did not call on Southwick, as desired; nor did he vote for the Charter; but, about the middle of the Session, the agents for the application becoming alarmed, John Van Ness Yates, a prominent Democratic politician, of Albany—afterwards Secretary of State—called upon him, on Sunday, and pressed him, again, to see General Thomas. With this request, he complied; and Thomas opened the interview by anxiously inquiring of him whether he had divulged the conversation which took place at Norwich, in the preceding Autumn. On being answered in the negative, he earnestly requested him not to do so, and assured him that, whether he had voted, or should vote, against the Bank, or not, he *should have his thousand dollars.* It appeared, also, that Rouse subsequently voted for General Thomas, as Treasurer. The latter also published, after the trial, an affidavit contradicting the material allegations of Rouse's testimony.

Mr. Southwick, then in the "full tide of successful experiment," as an organ of Democratic public opinion; was also examined as a witness; and his testimony, in conjunction with the equivocation and contradictions elicited from the examination of the principal witness and the unrivalled eloquence and ingenuity of the counsel for the defence, succeeded in throwing so heavy a cloud of doubt upon the minds of the jury, as to the real motives and conduct—not of the *Defendant*, but of the *witness*—that they were induced to return a verdict of Not Guilty. The evidence would seem to have shown, unequivocally, that, whatever might have been the duplicity or tergiversation of Rouse, in the transaction, there could have been no reasonable ground to question the complicity, or the guilt, of Thomas. The jury, however, appear to have regarded the former, instead of the latter, as having been substantially on trial, and to have based their verdict on a virtual disbelief of his testimony and a suspicion of his integrity.

In January, 1833, occurred the trial, before the Hon. Robert Monell, Judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit, of George Denison, for the murder of Reuben Gregory. The circumstances attending this murder were of a very peculiar nature, and excited great interest. The prisoner

and his victim were both residents of the town of Columbus, of about the same age—twenty-six or twenty-seven years—and on terms of the greatest intimacy and friendship with each other. Young Gregory resided with his father, Hamlin Gregory, who kept a public house, on the main road between Columbus and New Berlin, where Denison, who was of dissipated and disreputable habits, was a frequent visitor. On the day of the murder, in the Summer or Fall of 1832, Denison had been refused, by the elder Gregory, an additional supply of liquor, on the ground that he had already had enough, and indignantly left the house, threatening dire revenge. The elder Gregory uniformly wore a large slouched hat, and was in the frequent habit of smoking a clay pipe. The younger never smoked, and wore an ordinary tall-crowned beaver, or felt, hat. Unfortunately, on the afternoon of that day, the latter was suffering under a violent attack of tooth-ache; and, after having resorted to various remedies, without relief, had been advised to try the effect of tobacco. Taking up, filling, and lighting a pipe, and hastily seizing upon his father's slouched hat, he passed into an adjoining room, which opened upon a wood-shed; sat down, in a chair, immediately fronting the door, which was open; pulled his hat over his eyes; and commenced smoking. The evening twilight was, by this time, setting in. Denison, in the meantime, had gone home; loaded his gun with a charge of shot, intending only, as he persisted, up to the last moment, on the gallows, in asserting, to "pepper old Gregory's legs." Stealing along, in the deepening gloom of the evening, he entered the wood-shed; and seeing, as he supposed, the elder Gregory, seated in his accustomed attitude, enjoying his pipe, he deliberately aimed his deadly weapon, and fired. The charge of shot entered the heart of the unfortunate son; passed through his body; and lodged in the adjoining wall. There can be no doubt, from the shot itself, and from subsequent revelations, on the part of Denison, that he *did aim*, as well as, in his excited condition, he was able, at the *legs* of his victim, whom he unquestionably supposed to be the elder Gregory. But neither of these circumstances were deemed sufficient to constitute any legal or valid defence. He was found skulking, early in the following morning, in the neighboring fields, where he had evidently spent the night, arrested, examined, and committed for trial. He was visibly horrified, on discovering the nature and extent of the terrible tragedy he had enacted. Reuben Gregory was one of his best and most cherished friends; nor was he capable, in his wildest moments of delirium, of harming a hair of his head.

At the trial, Abial Cook, Henry Vanderlyn,

and Samuel S. Randall were assigned, by the Court, as his Counsel—the latter, at the prisoner's own request—and John Clapp, Esq., the District Attorney, appeared in behalf of the People. The public excitement was at its highest pitch; and so crowded was the Court-house, at the opening of the case, that fears were entertained for its safety, and the Court was adjourned to the Presbyterian-church, in the neighborhood. The father of the murdered youth was well nigh insane, and was scarcely able, in his excitement and mental agony, to give a connected account of the melancholy transaction. When, on the opening of the defence, a panic occurred, in consequence of some operations going on, in a neighboring yard, and a general stampede of the vast audience took place, under the supposition that the pillars and roof of the church were falling, the miserable and almost demented father raved and stormed like a madman, denouncing the supposed crash of the building as a righteous retribution upon the Counsel for the prisoner. The defence rested solely upon the condition of the prisoner's mind, at the time of the perpetration of the act, and the absence of all intention to kill any one, much less his friend, against whom he could have harbored no malice. But the plea was unavailing; and the prisoner was convicted, and sentenced to be executed in the ensuing March. A strong effort was made to procure Executive interposition, under the special and peculiar circumstances of the case; but Governor Marcy, after a careful examination of the case, in all its bearings, declined to interfere; and the unfortunate man was executed, at Norwich, on the nineteenth of March, protesting, to the last, his innocence of all intention to murder.

COUNTY OFFICERS.—The first Sheriff of the County was Uri Tracy, of Oxford, appointed in 1798. He was succeeded, in 1801, by Nathaniel Locke, and, in 1805, by Anson Carey, both of Oxford. Colonel William Munroe, of Norwich, Isaac Foote, of Sherburne, and Samuel Campbell, of Columbus, held the office, alternately, for short periods, under the political revolutions of the Council of Appointment, at Albany, from 1808 to 1821; when General Thompson Mead, of Norwich, received the appointment; and retained the office, by election, under the Constitution of that year, until 1826, when he was succeeded by Samuel A. Smith, of Guilford; in 1829, by General Augustus C. Welsh, of New Berlin; in 1832, by Amos A. Franklin, of Oxford; in 1835, by Jabez Robinson, of Oxford; in 1838, by William Hatch, of Greene; in 1841, by Enos S. Halbert, of Pitcher; in 1844, by Joseph P. Chamberlain, of Bainbridge; in 1847, by William Church, of Coventry; and, in 1850, by Levi H. Case, of Smyrna.

Samuel Sidney Breese, of Cazenovia, was the first County Clerk; and was succeeded, in 1801, by Uri Tracy, of Oxford, to which place the County Records were removed. Mr. Tracy held the appointment until 1815, when he was succeeded by David G. Bright, of Norwich, and the records were deposited in the Clerk's Office, erected in that village. In August, 1819, Perez Randall, of Norwich, was appointed as the successor of Mr. Bright, and held the office, under the Council of Appointment and by successive elections, until 1832, with the exception of a brief interval, in 1820, when it was filled by Nathan Chamberlin, of Norwich, and Doctor William Mason, of Preston. From 1832 to 1835, the office was held by Colonel Jarvis K. Pike, of North Norwich, when Mr. Randall was again elected and retained the position, until his death, in the Spring of 1839. Cyrus Wheeler, of Norwich, was appointed, by the Governor, to supply the vacancy, until the ensuing November, when Alfred Purdy was elected, and was succeeded, in 1843, by John Latham, of Guilford; in 1846 and 1849, by Burr B. Andrews and Nelson Pellett, of Norwich; and, in 1852, by James G. Thompson of Norwich.

Thomas R. Gold, of Oneida, was the first District Attorney of the County, and was succeeded, in 1802, by Nathan Williams, of Union. In 1811, Nicholas King, and, in 1815, Daniel Kellogg, were appointed, and were succeeded, in 1816, by Joseph L. Richardson; in 1821, by Simon G. Throop, of Oxford; in 1822, by Lot Clark, of Norwich; in 1823, by John C. Clark, of Bainbridge; and, in 1827, by Robert M. Nell, of Greene. In 1828, Lot Clark was again appointed, and was succeeded, in 1830, by John Clapp of Norwich, who retained the position until his removal to Binghamton, in 1841. George L. Smith, of Norwich, was appointed in his place, and was succeeded by Robert O. Reynolds, after which Mr. Smith was again appointed, and held the office until 1847, when James L. Banks, of Bainbridge, was elected, under the Constitution of 1846, the appointments having been previously made, up to 1822, by the Council of Appointment, and subsequently, down to 1846, by the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

Through the politeness of John Clapp, Esq. of Binghamton, we have been favored with the following copy of a subscription circulated in 1806, for the erection of the Court-house at Norwich, in opposition to the rival claims of Oxford:

"We, the subscribers, promise and agree to pay unto Peter B. Garnsey, Stephen Collins, and Silas Cole, such sum as we shall place opposite our names, for the purpose of circulating petitions through the County, to obtain the Com-

house and Gaol at the Village of Norwich, and such other purpose as the above Committee shall think expedient and proper for obtaining the buildings aforesaid :

Isaac Cornell.....	£0.16.0	Stephen Steer.....	\$ 1.00
Enoch Allen.....	\$ 1.00	Silas Cole.....	20 00
John Harris.....	3.00	Peter B. Garnsey.....	30.00
John Bowen.....	1.00	Hascall Ransford.....	15.00
Edward Wait.....	1.00	Casper M. Rouse.....	10.00
Elas Higbe.....	5.00	Frederick Hopkins....	5.00
John Adams, paid....	1.00	Sam'l Hull.....	1.00
William Ransford....	1.00	James Birdsall	5.00
Isel Steere.....	5.00	Ames M. Smith.....	1.00
Erez Randall.....	5.00	Joseph Brooks.....	1.00
John Garlick.....	10.00	Blinn Harris.....	5.00
Nathan Johnson..	10.00	Josiah Miller.....	£0.16.0
Enj'n Edmunds.....	10.00	John Bottom.....	0.12.0
Eliah Dickinson....	10.00	Hezekiah Brown.....	\$ 3.00
El Crane.....	1.00	Jesse Sapham.....	1.00
Leazur Skinner.....	2.00	Alexander McCutter..	1.00
athan Whipple.....	5.00	Joseph Sheffield.....	1.00
athan Parker.....	2.00	Edward Goodrich.....	1.00

IV.—WAR OF 1812.

On the eighth of September, 1812, four hundred volunteers rendezvoused, at Norwich, as units for the front, in the War with England, declared in the preceding June. They had their tents on the open meadows, East of the Hotel—the old Eagle—then kept by James Doty ; made choice of Lieutenant-colonel Thompson Mead as their commandant ; and, on the twentieth, started on their march for the western and northern frontier.

My own recollection does not extend back to this period ; but my friend, Nelson B. Hale, remembers and has well described the scene, in a number of *The Telegraph*, which he was kind as to send me, a few weeks since. Mr. Hale informs us that about half the Regiment, assembled, were residents of Chenango, the residue of Broome and Tioga. John Ball, Junior, of Norwich, was Major ; John Ball, Senior, Adjutant ; Asa Norton, Quartermaster, and Doctor William Mason, of Presburg, Surgeon of the Regiment. Among the captains of Companies, were Reuben Gray, of Burne ; Nathan Taylor, of South New Berlin ; Thornton Wasson, of Guilford ; and Daniel Root, of German—all good men and true. Among the Lieutenants who did most efficient service in the field, were Charles Randall, of Bain Gray's Company, and John Fields, who formerly been in the British Army. Upon the arrival of the Regiment at Buffalo, early in November, they immediately marched down the Niagara-river, and took position, on the American side, opposite Queenstown Heights. In the primary engagement which followed, Colonel Mead's Regiment took an active part. "On the morning of the thirteenth," says Mr. Hale, "at early dawn, one hundred of the Regiment took to the boats and crossed from Lewiston to Queenstown. Colonel Thompson Mead ; Captains Bacon, (of Broome) Wasson,

"and Root ; Lieutenants Charles Randall and John Fields, were with the men. On their way across the ferry, they met Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer returning, in a boat, badly wounded. A speedy landing, in good order, was effected, and the men formed and ascended the mountain, taking position, in open fields, on its apex—a few rods to the South of General Brock's monument, and only about thirty rods from the line of the Indians secreted behind forest trees and a heavy rail-fence. Colonel Mead was repeatedly fired upon, while passing to and fro, giving orders to the men. Sergeant Mann was shot, standing by his side. Branches of trees over his head were cut by rifle-bullets. The aim of the savages was every instant growing more precise and fatal. Lieutenant Charles Randall, seeing the dangerous position of his Company, hastily beat up for volunteers to drive the savages, and to take shelter in their secure retreat. The charge succeeded in putting the red men to flight, with some loss in their number ; and the troops had a few hours of repose, before the closing scene of the protracted contest."

The total loss of the Americans, in this battle, in which the late Major-general Winfield Scott "fleshed his maiden sword," was estimated at one thousand men : one hundred were killed, two hundred captured, and about three hundred of the remainder surrendered, with General Scott. The prisoners, including Colonel Mead's Regiment, were taken to Niagara, and from thence to Newark—afterwards burned by the Americans. Lieutenant Fields unfortunately fell into the hands of his former British Commandant, but succeeded in escaping recognition, and was shortly after dismissed on parole. Lieutenant Randall conversed freely with his British captors, at Newark, who appeared greatly to admire the pluck and daring by which the Indians were so promptly and effectually driven from their dangerous ambush. On the nineteenth or twentieth of October, the prisoners were all discharged on parole ; and the surviving members of the Chenango Regiment returned home.

In this engagement, Colonel Mead appears to have behaved with great coolness and determination. In his retreat, he somewhat unwisely concealed a valuable sword, in his possession, a loan from a friend, in the rocks at Queenstown, the subsequent discovery of which caused many a pleasant jest at his expense.

Captain Charles Randall died at the residence of his son, John A. Randall, in Norwich, early in April last, at the advanced age of ninety-two years. He was the oldest of the early pioneers of the County, living at the time of his

death: having settled in Pharsalia, in 1797, when seventeen years of age. He was a member and Deacon of the Baptist-church, for upwards of fifty years; and one of the founders and Trustees of the Baptist Education Society, whose Seminary is located at Hamilton.

V.—THE CHENANGO-CANAL; RAILROADS.

THE CHENANGO-CANAL.—In the year 1824, petitions from the Chenango-valley were first presented to the Legislature, by John F. Hubbard, in the Assembly, for the construction of the Chenango-canal. Discussions as to the practicability and expediency of such a work, in connection with the waters of the Chenango-river and Oneida-creek, had, for many years previous, agitated the public mind; but no decisive movement in its favor had taken place. The Canal Committee, to whom the petitions were referred, reported in favor of a survey; but no definitive action was had in the matter. In the succeeding year, a survey was ordered; and, in 1826, the subject was again agitated, and a favorable report again made by the Canal Committee, in the House; but the survey authorized by the Act of 1825 not having been regarded as sufficiently minute and accurate, the Bill was rejected. During the ensuing Summer, the inhabitants of the Valley, at their own expense, procured another survey of the summit-level; and, during the Session of 1827, the Bill for the construction of the Canal passed the Assembly, but was rejected in the Senate. Another survey of the entire line was procured by the citizens, at a heavy expense, resulting in the conclusion of Mr. Roberts, the Engineer, that a sufficient supply of water existed; and that the Canal could be constructed, at a cost of less than one million of dollars. This opinion was also concurred in by Mr. Benjamin Wright, who personally reviewed the whole line, and by Mr. Hutchinson, an Engineer, who carefully examined the estimates. In 1828, a Bill for its construction again passed the Assembly, and was again rejected in the Senate. The application was again renewed, in 1829; and a Bill was passed through both houses, authorizing the construction, if, in the judgment of the Canal Commissioners, there was a sufficiency of water; if it could be constructed for a million of dollars; and if, when constructed, it would yield, for the first ten years, a revenue, including the increase of tolls on the Erie-canal, equal to the cost of repairs and the interest of the sum expended in its construction. On the twenty-first of January, 1830, the Commissioners, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Samuel Young, Henry Seymour, and William C. Bouck, reported that while, in their judgment, an adequate and abundant supply of water existed, the cost of construction would

exceed one million of dollars, and that, if constructed, the proposed Canal would not produce an amount of tolls, in connection with the increased tolls on the Erie-canal, equal to the interest of its cost and the expense of repairs and superintendence, *nor of either of them*. The project was, therefore, temporarily abandoned.

On the twenty-third of February, 1833, however, through the exertions of Senator Hubbard, ably seconded, in the Senate, by William H. Maynard and Henry A. Foster, of Oneida, and by Lieutenant-governor John Tracy, Francis Granger, of Ontario, and the delegation from the Valley, in the Assembly, an Act for the construction of the Canal, from Utica to Binghamton, a distance of ninety-seven miles, triumphantly passed the Legislature and became a law, by the signature of the Governor. Great rejoicings throughout the Valley followed this intelligence; and a grand Canal-celebration and festival was held at Norwich. The work was immediately commenced, and completed, in 1837, at an aggregate cost of one million, seven hundred and thirty-seven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-three dollars. There are, on the route, one hundred and sixteen lift-locks—including two of stone—and seven reservoirs. The main trunk of the Canal is forty feet in width, on the surface, and twenty-eight, at the bottom; seven feet in depth; with four feet depth of water. It is conceded, however, that the income derived from the Canal has, at no time, defrayed its current expenses of repairs and superintendence.

RAILROADS.—The Utica, Chenango, and Susquehanna-valley Railroad, passes through Sherburne and North Norwich, terminating at Norwich, and connecting that village with Utica; and the New York, Oswego, and Midland Railroad passes through Sherburne, Norwich, and Guilford, forming a direct communication from New York to Oswego. Other railroads are in process of construction, from Norwich to De Ruyter, in Madison-county, and thence to Auburn, in Cayuga-county, and from Cortlandville to Norwich. The Albany and Susquehanna Railroad, connecting Albany and Binghamton, also passes through Bainbridge and Afton.

VI.—BANK OF CHENANGO.

The first banking institution in the County, was the Bank of Chenango, at Norwich, incorporated on the twenty-first of April, 1818, with a capital not exceeding two hundred thousand dollars, to be divided into shares of fifty dollars each. The actual capital has, however, at no time, subsequently exceeded one hundred and twenty thousand dollars. The first Board of Directors consisted of Charles Knapp, Tilly Lynde, Henry Mitchell, James Birdsall, Joseph

S. Fenton, Mark Steere, Joshua Pratt, Junior, John Noyes, Cyrus Strong, Robert Moneil, Jonathan Johnson, David G. Bright, and Nathan Chamberlin. The first President was Charles Knapp; the second, Thomas Milner; the third, Ira Willcox, in 1830; and the fourth, Walter M. Conkey, in 1853, who retained the position until his death, at the close of the past year. Matthew Talcott, of Utica, a brother of the former Attorney-general, Talcott, was appointed the first Cashier. He was, soon afterwards, succeeded by Joseph S. Fenton, who gave place to James Birdsall; when, in 1834, Walter M. Conkey was appointed, and held the place for a period of nearly twenty years: having been succeeded, in 1858, by William B. Pellet. Giles Chittenden was the first Teller, and was succeeded, first, by George Field, and, two years subsequently, by David S. Perry, who gave place, in 1826, to Mr. Conkey. Mr. Pellet was appointed Book-keeper and Teller, in the ensuing year. It will, therefore, be seen that Mr. Conkey had been continuously in the employ of the Bank, as Teller, Cashier, and President, *forty-seven* years; and Mr. Pellet as Book-keeper, Teller, and Cashier, *forty-six*. So admirably were the financial affairs of this institution managed, during the first thirty years of its existence, that, in 1849, the Directors divided among the shareholders a nett surplus of forty-nine thousand dollars, after paying the annual dividend.

For several years after this period, this remained the only Bank in the County. Both Mr. Conkey and Mr. Pellet died within a few weeks of each other—the former, in December, 1872, and the latter, in January, 1873. George Rider was elected President and Martin Mac Lean Cashier.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

VIII.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. HIS. MAG.]

AN OLD LANDMARK.

There are but few people in this region who have not observed, when passing through the streets of Augusta, an antique looking building known as "Winthrop Hall;" yet, doubtless, comparatively few, not resident in Augusta, are aware of the interesting associations connected with it.

This building is the remains of the first "Meeting-house" built in the new city of Au-

gusta. It was erected at the expense of the town in an age when the people were compelled, by law, to support the established religion. The first attempt to provide for the erection of a "Meeting-house," was made at a town-meeting, held in 1777. It was then voted to build a Meeting-house, and locate it upon the East side of the river, which seems to have been unsatisfactory. In 1779, the location was changed to the lot now the corner of Water-street and Market-square—occupied by Snow—although Water-street was not then laid out. The strife did not end with this action of the town; but, two years afterward, the location was again fixed at the spot facing Market-square, and preparations were made to proceed with the great undertaking, the size and style of the building determined upon, and a Committee to make contracts and superintend the work, appointed. It was erected and occupied in 1782, although not entirely finished until 1795. For several years after its erection, it was not only used as the Meeting-house, but the town meetings were generally held there; and it was the place where the people assembled, on "great occasions." On Sundays, "Uncle Livermore," the watchful Sexton, aroused the listless and sleepy in the audience, to attention to the "preached word;" and, with his long pole, kept the boys in subjection, if they became uneasy or worried by the long service or disturbed the congregation by efforts to keep themselves from freezing in the unwarmed building, with the cold twenty degrees below zero. In 1786, the Rev. Isaac Foster preached in the Meeting-house, and was settled at a salary of "£100 lawful money."

It was from this house that the self-murderer, Purington, and his murdered family, were buried, on the tenth of July, 1806.

On the erection of the South Parish Church, in 1809, the Meeting-house was abandoned to the owls and bats, and becoming dilapidated was declared, by a vote, to be a nuisance, and ordered to be taken down, which was done; and the materials disposed of, by sale. Afterwards they were re-purchased by the town, and erected into a town-house, on the lot now occupied by Captain J. Anthony. Until the town changed its form of government to a city, the building was occupied as a Town-house.

On the inauguration of the city government, in 1850, the building was sold at auction to Ai Staples, for one hundred and five dollars, and removed to the location from which it is now transported, and fitted up for a hall, for public use. For several years, it was the only hall in the city of sufficient size to accommodate the public; and concerts, lyceums, and public assemblages of every character, were held there. Here the people have listened to

the eloquence of Benton, Chaplin, Starr King, Beecher, Phillips, Cushing, Mann, and many other orators and statesmen. During the War, it was devoted, by its patriotic proprietor, to a hospital for sick and wounded soldiers. It has again taken up the line of march, toward a new location, which, strange to say, is the site of the whipping-post and pillory, of ancient times, where, as late as 1806, convicted criminals were punished by being whipped, "twenty stripes on the naked back." Here, for long years to come, its venerable front will continue to "greet the sun in his coming" and remain a monument of the taste and public spirit of the proprietor, who deserves the public thanks for preserving this relic of the past from destruction.—*Maine Farmer*.

PENN'S COTTAGE, PHILADELPHIA.

Passing down Chesnut-street, to a point just above Front, the pedestrian comes to Letitia-street, which is nearly built up with cotton and wool-warehouses, and is a perfect maze of commerce, during the week; but on Sunday it is perfectly still, in every part, except near Market-street, on the West side, where stands one of the oldest structures on the continent—the manor-house of William Penn, built expressly for him and to his order, most of the material having been brought here from England.

The old house is now almost ready to crumble with age; but, with proper care and some under-pinning and shoring up, it could be preserved for several centuries to come. It has been entirely neglected, for many years, and is at present occupied as a beer-saloon and low-priced boarding-house. It is called the "WILLIAM PENN HOTEL," and the sign is surmounted by a portrait which would do as well for Oliver Cromwell. Our reporter entered and looked around the place, but every thing was in such confusion that very little of the ancient walls and fittings could be identified. In the back part of the house, there were a score of little gamins; some playing, and others, exhausted, were sleeping on the floors, literally covered with house flies and filth. Along the area, or side-yard, great heaps of rubbish litter up the space which was once the garden of the founder of our city. In the saloon, a dozen draymen were quaffing their libations and making the sacred precincts ring again with ribald jokes and talk of good cheer; while the chunky little landlord divided his attention between taking in cash and "setting them up for the boys." Such scenes naturally knocked all the poetry out of the place; and the reader will be grateful for a digression toward a historical sketch of the old building.

"Build me a house in the middle of the town "which fronteth on the harbor," was Penn's order to his friend, Colonel Markham, who put the structure up as he had been directed, and lived to occupy it, as Deputy Governor of the State. In 1684, Penn wrote to James Harrison to "allow his cousin, Markham, to live in his "house, in Philadelphia, and that Thomas "Lloyd, the Deputy Governor, should have the "use of his periwigs, and any wines he may "have there left for the use of strangers."

This mansion, erected in the middle of the seventeenth century, still remains with us, and, with proper care, might be preserved to future renown, like the residences of Melancthon or Petrarch, in the Old World. Thousands of patriots, from all parts of our country, would seek it out, in 1876, and be glad to spend a few moments in the rooms once hallowed by the presence of the great Proprietary of Pennsylvania.

About the beginning of the eighteenth century, the ground around Penn's mansion was divided up into thirty city lots and sold. Four of them brought four hundred and fifty dollars. In 1721, the "Governor's lot" was presented by the Grand Jury as a nuisance because of the "excessive muddiness."

Many years ago, the "Penn Cottage" was purchased by the Penn Association; but it appears that they were never prepared to restore it, properly, and it was finally rented out, and has been used mostly as a boarding, or public house ever since. As the old slate-roofed Penn Mansion, at Second-street and Norris-alley, has been torn down, the Penn Cottage is the only relic left of the great and good Friend's residence in the city he laid out.—*Philadelphia paper*.

BUTLER'S YACHT AMERICA IN PORT.

"After a checkered career," says the *Glasgow Advertiser*, "the historic yacht America "turns up, at Bay View, as the pleasure-boat "General Butler and his more intimate friends. "She was originally the crack craft of "New York Yacht Squadron; and, under "charge of its first Commodore, Mr. John "Stevens, won for America, at the Cowes "regatta, in 1851, an honorable place in racing "annals. At this regatta, the America "took the first prize in a match open to "nations, fairly distancing all competitors. "This success was attributed, in part, to "her excellent model and her well-fitting sails. "her success resulted in a change, in several "respects, in English yacht building and "sailing.

"During the late war, the *America* became a "noted blockade runner; but on one of her

"cruises she was so closely pressed that she was run in shore and scuttled. She was raised and repaired by the Government, and, since the war, has been employed for experimental practice in connection with the United States Naval School, at Annapolis. She was recently offered for sale and purchased by General Butler, for five thousand dollars, and arrived at Gloucester, last week, where she is being fitted up for Summer service. She will be commanded by Captain Jabez Marchant, Jr., and will employ a crew of ten men."

THE WILL OF THADDEUS KOSCIUSZLIO.—Secretary Belknap, a few days since, received the following :

"CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., July 11, 1873.

"Hon. W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War :

"DEAR SIR—"Inclosed please find a certified copy of the will of Thaddeus Kosciuszlio, which, by a curious mistake, is always spelt, in English, 'Kosciuzko.' There is no doubt of this being a correct copy, in every respect, to the dotting of an 'i' and the crossing of a 't.'

"I have succeeded in finding the original of the handwriting of the Sarmatian hero. The copy will be of great interest, as an expression of the views of the writer on the slavery question, made seventy-five years since. It also shows, collaterally, Mr. Jefferson's own views on the same question.

"Mr. Jefferson declined to take upon himself the execution of the will, because of his declining years and great age.

"Truly, your friend,

"W. T. EARLY."

[COPY OF THE WILL.]

"I, Thaddeus Kosciuszlio, being just on my departure from America, do hereby declare and direct that, should I make no other testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hereby authorize my friend, Thomas Jefferson, to employ the whole thereof in purchasing negroes from among his own or any others, and giving them an education, in trades or otherwise, and in having them instructed, for their new condition, in the duties of morality which may make them good neighbors, good fathers or mothers, husbands or wives, and in their duties as citizens, teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and country, and of the good order of society, and in whatever may make them happy and useful, and I make the said Thomas Jefferson my executor of this.

"T. KOSCIUSZLIO.

"Fifth day of May, 1798."

BRAVE AND PIOUS.—Among the many unrecorded acts of true heroism, by unknown men, during the late War, we find the following which some eye-witness has chronicled in the *Edgefield* (S. C.) *Advertiser* :

"During Longstreet's Campaign, in Tennessee, while a portion of his Army was under a fearful fire of shells from the enemy, at Campbell's station, a private soldier, within a few feet of the Colonel of his Regiment, had both of his legs torn off. The Regiment was not fighting, but waiting orders. The wounded man was lifted a couple of yards, in the rear, to die. Another private now marched down the line under the hail of missiles, and said to the commanding officer : 'Colonel, may I have a few moments of prayer with that dying man?' The Colonel said, 'Are you a clergyman?' The private answered, 'I am.' 'Then,' said the Colonel, 'do as you desire.' And the man of God knelt and prayed with and for the dying man, five or ten minutes, without moving or swaying his body, seemingly totally unconscious of a storm of shot and shell, which, the Colonel tells us, he never saw surpassed in fury. In a few days, the praying private was announced, in Field Orders, as Chaplain of the Regiment—'promoted for gallantry and piety on the field.' The Regiment was the Hampton Legion. The Colonel was Gary. The private soldier was the Rev. W. M. Thomas, now Pastor of the Methodist churches of our circuit."

SCRAPS.—Aaron Burr's remains rest under an elegant monument, near the school of his boyhood, at Princeton, New Jersey. Mount Vernon, the tomb of the Father of his Country, is in sad repair. The bones of Lincoln are exposed to the ravages of the weather, at Springfield, Illinois; and his tomb is crushing in pieces. Not a stone has been added to the national Washington monument, for nearly a quarter of a century. Jefferson and Monroe sleep with the simplest tablets to mark their last resting-places. A shaft to the memory of John C. Calhoun stands in the most aristocratic cemetery in Charleston, South Carolina. So long as we can point to these remembrances of these eminent patriots, Burr and Calhoun, who shall say that republics are ungrateful or that ours is a country of "stub-tail monuments."—*Washington Republican*.

—St. Augustine, Florida, is the quaintest as well as the oldest town in America. It has its old-time city wall and gateway, after the manner of the cities of the middle ages. The streets are very narrow, many of them being only ten feet in width, while the widest are not twice

that. As if to make them appear still narrower, the second stories of nearly all the houses project over the thoroughfares, leaving little narrow chinks between, for the entrance of the sunlight. The appearance of the place is quiet and sleepy; its atmosphere and surroundings are those of a long past age; and the tourist remembers it as a quaint dream. Its business amounts to almost nothing. Its pride is in the distant past. A week or month spent in St. Augustine leaves the traveler with the feeling that he has been in another and older world. Its cathedral is one of the most ancient churches in this country.

—The Philadelphia *Sun* has printed a hitherto unpublished letter of General Anthony Wayne, dated at "HAVERSTRAW, NEAR STONY POINT, Oct. 1, 1780," in which he thus refers to Benedict Arnold and his treachery: "I can't say that I was much shocked on the occasion. I had long known the man; as early as 1776 he produced a conviction to me that honor and true virtue were strangers to his soul; and, however contradictory it may appear, he did not possess either fortitude or personal courage. He was naturally a coward, and never went into danger but when stimulated by liquor, even to intoxication; consequently not capable of conducting any command committed to his charge."

—"When I preached in Milwaukee, a few Sundays ago," says James Freeman Clarke, "it happened that three churches, of three different denominations, all sang the same hymn, the same evening—'Nearer, my God, to Thee, nearer to Thee.' That hymn was first published, in America, in our hymn-book. It was taken by me from a little volume called *Hymns and Anthems*, for which it was written by Mrs. Sarah Howe Adams, to be sung in the church of William J. Fox, an extreme radical in opinion. Now not an orthodox Society in America but values that hymn as one of its very best."

—The old bell on the Court-house, at Barnstable, is worn out; and a new one tolls in its place. It bears date 1675; and the *Patriot* says it bears an inscription evidently intended for "*Si Deus pro nobis quis contra.*"—If God be for us who can be against us? But the workman, who was probably a better moulder than scholar, made it to read, "*Si Deus Pro nobis Quis contra.*"

The ancient bell will be preserved in the Court-house.

—We have "excellent authority" for saying that Daniel Webster's last words were not "I still live," as popular tradition has them. It

seems that the attending physician, when asked, "Doctor, how long is this to last," made some evasive reply, whereupon Webster interrupted him with, "Doctor, what I wish to get at is the facts," a characteristic speech, and indicative of the ruling passion strong in death.

—Among the Alaska rivers are the Atutoacool-akuchargut, Nocotachigut, Kuyuyukuk, Connecovah, Unalachtut, and Golsova-Richka, along whose banks live, in almost Arcadian bliss, the Cuykanickpuka, Yukutskylitmi, Sakiatkylitmi, Ankachagamuka, Mekutonectzocorta, and other tribes with equally simple nomenclatures.

—The Caldwells, at Ipswich, Massachusetts, own the same house, on High-street, in that town, where dwelt their ancestor, John Caldwell, in 1654. Eight generations have been born there; and the oldest male of each generation of the family, has been named John.

—The *Life of Washington*, published at Yedo, in the Japanese language, is in forty-four volumes, illustrated. Washington is represented in the costume of the present day, wearing a moustache, sporting a cane, and accompanied by a Skye-terrier.

—There are five papers in Maine over fifty years old. The *Bangor Whig and Courier*, started in 1815; *Eastport Sentinel*, in 1818; *Portland Advertiser*, in 1785; *Eastern Argus*, in 1803; and the *Christian Mirror*, in 1821.

IX.—NOTES.

REGULATIONS ABOUT MUSIC, IN CHURCH, IN OLD TIMES, IN A PARISH IN CONNECTICUT.

"At a parish meeting, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1787, voted to sing in the public worship according to the rule by which they sing in the old society in L——" [*the one from which they had been set off.*] "Also made choice of Eleazar Hutchison to set the Psalm in the congregation." [*They did not use hymns then.*]

"Also made choice of Joseph Clark to set the Psalm when Mr. Hutchison is absent or cannot." With this arrangement they rested satisfied, so far as the records show, till 1774, when, on the twenty-eighth of June, a meeting of the Parish was held and it was put to vote, "whether they would sing by rule in the assembly; voted in the affirmative." "Also voted that the choristers should set such tunes as they think proper."

In 1791, at their annual meeting "voted a tax of one-half penny on the pound to encourage singing, and to be applied to that

"purpose only; and chose Enos Gary and Asahel Allen collectors of the tax."

In 1794, voted "that they desire Messrs. Samuel Bliss, Seth Collins and Samuel West, Jr., to take turns in leading the singing, on Sundays."

In 1798, "James Pinnex, Esq., John Newcomb, Settle Collins, Samuel Bliss, and Consider Little, were appointed a committee to promote singing."

In 1806, voted "to request Samuel West, Jr., Benjamin Lyman, Dan Porter and William Hunt, to lead in singing for the year ensuing."

These records show how careful people in old times were to keep the music in worship under the control of the authority of the church, as it ought always to be.

E. F. R.

FOUNDER OF THE FAMILY OF IRISH, IN NEW ENGLAND.

On the twentieth of April, 1629, John Irish, of the Parish of Clisdon, County of "Summer-set," "labourrer," bound himself to Timothy Matherly "in the parish of St. Gloves" for five years, "at the town of Plymouth called New England," for which he is to receive £5 r annum, and at the end of five years he is to have twelve bushels "of that country corn & five & twenty acres of land in the same country."

This abstract is made from the original indentures. Irish signed "by his marke."

BOSTON, MASS.

S. G. D.

JAMES HALL, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

That James Hall and his Wife † prudence Hall both lived in this Congregation Ever Since it was Erected and have behaved themselves Christianly and Soberly without any publicke scandal Known to us and have been pertackers Sealing ordenances amongst us and may be received into any Cristian Society wherever ordered in his providence Shall order their Lott, is certified this 20th day of August 1751 by the session att Conawago.

THOMAS BOWMAN
ROBERT MORDAH
JAS : MORDAH
HUGH HALL
JOHN M^r QUEEN

There may be a question respecting this name, as I do not find it in any of the topographical works published before 1660. The MS. appears plain. Perhaps, in your extensive inquiries, you may be able to illustrate it.—S.G.D.

These were the parents of Rev. James Hall, D.D., who held so important a place in western North Carolina, from 1778 to 1826. They came from Conewago, Pennsylvania, and settled on Fifth-creek, then in Anson-county,

This may Certifie any of the frontier Inhabitants or Whome it may Concern that I have Sold to Mr James Hall Six Cows and Calves and One Bull which I think he may be Suffered to Pass Peaceably and Quietly with to his own Habitation Upon the Cataba River, having had no Distemper Or Infection Amongst the Stocks in these Parts at all This Season Given Under my hand at Santee this 1st Day of June 1752.

RICH^d RICHARDSON.

December y^e 7/1752 Then Received of Mr James Hall The Sum of One pound One Shilling and Sixpence Virginia Currency. Being for one Entry of Erl Granvils Land and six shillings and three pence the Listy e Money Being in full for My Fees to Bring a Warrant for said Land I say Received By Me

JAS CARTER Sec

X.—QUERIES.

"THE

"ENGLISHMAN.

"NUMBER 1.

"Addressed to the FREEHOLDERS

"OF

"ENGLAND.

"SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1779."

[Colophon.]

"Printed for J. WILKIE, N^o 71, St. Paul's Church-yard; T. DURHAM, Cockspur-street, Charing-cross; and R. FAULDER, New Bond-street.

"To be continued on every Wednesday and Saturday. [Price Three Pence.] "

The above are the title and colophon of a folio sheet which I have seen credited to Charles James Fox. It was an able advocate of Whig principles and policy in opposition to the administration of Lord North, during the later years of our War of Independence. Although advertised to be published semi-weekly, the second number is dated "Saturday, March 20;" after this it seems to have appeared quite regularly on successive Wednesdays and Saturdays.

The first number is signed "D," and other letters are employed as signatures. The thirteenth number is the first one signed "F," which may be taken as the signature of Fox. Can any reader of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE inform me how long the publication of this paper was continued; and what evidence there is that its authorship is due to Fox alone?

GORHAM, MAINE.

L. B. CHOATE.

six miles East of where Statesville is. The above is copied exactly from the original.—E. F. R.

NEW YORK CITY, DURING THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

In Doctor Tuttle's very interesting paper, published in the July number of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, I find these words: "During the several years the city of New York was occupied by the British troops, they seemed to cherish a special spite against both the Presbyterian and the Dutch churches."—*Page 27.*

Will some of your readers, versed in such matters, oblige others by informing them, through your columns, concerning that particular desecration of Presbyterian and Dutch churches, by the Royal troops, at that time? If, too, they will extend their information so far as to cover all the churches which were then in New York, the contrast between the treatment extended to the Presbyterians and the Dutch, on the one hand, and that extended to other denominations, on the other, will, probably, enable us to understand the subject in all its bearings.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

ECCLES.

XI.—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living men and their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

BOOK-AUCTIONS AND THEIR ABUSES.

The London *Athenæum* says: "If we may believe a correspondent, people with libraries to sell will have to shun the auction-room, unless an end is put to such proceedings as are now permitted. It is well known to those who have books to sell, that the system of 'knock-outs' seriously interferes with the success of a sale. Few, however, know to what an extent this system prevails. A recent case is so flagrant, that our correspondent thinks it calls for some remark. A first folio Shakespeare, one of the finest copies, if not the finest copy extant, was knocked down, in a sale-room, a few days ago, for very little over twenty pounds. It was re-sold, at 'the knock-out,' for five hundred and twenty-five pounds. Thus the owner of the book obtained a score of pounds, while five hundred pounds was divided among the very honest gentlemen who took part in this creditable transaction."

It is said that the book-auctions in the United States are not wholly guiltless of wrong-doing to those who dispose of their property, there—probably not from such particular combinations of bidders as the *Athenæum* has referred to, but from some other cause which operates quite

as disastrously on the absent owner of the property disposed of. As an instance, we were told the other day, of a sale, by one of the book-auctioneers of this city, of a set of Dodsley's *Annual Register*, handsomely bound and in fine order, at *one cent per volume*; and we have heard that one of the principal buyers is not unfrequently mounted on the auctioneer's stool, in another auction-room, selling the very books which, through an assistant, he is buying for his own account.

XII.—BOOKS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCHENCK ARMSTRONG, & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Papers relating to the History of the Church in Massachusetts, A. D., 1676-1785.* Edited by William Stevens Perry, D. D. Privately printed. 1873. Quarto, xxv., 720.

We have already called the attention of our readers to the great work in which, as the official historiographer of the Church, our friend the Rev. Doctor Perry, is engaged; and we have successively noticed the sumptuously printed volumes of historical treasures which, under his editorial supervision, have been already devoted to the local histories of Virginia and Pennsylvania—volumes whose beauty of typography is in harmony with their great importance as material for the history of those ancient communities. It is now our equally agreeable duty to acknowledge the receipt of a third volume, not a whit less elegant, in its typography, nor particle less important, in the character of its contents, than those which have preceded it, with which it is uniform in style; and we take pleasure, too, in congratulating our friends in Massachusetts on this very welcome accession to the supply of that invaluable material, which constantly become more extended, which is steadily and surely enabling candid writers to expose the falsehoods of the greater number of those who have hitherto written on the history of Massachusetts and quite as surely holding in check those, in these our day, who, but for such collections as this, would as deliberately lie, without a blush, as did those who, not recently, assumed to be the annalists and the historians of that peculiarly be-praised community. Honest men, both within and without Massachusetts, will thank the General Convention for its opening to the public the treasures which are in its archives; and the brave man who edits the work so admirably will also earn for himself the grati-

tude of students of New English history, the world over, for the part in the undertaking which he has filled so well.

The plan of the work secures *verbatim* copies of all the papers, whether accurately spelled or otherwise; and the Editor adds Notes, either to correct or to enlarge the text, whenever he considers such amendment necessary. An elaborate Table of Contents precedes the text and as elaborate an Index closes the volume, leaving nothing to be desired for the convenience of those who shall resort to it for information.

As we have said, the typography is in the highest degree elegant; and, although the printer has modestly withheld his name, we incline to the opinion that it is the work of the Church Press, at Hartford.

2.—*Wynne's Historical Documents from the Old Dominion. No. IV.*

A Memoir of a portion of the Bolling Family in England and Virginia. Printed for private distribution. Richmond, Va.: W. H. Wade & Co. 1868. Small quarto, pp. 12, 68.

Several years since, the learned editor of this volume published, as the first of a series of works on the local history of Virginia, what is known as *The Williamsburg Orderly-book*, a handsome quarto devoted to the publication of an Orderly-book of the Revolutionary era.

Years elapsed and the recent Civil War served to render such works less desirable, before the series was continued; but, in 1866, the second and third volumes, devoted to the publication of *The Byrd Manuscripts*, were given to the world in all the typographical beauty which the Munsell Press could afford. Two years later, in 1868, the fourth volume was published, in a very small edition, mostly for the family whose annals it presented; and, if we are correctly informed, the fifth volume is now nearly completed. The first three of these volumes were duly noticed by THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, soon after their appearance: through the friendly attention of its Editor, we are now permitted to call the attention of our readers to the fourth, the titles of which head this notice.

The manuscript from which this Memoir of the Bolling family was taken was written, in French, by Robert Bolling, a gentleman of wealth and literary tastes, who lived in Buckingham-county, Virginia, a century since; and it passed, subsequently, into the hands of the Robertson family, of that State, by one of whom, Judge John Robertson, it was translated, seventy years ago. That translation fell into the hands of John Randolph of Roanoke, who retained it and added notes to it, by way of explanation or addition. In 1868, it was returned

to Judge Robertson, who had made the translation; and, by his permission, Mr. Wynne caused it to be printed, with the addition of elaborate Notes and copies of the family portraits, the latter carefully photographed for the purpose.

The founder of the family of Bolling, in Virginia, was Thomas, of London, who arrived in 1660; was married, in 1675, to Jane Rolfe, a grand-daughter of Pocahontas; and died, in 1709. His descendants were allied, by marriage, to the Kennons, Randolphs, Flemings, Jeffersons, and other leading families of the Colony; and this record, therefore, although brief, possesses, in itself, a wide-spread interest to all who are interested in the genealogy of the old families of that State. That interest will be extended by reason of the great body of historical and genealogical Notes which, besides those which were added by the celebrated scholar and statesman of Roanoke, Mr. Wynne has appended to it, in this publication, and of the numerous portraits, carefully copied from the originals, in photographs, with which it is illustrated; and it will be highly prized, as an authority in Virginian history and biography, by those who shall be fortunate enough to secure copies of it or can enjoy the privilege of referring to it.

The typography, because of faulty press-work, is not such as we expect to find in such a volume as this; but the photographs—a book-plate, a coat of arms, and sixteen family portraits—are very neatly executed.

The edition numbered only fifty copies, of which our copy is "No 10;" and because of the great number of those unto whom copies are desirable, because of their family relations, we understand the volume has become exceedingly rare, even in Virginia.

3.—*Contributions to the History of Dauphin County. Octavo, pp. 48.*

No. 2. Contributions to the History of Dauphin County. Octavo, pp. 5, 18.

The young and energetic Dauphin-county Historical Society, at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, led by the earnest but judicious counsels of such men as Doctor William H. Egle, A. Boyd Hamilton, Esq., and Rev. Doctor Robinson, is doing a good work in the interior of that staid old Commonwealth, and admirably seconding the progressive movements of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in Philadelphia.

Among other means employed by the young Society referred to, are the pens of some of its members, as contributors of local historical material to the local press, from which is produced a local interest in both the Society and its objects.

In the first of these volumes we find a paper by Mr. Hamilton, on the history of old *Fort Hunter*; one, from the same pen, on *Dixon, of Dixon's ford*—a notable family in Dauphin-county; one entitled *A word about Smith's Map of Dauphin-county, and Derry-church*, from the pen of Hamilton Alricks, of Harrisburg; an extract from Joseph Scott's *Geographical Description of Pennsylvania*, descriptive of *Dauphin-county, seventy years ago*; the *Paxton Matrimonial Record, 1769 to 1791*, kept by Rev. John Elder—a most important contribution to the small supply of Pennsylvanian genealogy; a relic from the papers of Parson Elder, entitled *Pre-revolutionary Soldiers*, of Pennsylvania; and Governor Snyder's Protest against the imposition of a Borough-tax on him, at Harrisburg, while he was Governor of the State. The second of the volumes—which is, probably, not yet complete, contains, as far as it has gone, a paper, read before the Society, on *Peter Besailon, the first settler of Dauphin-county*, by Mr. Hamilton; and two papers on the old receipt-book of John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg, by John W. Brown, Esq., embracing brief sketches of those early members of the good old Commonwealth, whose names are found in that dingy old volume.

Our readers will understand how usefully the members of this Society have been employed, while thus attempting to create a local interest in local history; and they will concur in the hearty welcome which we cheerfully extend to their homely little volumes, which are not less useful nor a whit less welcome because they are printed from the type employed in printing the original newspaper articles; on only one side of the paper; and without any pretension to typographical beauty.

4.—*Marshfield, sixty years ago*. A lecture delivered in Marshfield, April 28, 1872, by Rev. George Leonard. Published by request. Boston: 1872. Octavo, pp. 25.

"My subject, this evening, is *Marshfield, sixty years ago*, because *this period of time comes within my own remembrance*. I propose to speak to you about some of the former things relating to our town, and the manners, and customs, and occupations of the people, *which I know, from my own experience and observation, and which have transpired since I was old enough to notice them*." Thus spake the venerable author of this paper, when, more than a year ago, he arose before his townsmen, to tell them of their town and towns-people, "sixty years ago;" and what a glorious example that aged man, on that occasion, presented to other aged men, the Republic over, and what a treat those enjoyed who then heard him.

All the real-estate in the town had, during that period, changed hands—all who, sixty years ago, were land-holders therein, are now dead. Great improvements have been made and were noticed—warm meeting-houses have been substituted for cold ones; organs and melodeons have been exchanged, in church-choirs, for bass-violos and fiddles; black-boards and classes in Arithmetic, Geography, and History, steel-pens, and lead-pencils have all been introduced into schools; and wood-saws have taken the place of axes, for cutting firewood. There were, then, neither School Committees, nor School Superintendents, nor School Reports; children wore shoes in Winter, with leggins, and were barefoot in Summer; "manners" were taught at school; and there was, then, a rudeness in the pronunciation of familiar words which, to day, would create surprise and remark. There were, then, no cast-iron plows; no screw-augers; no threshing-machines; no fanning-mills; no corn-shellers; no hay-cutters; no mowing-machines; no horse-rakes; no washing-machines; no clothes-wringers; no sewing-machines; no churning-machines; no apple-parers; no meat-cutters; no shingle-mills; no planing machines; no circular-saws. "There were then no sofas and no vases in their parlors; no pictures, (or very rarely any) hung on their walls; no lounges in their sitting-rooms; and no cooking-stoves in their kitchens." Open fire-places, cranes, andirons, roasting-spits, and spiders were universal; brick ovens occupied places in every kitchen; and clocks were luxuries which only the wealthy could enjoy. There were, then, no friction matches; and flints, and steels, and tinder-boxes were as common as bellows and warming-pans. Wood was the only fuel: candles, home-made and rude in appearance, afforded the only light, by night. Spinning-wheels and looms, in households, "were quite common, in almost every house;" shoe-makers travelled from house to house, with their kits, to make and mend the rude shoes of the inhabitants; and those who inclined to be unusually stylish made the starch they used from potatoes which they selected and *grated* for that purpose. For molasses, sweet apple-cider was boiled down, and corn-stalks also were sometimes used for that purpose. There was no table-salt; no ground-spices; no flour-sifters; very little white sugar. There were no glass lanterns; and no collars to common harnesses. The barns were without cellars; and their doors never moved on rollers. The guns had nothing but flintlocks: percussion-caps had not been heard of. The houses were mostly unpainted; and all of them were without blinds—even the meeting-houses were not blessed with a coat of paint. The windows were glazed with puny panes of glass.

every nail had to be made on a blacksmith's anvil; and gimlet-pointed screws were among the hidden things of the future. There was not a wagon, of any kind, in the town; nor any buggies; and square-topped chaises and carts were the only vehicles then employed, except stone-drags, sleighs, and an occasional wheelbarrow. Not a daily paper then entered the town; and very few subscribed for any. Semi-weekly mails were its only mail facilities; and a stage coach, established in 1808 or '4, to run to Boston, was discontinued because it was not supported. There was no note-paper; no ruled paper, of any kind; no envelopes. There were no buffalo-robos; and horse-blankets were unknown. Women rode on pillions, behind their husbands, or fathers, or brothers, or alone, as now, on side-saddles. There were, then, no quack-medicines sold in the town; and there was no dentist. There was neither a town-house nor a poor-house in the town; and the town's poor were farmed out, to board, to the lowest bidder, at a public vendue, at the May town-meeting. Wages were low; and provisions were in proportion. They drank beer, at unerals; and the coffins were carried to the graves on men's shoulders. Silhouettes occupied the places, in portraiture, of photographs. There were no Sabbath-schools; few books adapted to children's use; and toys "were then few in number." Ship-building has declined; agriculture has improved; training-days have lost their charms. The inhabitants are more temperate than they were sixty years ago, and very much more fashionable. The population of the town has increased but very little—not more than a hundred and fifty more inhabitants occupy the town than were, there, sixty years ago—and emigration is still the prevailing habit.

From this brief summary of this admirable paper, it will be seen that, as a picture of a New England country town, sixty years ago, it possesses an unusual interest outside of New England as well as within it. The venerable author has laid all who shall hereafter occupy the place which he now occupies under the deepest obligations; and we assure him he has our warmest thanks and our best wishes for a prolonged enjoyment of the new things which have taken the places of those old things, so graphically described by himself, which have now passed away to be known no more for ever in Marshfield or in Massachusetts.

The pamphlet is a neat one.

5.—*Notes on the Newspapers of Somerset-county, Maine.* By Samuel L. Boardman. From the *History of the Press in Maine*, soon to be issued from the press of J. Griffin. Brunswick, Oct., 1872. Octavo, pp. 179-190.

In another place, in the June number of the

Magazine, we noticed *The History of the Press in Maine*, of which this is a small portion, separately made up and with a distinct title-page. It is from the pen of our friend, Samuel L. Boardman, of Augusta; and is descriptive of the press of Somerset-county, from the establishment of the first newspaper—*The Somerset Journal*—at Norridgewock, in 1823, until the Autumn of 1872. It is carefully written; bears evidence of careful research, in order to secure accuracy; and is an interesting addition to the local history of Maine.

The few copies which were thus separately bound, were designed for private circulation, among the friends of the author.

6.—*Historical Notes on the Constitutions of Connecticut 1639-1818 particularly on the origin and progress of the movement which resulted in the Convention of 1818 and the adoption of the present Constitution* By J. Hammond Trumbull Hartford Brown & Gross 1872 Octavo, pp. 60.

A Constitutional History of Connecticut, properly written, would present a curious commentary on the theory of republican institutions and show how great a difference there is between preaching and practising what is preached. Starting with a provisional Government, under a Commission from the General Court of Massachusetts, vesting in eight persons all powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—this model "republic" was governed, in the beginning, *without* "the consent of the governed;" by officers appointed, not by the governed, but by a foreign power; and in that centralized form which is the glory of all tyrannies.

This form of government was succeeded by a "General Court," composed of "Committees" from the several towns, as such, and not from an aggregate People. These Committees, too, were severally elected by the gentility of the several towns, to the exclusion of the *canaille*; and the General Court, itself, thus formed, assumed all the prerogatives of sovereignty—legislative, executive, and judicial; appointing all magistrates; and vesting them with authority.

In 1639, another change was made, vesting the supreme power of "the Commonwealth" in a General Court composed of a Governor, Magistrates, and Deputies from the several towns; but those who were permitted to vote for these were only such as a former General Court had approved and admitted to citizenship. All men were not equal "before the law" of Connecticut, at that time; nor was what was called "the Commonwealth" the sovereign power, since the several towns, as such, were really the source of all authority and only when they had

confederated and formed an alliance was the world favored with a sight of "Connecticut." There was, then, an established Church, supported by a public tax on all, whether assenting to its teachings or not. No one was eligible to the higher office of Governor who was not of the "approved" congregations. No one was eligible to the lower offices except he was of the gentility and had been elevated to the freedom of the Colony, by the General Court. In that General Court, too, rested the right to change the fundamental law, agreeable to its own sweet will, without reference to the body of the "freemen"—the greater body of "*all men*," in Connecticut, these brave republicans never recognized, in any form, unless as mudsills.

In 1662, a Charter was purchased from the King's Government, vesting the Company with certain legal rights, and guaranteeing its title to the territory it occupied. No change was made, through this Charter—none was desired by those who controlled the matter—in the status of the "*all men*" residing within the Colony; unless, what was probably true, the bar which had, hitherto, retarded the progress of the lower classes to political manhood was, thenceforth, not only continued in its place but *fastened* there, by the highest legal authority.

The declaration of her independence, of which a *very dirty tale might be told*, really abrogated that Royal Charter of 1662, and left Connecticut, as the other declarations of independence also left those who had made them, in "a state of nature;" but the Brahmins of that country knew, too well, the effect on their supremacy which such an abrogation, carried into practise, would have produced, and *studiously disregarded it*.

Our readers, who remember the elaborate paper, by Rev. Doctor Gillett, on the struggle for liberty of conscience, in Connecticut, which we printed in our number for July, 1868, will remember the desperation with which this body of model republicans, in Connecticut, struggled to retain the power it exercised through the established church, supported by a general tax: the struggle was equally determined in other parts of the field of strife; and nothing was too low for their genteel adoption, nothing too degraded, in morality and truth, for their employment of it, when the favored ones of the land of "steady habits" battled for the Charter and their own supremacy. By a combination of otherwise adverse elements—rabid Federalists with radical Democrats, ritualistic Episcopaleans with close-communion Baptists and loose-communion Methodists, "sore heads" with "sore-heads"—this curious power—existing, without a Constitution and without a specific "consent"—was beaten on its own ground, after

forty years of contention; and, in 1818, by a very close vote, a new *Constitution* was prepared and ratified. That Constitution is still the supreme law of the State.

The tract before us contains a brief survey of the history of the successive "Constitutions" of the State and of the successive changes. It is, in fact, a brief survey of the Constitutional History of Connecticut, honestly told, as far as it is told, at all, by one of the most honored and most worthy of Connecticut's sons. It is said to be a fragment—unfinished and imperfect—but, even in that form, it is the most complete and most authentic history of that subject which we know of; and we can only regret that so entirely competent a hand as Mr. Trumbull's was allowed to rest, until the satisfactory completion of the work which has been so admirably begun had rendered any further investigation of the subject unnecessary.

We are indebted to its author for our copy of this useful tract; and we thank him for it.

7.—*A Half-century Memorial.* An Address delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society, at its fiftyth anniversary, July 19, 1872, by Zachariah Allen, and a Poem, delivered on the same occasion, by Henry C. Whitaker; together with other proceedings. Providence: Providence Press Company. Octavo, pp. 48.

The Society whose fiftieth birth-day was celebrated, in July, 1872, the record of which celebration has been published in this tract, is one of the most respectable of those bodies which are devoted to the history of our own country. It has discharged its stated duty, well, and been diligent in the prosecution of its enquiries in other fields of historical labor—fields long since become waste and now inviting fresh laborers. It was well, therefore, for it to stop, and tell how old it was, and recount its services; and it was well, too, that Rhode Island should stop her spindles and close her counting-rooms, for an hour or two, in order to be reminded that she has a Past which is quite as glorious as it is possible for her Future to be.

The Society met to celebrate its "Golden Wedding," as we have said; and we are glad to know it had a really good time. Professor Diman presided, in the absence of the President; the Hon. Zachariah Allen delivered an admirable Oration; Mr. Henry C. Whitaker read a Poem; Messrs. George Baker and Joseph Sweet, Governor Jackson, Chief-justice Brainerd, Hon. Robert Sherman, and Judge Durfee related some incidents of the olden time; and then, after having supped, those who were present "went out."

As we have said, the Society deserves the respect of all who care anything for those who

honor American history, unselfishly; and we thank its respected Librarian, Rev. E. M. Stone, for this memento of its "golden wedding-day."

In this form—it originally formed a part of the *Proceedings* of the Society, noticed in another place, in this number—only a few copies were printed, for private circulation.

8.—*Sketch of the life of the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D., Rector of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, New Jersey, 1751-1790.* By Albert Harrison Hoyt. Boston: 1878. Octavo, pp. 14.

This very interesting sketch of one of the most distinguished of the "loyalists" of the Revolutionary period—when "loyalty" to "the best of Governments" was considered a crime, instead of an honor, and subjected those who indulged in it to persecution and exile instead of indulgence and fat offices—was written for *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* and appeared in the July number of that excellent work: in the separate form in which it now appears, it is the product of private taste, fifty copies having been thus printed, for its author, for private circulation.

Of Doctor Chandler, both as a scholar and a Pastor, we need say nothing, as his reputation is so well established that not even his unpopular political opinions have been sufficiently unpopular to obscure it; and when we say that Mr. Hoyt has presented the record of his blameless life, his sturdy devotion to his flock and to his Sovereign, and his intellectual attainments, with precision, impartiality, and evident accuracy, as we believe to have been the case, we can give him no higher praise.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

9.—*Collections of the Georgia Historical Society.* Vol. III. With an Appendix. Savannah: 1878. Octavo, pp. vi., 492.

It affords us pleasure when we see this volume, the first-fruits, if we do not mistake, of that new growth of historical research, in the South, which is slowly springing up from the remains of that love of the Past which, before the recent War, was very prevalent, there. It is the earnest of other good things yet to come, we hope—not that we dare hope for better things than this, but more of them than we have hitherto had.

The volume before us contains the correspondence of General Oglethorpe with the Trustees of the Colony, from October 29, 1735, until August 24, 1744; the correspondence of Sir James Wright, the Royal Governor of the Colony, with the Home Government, from December,

1773, until March, 1782; an address, on Casimir Pulaski, by Charles C. Jones, Jr.; and one by Doctor Richard D. Arnold.

Of the correspondence of General Oglethorpe—embracing the most accurate information concerning the colonization of Georgia; its relations, at that time, with the Indians, the Carolinas, and the Spaniards; and the temper and actions of its Trustees, in England—there can be only one opinion among those who are interested in the Past of our country: carefully copied, as it was, from the unpublished papers of the Colonial Office, in London, it affords minute information of the early days of the Colony which, because of its accuracy, possesses the highest importance.

Of the correspondence of Sir James Wright—embracing the record of Georgia's youth; her impatience under the restraints of the Mother country; and her earnest, sometimes reckless, lawlessness, while seeking to shift the control of her affairs from the King's shoulders to her own—we cannot speak too highly, in view of its vast importance, as original material concerning the history of the Revolution, in the South. Indeed, we know of nothing, unless the dispatches of our own Colden, which affords such a carefully constructed picture of the lawlessness of the fathers of the Republic, in "the days which tried men's souls," about which we have heard so much; and we may learn, therefrom, also, what it cost to be "loyal," in those times, when the unbridled will of the People, regardless of the written law, was made the supreme law of the land. We may learn, also, therefrom, how "circumstances alter cases," and see, therein, a perfect illustration of the old fable of your bull goring my ox.

Of Mr. Jones's address, we have very little to say. He had a small subject; and he made as much of it as any one could have done, with only general information and without research. He should have remembered, however, that *quality* rather than *quantity*, was desirable on that occasion; and he should have diluted his real subject with a more sparing hand. High sounding words and well-rounded sentences are well enough in their way and in their proper places; but something more than these are needed in historical papers; and a Society which has intelligence enough, even in its feebleness, to offer the Oglethorpe and Wright papers as its unheralded contribution to the stock of material for history concerning our own country, was certainly entitled to something better—more was needless—on her anniversary, than the pompous platitudes which, with Casimir Pulaski for a text, Mr. Jones must have bored her, on that occasion.

Of Doctor Arnold's paper, concerning the

origin and progress in usefulness of the Georgia Historical Society, was peculiarly appropriate, coming, as it did, from one of the three founders of the Society. in 1839; and, with excellent taste, the Doctor described the events to which his brief hour was nominally devoted, without the employment of a line of poetry or a figure of rhetoric.

As a whole, this volume is worthy of the excellent Society which has issued it; and if it had closed it with an Index, such as its contents are entitled to, we could have desired nothing more in such a volume.

10.—*Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*. New Series. Parts I-IX. Quebec: 1868—1871-2. Octavo, pp. [I.,] 1, 118; [II.,] 3, 160; [III.,] 2, 155; [IV.,] 169; [V.,] 85; [VI.,] 68, 18; [VII.,] 138, 15; [VIII.,] 187, 24; [IX.,] 132, 82.

By-laws of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec: to which is prefixed A Copy of the Royal Charter of Incorporation of the Society, as also, an Act amending the same. Quebec: 1868. Octavo, pp. 23.

Report of the Council of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, for the year 1862, Submitted at the Annual Meeting held on the 11th of January, 1863. Quebec: 1863.

— for the year ended 12th of January, 1869. Quebec: 1869. Octavo, pp. 12.

Manuscripts relating to the early history of Canada, viz:

[I.] *Extract from a Manuscript Journal, relating to the operations before Quebec in 1759*, kept by Colonel Malcolm Fraser, then Lieutenant of the LXXVIIIth (Fraser's Highlanders) and serving in that Campaign. Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno [1866?] Octavo, pp. 87.

[II.] *Journal du Siège de Quebec en 1759* par M. Jean Claude Panet. Montreal: Eusèbe Sénécal. 1866. Octavo, pp. 24.

[III.] *The Campaign of Louisbourg—1750-'8*. [By the Chevalier Johnstone.] Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno, [1866?] Octavo, pp. 28.

[IV.] *The Invasion of Canada, in 1775*. A letter supposed to have been written by Lieut. Col. H. Caldwell to General Murray. Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno [1866?] Octavo, pp. 19.

[V.] *A Dialogue in Hades*. A parallel of military errors, of which the French and English armies were guilty, during the Campaign of 1759, in Canada. [By the Chevalier Johnstone.] Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno [1866?] Octavo, pp. 55.

[VI.] *The Campaign of 1760, in Canada*. Sine loco [*Quebec?*] sine anno [1866?] Octavo, pp. 24.

[VII.] *Capture of Quebec, in 1759*. Quebec: 1868. Octavo, pp. 19.

[VIII.] *Manuscrit de Paris.—Publié sous la direction de la Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec. Histoire du Montréal 1640-1672*. Montreal: Eusèbe Sénécal. 1871. Octavo, pp. 128.

[IX.] *Relation sur le Canada, 1682-1712*. Quebec: 1871. Octavo, pp. 82.

[X.] *Journal of the Siege of Quebec, 1760*. By General James Murray. Quebec: 1871. Octavo, pp. 45.

[XI.] *Journal des Opérations de l'Armée Américaine lors de l'Invasion du Canada en 1775-76* Par M. J. B. Badeaux, Notaire de la ville des Trois-Rivières. Montreal: Eusèbe Sénécal. 1871. Octavo, pp. 48.

There are few Societies which have encountered as many obstacles as the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; and its hold on life is, therefore, the more praiseworthy.

It was organized on the sixth of January, 1824; published its first volume of *Transactions*, in 1829; was Chartered, in 1831; issued its second volume of *Transactions* during the same year; and its third in 1837; published its three volumes of *Historical Memoirs*, in, respectively, 1838, 1840, and 1848; was almost destroyed, successively, by the political troubles which convulsed the Province from 1830 to 1840, by the removal of the Government from Quebec, in 1839, and by the establishment of the rival Quebec Library Association; was revived, in 1852, by the temporary return of the Government; dragged its fourth volume of *Transactions* through the press, at long intervals—Part I., in February, 1848, Part II., in March, 1854, Part III., in January, 1855; was returned to its ill-fortune, again, in 1854, by being burned out, and in 1855, by the removal of the Government from Quebec; and subsequently, again revived, under the lead of Mr. Faribault and with the aid and comfort of the Government, then once more returned to Quebec.

In 1862, the Society took a "new departure," sending out the first Part of the fifth volume of its *Transactions*—included in which was a collection of *Documents sur Jacques Cartier*—and a tract containing a *Mémoire du Sieur Ramsey, Commandant à Québec*, which it had procured from the Archives du Bureau de la Marine, at Paris; but toward the close of that year, its Library and Museum were again seriously injured by fire.

In 1863, it commenced the issue of a "new Series" of its *Transactions* which has been continued until now, generally with a yearly "Part;" and, in 1866, it commenced the publication of another series of volumes, entitled *Manuscripts relating to the early history of Canada*, of which eleven are already issued.

The Society, thus peeled by adverse circumstances, but neither disheartened nor dismayed, is now as earnestly and actively engaged, as ever, under the Presidency of William James Anderson, a distinguished Surgeon of Quebec, and the volumes before us are those of its most recent publication—those of an earlier period are very scarce and seldom seen.

The *Transactions* embrace papers on scientific

subjects, as well as historical and topographical: the *Manuscripts* are documentary, in English and French, relating to the early history of Canada, both under the French and British rule; and both to Canadians and to those of the United States who remember that there was a time when Canada was the field on which the united Colonists and Royal troops met, and fought, and overcame a common enemy, as well as a time when Canadians and "Americans" were fellow-subjects of the same Sovereign and stood shoulder to shoulder in a common cause; or, as loyal and insurgent, met on the same fields, in arms, seeking, respectively, to sustain and to overthrow the royal authority which, a few months before, they had as earnestly sought to establish—to those, we say, these volumes are, and will continue to be, both interesting and important, as material for the history of their respective countries.

We have great pleasure in calling the attention of our readers, or such of them as collect such material, to this Society and its publications.

11.—*Annual Statement of the Trade and Commerce of St. Louis, for the year 1865.* Reported to the Union Merchants' Exchange by Geo. H. Morgan, Secretary. St. Louis, Mo.: R. P. Studley & Co. 1866. Octavo, pp. 116, xv.

_____, *for the year 1866,*
St. Louis, Mo.: R. P. Studley & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 165.

_____, *for the year 1867,*
St. Louis, Mo.: R. P. Studley & Co. 1868. Octavo, pp. 106.

_____, *for the year 1868,*
St. Louis: R. P. Studley & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 96, xxix.

_____, *for the year 1870,*
St. Louis: R. P. Studley & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 187, xvi.

_____, *for the year 1871,*
St. Louis: The R. P. Studley Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. 108, xvi.

_____, *for the year 1872,*
St. Louis: The R. P. Studley Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 123, xvii.

There can be no more important material for the history of a business community than the statistics of its trade and commerce; and when those statistics can be found, carefully collected and properly classified, they cannot properly be overlooked by those who profess to be faithful historians. We were exceedingly gratified, therefore, when, through our friend, John T. Douglass, Esq., we were favored, by the excellent Secretary of the Union Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, George H. Morgan, Esq., with what needs only one number to make it a complete

series of the Annual Reports of that body, from its organization, in 1862.

Like others of this class, these Reports present, year by year, carefully-prepared Reports of every subject which concerns tradesmen and merchants in St. Louis, now the fourth city in the Union, in point of population—that of 1872, for instance, containing tables of the population; assessed value of real and personal Property; the receipts of Coal, 1868–1872; Freights received and shipped, 1871 and '2; the building statistics; the transactions at the Custom-house, 1861–1872; Customs Warehouse transactions; the operations of the Carondelet Furnaces; Meteorological Reports; Tonnage of the Western Rivers; Arrivals and Departures of Steamboats, 1872; Receipts of Lumber; shipments by New Orleans, Memphis, and Vicksburg, Arkansas, Red, White, and Ouachita-river packets, 1872; Rates of Freight, 1872; chronological table of Steamboat Disasters on the Mississippi and its tributaries, 1872; bulk grain receipts, at the St. Louis, East-street, Venice, and Advance elevators; receipts of Grain, etc., at St. Louis Warehouse; weekly receipts of leading articles, at St. Louis, 1872; weekly stock of Grain in elevators and public warehouses; Grain Inspector's Report, 1872; entire movement of Grain and Flour, 1872; Receipts and Exports of Grain and Flour, in detail, 1865–1872; Receipts of Flour and Grain, in aggregate, 1856–'72; a report and elaborate tables illustrative of the manufacture of Flour, 1851–1872, and other features in the flour trade; similar reports and tables concerning Grain—Wheat, Oats, Corn, Rye, and Barley; Provisions and Packing—Pork, Bacon, and Lard; Live Stock; Cotton; Highwines; Hemp and Bagging; Lumber; Wool; Hides; Tobacco; Groceries; Hay; Salt; Potatoes and Onions; Seeds; Dried Fruits; Apples; Beans; and Lead; the monthly receipts and exports, by river and railroad, 1872; receipts and shipments by each railroad, article by article, 1872; besides others of minor significance—and it will be apparent to the most casual reader that a series of such Reports possesses great importance and constitute "lo-cals" of the highest value.

We cheerfully bear testimony to the admirable completeness of each of the Reports in the series now under consideration, a completeness which has been secured only by a great expenditure of experienced and intelligent labor.

We shall be obliged to any one who will supply us with the Report for 1869; and if the Reports of former organizations, of this class, prior to 1862, can be added, we shall be glad to give a liberal equivalent for them.

12.—*Proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society, 1872-3, together with an account of its Semi-centennial Anniversary*, prepared by Edwin M. Stone, Librarian, under the direction of the Committee on Publication. Providence: Providence Press Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 144.

That this well-known Society has not gone the way of all flesh, and has joyfully celebrated its fiftieth birthday, is truly refreshing; and we welcome this record of its proceedings with great pleasure.

Opening with a large list of members, of all classes, and a roster of all its officers, from its organization until now, the record of the doings of the Society, from April 2, 1872, to January 21, 1873, follows; and that is supplemented with an exhibit of the Treasurer's accounts—the expenditures for salaries may be usefully examined by some others, of whom we have heard mention—and elaborate Reports by the Librarian of the Northern Department—in which are introduced two letters of unusual interest to all who care for Roger Williams or Rhode Island, a carefully prepared history of the Society, an extended sketch of the celebrated Dighton-rock inscriptions, and one of the "Old mill," at Newport—and of the semi-centennial celebration of the organization of the Society.

As we said, we are gratified with this evidence of the vitality of this good old Society; and our best wishes for its continued prosperity are heartily tendered to it.

13.—*The Prince Society*. S. l. a. a. Small quarto, pp. 12.

The Constitution, Rules, and Regulations, Lists of Officers and Members, and Catalogue of the Publications of the Prince Society, at Boston.

14.—*An Address delivered before the Law Class of the University of Wisconsin, June 16, 1873*, by Hon. Edward G. Ryan. Published under the auspices of the Law Class. Madison, Wis.: 1873. Octavo, pp. 26.

An admirable paper, which may be read, usefully, by lawyers, old or young, everywhere.

15.—*Society of the Army of the Cumberland. Fifth Re-union*. Detroit: 1871. Published by Order of the Society. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 246.

It is a pleasant feature in the social history of the country that, once a year, the remnants of the armies of the Republic meet, in order to revive old recollections and to create new ones concerning their gallant deeds, in the field, and those who did them. Once a year,

the fragments of the gallant Army of the Cumberland meet, as the custom is; and the volume before us contains the report of the proceedings of the fifth of those re-unions. Sheridan was there, with Hooker and Davis, Barnum and Wood; and there were talking and shouting, eating and drinking, sense and nonsense, *in quantum sufficit*. General Barnum pronounced the official Oration; after-dinner speeches were delivered by Generals Stoughton, Cooke, Meade, Force, Lee, Sheridan, and Wood, Governor Baldwin, Colonel Larned, and others less widely known to fame; letters, from great men of the Republic and from pigmies, were read and recorded; the cash was received and accounted for; and the assembled officers "went out."

As we said, such re-unions, where men can act like men and forget their partisanship, are commendable; and we trust the memories of past associations will be thus refreshed, year by year, while two remain, uncalled for to their reward.

As a specimen of book-making, this volume is a pattern of neatness, as Robert Clark & Co's work generally is.

16.—*Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the National Board of Trade, held in St. Louis, December 1871*. Boston: 1872. Octavo, pp. xvi., 220.

Our readers have been made acquainted already, with the confederated body which is known as "The National Board of Trade." It is composed of delegates from the various local Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce which constitute its membership; and, as a kind of commercial Congress, it examines, discusses, and acts on various questions, introduced by the constituent members, which serve to affect the business interests of the Republic.

The volume before us, for which we are indebted to the excellent Secretary of the Board, furnishes an ample record of the fourth annual Convocation of that body; and we find in it, discussions, by practical men of business, of the questions of the improvement of the Levees of the Mississippi-river, "a National Pacific Railroad," the Wisconsin and Fox-river improvement, the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, protection of the use of the telegraph, the proposed postal telegraph, State inspections of Merchandise, Quarantine Regulations, the Shipping interests, duties on Canadian timber, the Fisheries, the payment of the Federal Debt, Currency, Tariff revision, etc. Some portions of these discussions are, probably, good for nothing; other portions, quite as likely, are sensible, good, and valuable. A gassy merchant, like a gas?

editor, is not likely to say much which is worth anything; but there are some merchants, as well as some editors, who are not gassy; and their words are apt to be words of wisdom.

We have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers, who are generally thinking men, to the valuable material which this volume contains; and especially to capitalists and to those who are engaged in trade will it be found valuable.

17.—*A Semi-Centennial Discourse before the First Congregational Society in Bridgewater, Delivered on Lord's Day, 17th September, 1871.* By Richard Manning Hodges, a former Minister of the Society. With historical Notes. Cambridge: 1871. Octavo, pp. 58.

Our honored friend, the author of this discourse, fifty years before its delivery, had been ordained Pastor of the Society; and it was a graceful tribute to his sterling worth to fitly notice that event. And who could so properly review the past fifty years, on that extraordinary occasion, as the venerable divine whose jubilee was thus to be commemorated?

In doing this, after having glanced at the three Ministers who had preceded him, in the pastoral office, in Bridgewater—Messrs. Benjamin Allen, 1717-1780; John Shaw, 1781-1791; and Zedechias Sangar, 1788-1820—Mr. Hodges alluded to the changes in the County of Plymouth, during the past fifty years; the decease of all except two of the Ministers who officiated at his ordination; the departure of nearly all who were then allied to him by the ties of studies and professional labors; the excitement which then prevailed, by reason of the "Unitarian Controversy;" and to the spirit in which he then engaged in his pastoral duties. He then glanced at the peculiarities of the Unitarian faith and his own unfaltering confidence on its claims to truthfulness; at the peculiarities of the orthodox creed, and the changes which have been made in it, during the past few years; and concluded with greetings to his hearers—the children and grand-children of those who, fifty years before, had seen him dedicate himself to the service of God—and to their Pastor, his successor in office.

18.—*Memorial of Hon. William Kelly, presented to the New York State Agricultural Society, at the Annual Meeting, January 20, 1873,* by Marions B. Patrick, ex-President. Published by the Society. Albany: Joel Munsell, Printer. 1873. Octavo, pp. 51.

A beautiful tribute to the memory of one of the best of men, by that body of which he had been the presiding officer, and by whom he was well known.

19.—*The General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts.* 1873. *Minutes of the Seventieth Annual Meeting, Pittsfield, June 18-30; with the Report on Home Evangelization and on the State of Religion and Statistics of the Ministers and Churches.* Boston: Congregational Publishing Society. 1873. Octavo, pp. 133.

A very complete Report of the work of the several orthodox Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, during 1871-2, their strength of membership, contributions, etc.

As a careful compend of the Ecclesiastical statistics of the leading denomination of Massachusetts, for 1871-2, its importance will be evident to every one.

20.—*Journal of the Eighty-second Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, held in Trinity Church, Boston, May 1 and 2, 1873, with an Appendix.* Boston: 1873. Octavo, pp. 230.

The annual exhibit of the condition of another branch of the Christian Church, in the State of Massachusetts, during 1871-2; and, like the last-named, important for reference to all who seek information concerning the ecclesiastical history of that venerable and virtuous Commonwealth.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

21.—*Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the year 1871.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., 534.

The Governmental Agricultural Annual for 1871, the general character of which is well known, the country over, either in its present form or as the Agricultural Report of the Patent-office, under which title it was formerly published.

The volume before us is well filled with material which will be found interesting and useful to "well-to-live" farmers, in all parts of the United States; but as it is readily procurable by every one who will take the trouble to ask for it, we need not occupy our space by a more detailed description of its contents.

22.—*Laws of the State of New York affecting interests in the City and County of New York, passed by the Legislature of 1873.* Published by authority of the Board of Supervisors. New York: 1873. Octavo, pp. (3) vi., 242.

A very significant record of the departure from "a republican form of government"—self-government—of those who assume to be the law-givers of the ancient city of New York; and quite as significant a record of the reckless disregard of her chartered rights, both of self-

government and of property, by those who, by fair means or by foul, have become, in law and in fact, the law-makers of New York.

The local authorities have done well to collect the yearly infliction, in order that those who are the victims may be made acquainted with the subject and with their own liabilities.

23.—*Statutes relating to the Albany County Penitentiary*, with Forms of Commitment, Record of Conviction, Contract with Boards of Supervisors, etc., etc. Compiled and prepared by Nathaniel C. Moak, District-attorney of Albany-county, at the request of Amos Pillsbury, Superintendent. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1872. Octavo, pp. 53.

Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Inspectors and Superintendent of the Albany Penitentiary, with the accompanying documents, made December 11, 1872. With Report in relation to the International Penitentiary Congress. Albany: J. Munsell. 1872. Octavo, pp. 76.

The peculiar character of the Albany Penitentiary is so well known that we need do no more than call the attention of such of our readers as are interested in the subject, to the works before us. They commend themselves to all who are engaged in reformatory labors; and the observations of General Pillsbury, on the mode of securing the desired results, commend themselves to every one.

24.—*Report of the State Librarian, to the General Assembly, relating to the Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, and to Divorce, for the year ending December 31st, 1871.* May Session, 1871. Printed by Order of the Legislature. Hartford: 1872. Octavo, pp. 82.

A very important record of the progress of population as well as of morals, in Connecticut.

25.—*Proceedings at the Dedication of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument by the City Council of Charlestown, June 17, 1872.* Charlestown: 1872. Octavo, pp. 29.

In 1869, the Common Council of the City of Charlestown appropriated twenty thousand dollars for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of the soldiers and sailors, from that place, who fell or died during the recent War; and this pamphlet describes the ceremonies attending the public dedication of that monument, on the anniversary of Bunker's-hill Battle, last year.

The Presentation Address, by the Mayor, was business-like and appropriate; and the Oration, by Hon. Richard Frothingham, was well-written and in excellent taste, such, indeed, as we might reasonably have expected from so well-read a scholar and so excellent a man.

With the exception of the entire omission of

a description of the monument, this record of the services is all that could have been wished concerning the ceremonies referred to.

26.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for the year ending December 31, 1871.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1872. Octavo, pp. 52.

The Annual Report of the local military establishment of Massachusetts; and as nothing of general interest appears in it, we need say nothing more concerning it.

27.—*Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Westchester, for the year 1871.* Charles E. Johnson, Clerk. New York: 1872. Octavo, pp. 691, \$5-188.

This volume contains the record of the doings of the local government of this County, at its annual session, in November last. It consequently possesses considerable importance to the tax-payers of this over-burdened community; but its value to some of those who are not thus privileged is, also, not inconsiderable, because of the instalment of the ancient Minutes of the Board which it contains. Those ancient Minutes, agreeably to a Resolution adopted in 1869, are to be printed in small instalments, and appended to the current Journals, year by year, until they shall have been completed; and the period embraced in the volume before us, is that between October, 1794, and October, 1807.

28.—*Special Report on Immigration, accompanying information for Immigrants relative to the prices and rates of land, the staple products, facilities of access to market, cost of farm stock, kind of labor in demand in the Western and Southern States, etc., etc.* To which are appended Tables showing the average weekly wages paid to the several States and Sections for factory, mechanical and farm labor; the cost of provisions, groceries, dry goods, and house-rent, in the various manufacturing districts of the country, in the year 1869-'70. By Edward Young, Ph. D., Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1872. Octavo, pp. xxvii., 232.

The character of this very important volume is made known in its title-page; and little remains for us to do, except to mention the fact that it has been prepared from Returns to Circulars, sent out by the Bureau of Statistics, to the several Assessors of Internal Revenue; and that the information communicated by those officers has been concentrated in this volume, in a form which must ensure for it a very extensive and very beneficial influence.

We have seldom seen a more useful volume.

than this is; and it will be servicable to others than immigrants, and to those who were to the manor born as well as to the foreign-born stranger, seeking a home and a fortune among us.

We are indebted to the learned author for the copy of the work which is before us; and we heartily thank him for it.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

29.—*The Holy Bible according to the authorized version (A.D. 1611), with an explanatory and critical Commentary and A Revision of the Translation, by Bishops and other Clergy of the Anglican Church.* Edited by F. C. Cook, M. A., Canon of Exeter. Vol. III. II. Kings—Esther. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., 499.

We have already noticed this excellent work; and we have pleasure in returning to it, now.

The volume before us contains the third of the series, embracing II. Kings, I., II., Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, carefully annotated by Rev. George Rawlinson, Canon of Canterbury and Camden Professor of Ancient History, at Oxford; and the excellence of the annotations, both in the matter which they contain and in the arrangement of it, is amply guaranteed by the name of their author.

Each of the Books is preceded by an *Introduction*, by Canon Rawlinson, containing, generally, carefully-considered and well-written divisions on the scope of the work, the date of its composition, its author, its characteristics, the condition of the text, the authenticity of the history, etc.; and foot-notes, as carefully-prepared as the *Introductions*, accompany the text of the several Books. In all these, there is no effort to display scholarship; and the effect is that, in these volumes, there is more real, solid, useful information, for sober, bible-reading Christians, presented with great modesty, than in any other Commentary, designed for general use, with which we are acquainted. Indeed, there is something in this work which fills our standard of what such a work should be. We are not an Episcopalian of either the American or "the Anglican church," yet we have not seen a syllable in the entire work, as far as it has been published, which has jarred our prejudices or aroused our dissent. The aim, both of the Editor in chief and those who assist him, is, evidently, to instruct the every-day reader as well as him who is well-read; and, while there is frequent citation of the original Hebrew and discussion of its meaning, it is done with so much quiet modesty and with such evident desire to make *all* understand what is said, that even the unlearned become interested in what, otherwise, would become very tedious. The excellent taste displayed in getting up the volumes adds to the pleasure we experience in

examining them; and we are quite sure those of our readers who are interested in biblical literature will thank us for calling their attention to such an admirable work.

30.—*An Essay towards an Indian Bibliography.* Being a Catalogue of Books, relating to the History, Antiquities, Languages, Customs, Religion, Wars, Literature, and Origin of the American Indians, in the Library of Thomas W. Field. With Bibliographical and Historical Notes, and Synopses of the contents of some of the works least known. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., 430.

The author of this volume has made the various publications relating to the aborigines of America a special study, for several years; and few collectors or librarians, if any, can exhibit so complete a collection of them, on his own book-shelves. It was very reasonable, therefore, that Mr. Field should incline to tell the world what he had learned of the *bibliography* of that interesting class of American historical, ethnological, and philological literature; and those into whose hands this handsome volume shall fall will thank him for what he has done, in this peculiar field of labor, notwithstanding the defects in it which will be seen by every experienced collector.

As this volume assumes to be merely "a Catalogue of Books * * * in the library of 'Thomas W. Field,'" it must not be regarded as anything else than that; and as it is very evident to all who read the Preface that the plan originally laid out by the author has been "greatly abridged"—the entire second class of works referred to, in that Preface, for instance, having evidently been dropped, as, also, is the last-named of the classes, in many instances—it can hardly be regarded as even a fair "Catalogue of Books in Thomas W. Field's Library." The system adopted in the arrangement of the title-pages, also, is an unusual one and, if we must say it, an exceedingly poor one; and, although the notes appended to the various titles are generally stored with useful information, they are too often loaded down, also, with words of considerably less importance; while the translations of titles originally printed in other languages than the English are not always rendered accurately and, very often, are quite imperfect.

We do not desire to under-estimate the usefulness of this Catalogue, as far as it goes, as soon as the system on which it was constructed has been learned; but we cannot help regretting that more was not made of the unusual opportunity which, in this case, was opened to Mr. Field, to have made such a bibliography of the literature pertaining to the ethnology, history, biography, philology, characteristics, and fall of the American Indians as would have immortalized

talized both him and his library. Such opportunities are very seldom afforded: we suspect Mr. Field will never find another.

The typography of the volume is the best of the Riverside Press; and few will desire any handsomer.

81.—*William H. Seward's Travels around the World.* Edited by Olive Risley Seward. With two hundred illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. xli., 730.

We have seldom seen a work which has presented greater attractions, for the general reader, than this, nor one which offers greater inducements, for a careful perusal, from the beginning to the close of the narrative.

The extent of the journey and the variety of incidents described—while they secured a great variety of subjects and only a rapid survey of different scenes, different peoples, and different adventures—nowhere allow, in this brief record of them, long stories nor the display of long-winded rhetorical flourishes; and the reader, in consequence, is not wearied nor is any single subject "run into the ground."

It is an admirable volume for those who seek general information while they also seek repose—for those who are wearied by either intellectual or physical labor and desire recreation which shall not be wholly without profit—and the illustrations serve to increase its attractions and render it more useful.

The typography of the volume is very neat; and some of the wood-cuts with which it is illustrated, are perfect gems of art, the view of Governor Seward's residence, for instance, is a master-piece.

82.—*History of New York City from the discovery to the present day*, by William L. Stone. New York: Virtue & Yorston. 1872. Octavo, pp. xx., 4, (not paged) 3-658, (Appendix) 136.

This showy volume has been placed in our hands; and, although, not exactly a "recent publication," we notice it, for the information of "whom it may concern."

Some three or four years since, an enterprising advertising-agent, in New York, considered that a "history of New York" which could be employed as a medium for advertisements to be scattered throughout the text or gathered, in appendix form, at the end of it, might be made to pay the expense of preparing it; and he resolved to try the experiment. As it was intended to be used only as a camel, for the purpose of carrying the advertisements—which were to be the real treasures of the enterprise—it was not necessary that this "history" should be prepared with much care nor with any particular regard

to historical accuracy; and, consequently, only a mere pittance was appropriated for its preparation—indeed, the willing author hoped to receive his compensation in the indirect form of profits to be derived from *printing* the work rather than from the apology for a price for his labor in *writing* it which the enterprising Publisher agreed to pay.

The volume, thus prepared, was printed in the author's printing-office; and, for reasons with which the author had nothing to do, it was not a commercial success—we incline to the belief that nobody was paid their just dues, in any department of its preparation.

The waif thus left on the hands of the author and printer, subsequently met the quick eye of an English publishing-house in New York, and an arrangement was made with Mr. Stone, for a mere trifle, to enlarge the tract which he had prepared for Mr. Cleve to the extent of a respectable octavo; and the result is before us, in the showy volume which is the subject of this notice.

As it was intended to be only "a book-seller's job," and was paid for only as such, nothing else than a hack-volume has been produced—a volume crammed with pictures, appropriate and inappropriate; a volume which is a mere vehicle for mostly cast-off pictures already worn out in other works and borrowed for the decoration of this; a volume which is hawked around the country and pushed on the unwary as one of real historical merit; a volume which does not depend on its merits for success, but on the assurance of the canvasser who crowds it into the market and on the multitude of the pictures it contains. To increase the bulk of the original tract, with as little labor as possible, an article on the Erie Canal Celebration, which was written, years ago, by Colonel Stone, for the memoir published by the Corporation of the City of New York, is gobbled, entire, and thrust, *extenso*, into the text of the narrative; and a stump-speech, on "the Ring-frauds," by Mr. Roosevelt; two papers, by Gulian C. Verplanck, published in *The Talisman*, some forty years ago; the Constitutions of the Tontine Association and Tammany Society; a paper, on *Richmond Hill*, prepared for THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by General Prosper M. Wetmore; a Message of Governor Hoffman; and other extended papers and newspaper paragraphs, have either shared the same fate, *mostly without credit*, or been bunched together, as a make-weight, in the form of Appendices, at the close of the narrative.

The result of this peculiar process of book-making will be seen by every one; and the exact merit of the volume, *as history*, can be readily measured by the author's manner of filling

the space between its covers—it reflects no credit on the name which its author delights to exhibit; and if that predecessor of his, whose name he bears, could see and read it, the *Commercial Advertiser* would not afford space enough for the denunciations which would be hurled at him.

Possibly Mr. Stone can afford to trifle with the public and hazard what he has of reputation by the promulgation of such a work as this, over his own name; *but we doubt it.*

Typographically considered, the volume is a very neat one.

23.—*Library of Choice Fiction.*

I.—*At his Gates.* By Mrs. Oliphant. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Octavo, pp. vi., 281. Price \$1.

II.—*Galama; or The Beggars (The founders of the Dutch Republic).* By J. B. Liefde. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Octavo, pp. 167. Price \$1.

III.—*May.* By Mrs. Oliphant. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. Octavo, pp. 209. Price \$1.

Under the title of *Library of Choice Fiction*, Messrs. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. announce their intention to publish a series of works, "by the best authors of the day, the leading characteristics of which shall be elevation and purity of tone, and entire freedom from every thing in the remotest degree demoralizing." They will be handsomely printed and, occasionally, illustrated; and, to those who use this class of literature, the three volumes referred to at the head of this article, will afford an earnest of what the series will be.

Those who have read them, give them high praise, both for the structure of the respective narratives and the character of their teachings.

34.—*The Undeveloped West; or, Five years in the Territories: being a complete history of that vast region between the Mississippi and the Pacific, its Resources, Climate, Inhabitants, Natural Curiosities, Etc., Etc. Life and Adventure on Prairies, Mountains, and the Pacific Coast.* With two hundred and forty illustrations, from original sketches and photographic views of the scenery, rivers, lands, mines, people, and curiosities of the Great West. By J. H. Beadle. Philadelphia: National Publishing Co. Since anno. Octavo, pp. 823.

The author of this volume "went West," from Evansville, Indiana, in search of health; proceeding, by way of Chicago, through Wisconsin and Iowa—a considerable distance on foot—Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, California, back to Utah, Kansas, back to California and Utah, thence to New Mexico, Colorado, the Indian country, Arizona, back to Missouri, to Nauvoo, through Iowa, Southern Dakota, Minnesota—over the Northern Pacific Railroad—thence, through Iowa, Nebraska,

Utah, and California, to Oregon, and back to Indiana. A month was spent in Texas, and the narrative of that trip forms a supplement to the work.

The story of the author's adventures, during the five years thus spent, is admirably narrated; and we admire the bravery with which he, very often, overthrows stereotyped stories and tells the ugly truth, as he personally found it. Of course, there was adventure and, very often, hazard—there was, also, any quantity of discomfort, spiced with a seasoning of frontier wickedness—but the story is told dispassionately; the country is described with evident fidelity to the truth; and "the West" is presented, in brief, just as it really is, regardless of land-speculators and senseless philosophers who talk so much on the subject.

The style of the writer is that of a journalist, rather than that of a mere tourist; and he introduces all sorts of people, among his characters; notices all sorts of subjects—climate, scenery, lands, timber, western "cussedness," home-missions, Catholic and Protestant work among the Indians, agriculture, mining, city and country life, railroads, the present and the future—and leaves little unlooked-at. The consequence is, his volume is attractive to the many while it is, also, valuable to the few—it will amuse while it will, also, instruct—and we take pleasure in commending it to our readers.

The typography of the volume is fair; but the wood-cuts are wretched specimens of art.

35.—*How I found Livingstone: travels, adventures, and discoveries in Central Africa: including an account of Four Months Residence with Dr. Livingstone.* By Henry M. Stanley. With Maps and Illustrations after Drawings by the Author. Published only by Subscription. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1872. Octavo, pp. xxiii., 726.

The story of Livingstone's adventures, in Central Africa; the prevailing sentiment of his death; and the alleged discovery of him, by Mr. Stanley, an employé of the *New York Herald*, are known to all our readers; and, by them, the alleged discovery has been believed or disbelieved, as has best suited them.

There can be no doubt, however, without regard to the alleged discovery, that Mr. Stanley really visited Africa; and, if for no other reason, the volume before us is interesting as a narrative of journeys in the interior of that Continent; of adventures with men and beasts, in the wilderness; of privations and hazard in the cause of American enterprise.

We are not of those, however, who entirely deny the truth of Mr. Stanley's claim of having found the veteran wanderer; nor are we of

those who implicitly believe all that has been said in behalf of it. We cannot pretend to suppose that the family of Doctor Livingstone and the Foreign Office, in London, can have been wholly cheated; nor are we inclined to suppose that, notwithstanding Mr. Stanley is not very much of a Christian, in all his habits, he is altogether a heathen or a fraud. We incline to the belief, therefore, that Doctor Livingstone was reached—unless his papers were found, where he was not—and we incline to the belief, also, that, like most other “newspaper-men,” Mr. Stanley made the most of his material and, now-and-then, spliced it with the home-made article.

In any event, however, as we have said, the volume is a very interesting one; and the neatness of its typography renders it yet more attractive.

86.—*A Memorial of the Right Reverend Carlton Chase, D.D., first Bishop of New Hampshire. 1844 to 1870. With a Biographical Sketch.* Press of the Claremont Publishing Company. Sine anno. Octavo, pp. 96.

In this beautiful volume, we find, *first*, a record of the funeral of the venerable prelate who was “the first Bishop of New Hampshire,” including the addresses of the Bishop of Connecticut, the Rector of Trinity-church, Claremont, and the Rev. Benjamin L. Haight, D.D., of New York, and, *second*, a biographical sketch of his life.

Bishop Chase was a native of New Hampshire—a descendant of the early settlers of that region—where he was born, in 1794, of humble parents. He was brought up under Baptist influences and associations, but cast his lot with the Episcopalians, later in life. His education was limited; and he began life as a country school-master, interspersing the occupation with farm-work, during the Summer. In 1813, he entered Dartmouth-college; was one of a Company which volunteered to defend Portsmouth against the British, in 1814; united with the Episcopalian church, in 1817; graduated, in 1817; was ordained a Deacon, in 1818; was employed, temporarily, at Lynn and Springfield, Massachusetts; in the same year, removed to Bellows Falls, Vermont; married Harriet Cutler, in 1820; and, soon after, was ordained to the priesthood; in 1844, was called to the Bishopric of New Hampshire and removed to Claremont; and there, in 1870, he died, lamented by all who knew him.

The volume before us is a fit memorial of such a man—plain, honest, complete. It is without any mere ornament, and yet it is attractive by reason of its modest beauty. A well-spent life is fitly presented in such a vol-

ume; and we add it to our New Hampshire series with unqualified pleasure.

87.—*Loring, Short, & Harmon's Illustrated Guide Book for Portland and Vicinity.* By “Our Young Wo-man about Town.” With a summary History of Portland, by the late Hon. Wm. Willis. Portland: Loring, Short, & Harmon. Sine anno [1878.] Duodecimo, pp. 100. Price 50 cents.

This is one of the neatest and best of those useful little volumes known as *Guide-books*—those local friends who direct the stranger-visitor where to go and for what purpose.

It is an admirable guide to “Portland and Vicinity;” its illustrations—two maps and seven full-page photographic views—are well-selected, well-executed, and entirely appropriate; its history of the city, from the pen of our late friend, Hon. William Willis, needs no commendation to our readers; and, altogether, the little volume, whether regarded as a mere *Guide-book*, for temporary use, or as a local, for future reference, is worthy of a place in every collection of Maine's literature.

88.—*Lombard Street: a description of the Money Market.* By Walter Bagehot. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. viii., 359.

This volume is not one which may be ran over in a few minutes and dismissed, as unworthy of further notice, but one which demands a careful perusal, careful thought, and honest consideration. It is a carefully-prepared history of the London money-market, in all its relations; and as that market controls, very largely, the monetary affairs of the world, there can be few subjects which appeal, with greater force, to every business-man and every man who has business, in our country as well as in Europe.

It is well, therefore, that such a book has been printed in America; it will be well, also, if Americans will read it, carefully, and profit from its teachings.

The typography of the work is very neat.

89.—*Arthur Bonnicastle. An American Novel.* By J. G. Holland. With twelve full-page illustrations by Mary A. Hallock. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 401. Price \$1.75

This is said to be “the most natural and “finished prose work of its popular author;” and that will be regarded as a sufficient passport to many readers.

It is autobiographical in form, if not in fact, and it teaches self-respect and self-reliance, and condemns the opposite traits of character, with great power.

It is very neatly printed.

1874.

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AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

Sept., 1873.

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HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR READERS.

I.—In order that the unusual number of books which we have received for notice may receive the careful attention which we always devote to that particular department of the Magazine, without curtailing the space which we usually devote to other matters, we have added an extra sheet to our regular number—making eighty pages instead of sixty-four—and those of our readers who are interested in bibliographical information will be pleased to find notices of more than eighty publications, in this number.

II.—We regret to say that causes over which we have no control have thrown us back in the publication of this number—many of those who owe us have not responded to our calls for payment; and we cannot AND WILL NOT employ workmen or purchase materials without the money to pay, when pay-day comes. If the monies which are honestly due to us shall be honestly paid during the present month, we can close the gaps in our publication, in a very few weeks; if not, we shall be compelled to work slowly, causing further delay.

WE EARNESTLY HOPE WE SHALL NOT BE SUBJECTED TO THIS AFFLICTION.

III.—In our notice of Mrs. Stowe's *Women in Sacred History*, on pages 179 and 180 of this number, a provoking blunder has been made by somebody, writer or workmen, in the spelling of that lady's name—it is uniformly spelled “*Stow*,” instead of “*Stowe*,” which, everybody knows, is the only correct mode. We regret the blunder, and notice it here as the only atonement we can make, since the form was printed before our attention was called to it.

IV.—The Maps illustrative of Major Douglass's Lectures will be sent with the October number. They are handsome specimens of wood-engraving; and our readers will be paid for the delay in the preparation of them.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. THIRD SERIES.]

SEPTEMBER, 1873.

[No. 3.

I.—“CASTINE THE YOUNGER.”

PAPER READ BEFORE THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT ITS MEETING IN BANGOR, JANUARY, 1873.

BY HON. JOHN E. GODFREY, OF BANGOR.

The Baron Jean Vincent de St. Castin came to the country formerly styled Panaouamskè, now Penobscot, about the year 1667. He intermarried, at different times, with native women, the first of whom is supposed to have been a daughter of the celebrated Tarratine Sachem, Adockawando. It was rumored, among the English, that he had three or four Indian wives, at the same time.* There is no proof of this. He lived with different Indian women; but he never changed his wife.† By his first wife, Matilde, he had several children; by his last, Marie Pidianskge, he had one or more. Several of his daughters were well married, to Frenchmen. Anastasie, a daughter, by Matilde, married Alexander le Borque de Belleisle, and Therese, a daughter of Marie, married Phillipe Pombomcoup, a grandson of Charles Amour de la Tour and Jeanne Motin D'Aulnay.‡ There were other daughters. He had, also, two sons, Anselm, by Matilde, and Joseph Dubadis. The historians, Sullivan and Williamson, confound these with each other, under the name of Castine the younger.” §

Anselm was the more distinguished of the two, and is sometimes designated as the Baron de St. Castin; consequently he is confounded with his father, by some historians. He first comes under our notice, at the siege of Port Royal, in 1707.

Daniel Anquet de Subercase was then Governor of that place. In the Spring, Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, sent several ships, with a

force of about fifteen hundred men, to reduce it. Colonel March was in command of the expedition, and, after several attempts, returned to Casco Bay, without having accomplished anything.

Anselm de St. Castin was conspicuous in the defence. He was sent by Subercase with a detachment, consisting of eighty French and Indians, to intercept a force of three hundred English, who were in pursuit of cattle. He had the direct command of the Indians. An ambuscade had been formed, but, with six of his Abenakis, or Tarratines, from Panaouamskè, he left the main body and made an advance, in sight of the enemy, and killed six of their men; then, rejoining the command, he charged the English so resolutely that their whole force was driven back to camp, in disorder. Sixty Canadians had arrived at Port Royal, a short time before, and rendered good service in the defence; but Subercase reported to the Minister that “but for the presence of the Baron de St. Castin, he could not have answered for the result.*”

The failure of this expedition created great dissatisfaction, in Massachusetts. Colonel March and his subordinates, Colonels Wainwright and Appleton, were much censured. Governor Dudley, however, was not discouraged. He strengthened the force and sent it back, with the same officers, under three members of the Council—Colonels Hutchinson and Townsend and Mr. Leverett—who had as full powers to superintend and direct as the Governor would have had, if he had been present.

On the twentieth of August, the ships were again before Port Royal; but neither officers nor men were in a proper condition of health or spirits to insure favorable results; indeed, many of the men were raw recruits. On the other hand, the French force, though small, was in good fighting condition, and, with the accomplished soldier, Subercase, in command, well prepared to receive the invaders. The Governor placed great reliance on St. Castin, and sent

Hutchinson Papers, 568; *Andros Tracts*, I., 155. *Crémor*.

Mardock's History of Nova Scotia, 141, 205.

Bangor Centennial, 25.

Sullivan's History of Maine, 262; *Williamson's History of Maine*, II., 60, 144; *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, II., 246, 286.

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* *Shea's Charlevoix*, v., 194; *Mardock's History of Nova Scotia*, I., 289.

him, with one hundred and fifty men, to ambuscade the enemy. This he did, effectually. When they had come within pistol-shot, he poured upon them three successive volleys, which caused them to fall back towards their boats. Subercase sent Boularderie to reinforce St. Castin, with one hundred and fifty men, and orders to follow the enemy, if they attempted to re-embark; and followed, himself, with one hundred and twenty men, leaving Bonaventure in command of the fort. Burning with impatience, Boularderie made too swift pursuit, and, with but sixty or eighty men, fell upon the enemy, leaping from one entrenchment into another, until he was disabled by two sabrecuts. Anselm, with one, Antoine de Salliant, followed, eagerly, and took Boularderie's place; when a hand-to-hand conflict, with hatchets and clubbed muskets, ensued, in which from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred English were driven fifteen hundred paces, towards their boats. Anselm and Antoine were both wounded and disabled, and their men retired towards the woods, which the English officers seeing, they took the occasion to rally their men and pursued, until the French faced about to receive them, when they withdrew, after firing several volleys. Shortly after, Subercase sent Granger, a brave inhabitant, with Boularderie's detachment, to attack the English, who did not wait, but re-embarked, in haste and confusion; and, on the first of September, they were on their return to Massachusetts.*

St. Castin was wounded, severely, in the thigh. He gained great credit for his gallantry. About two months afterwards, he was married, by Father Gaulin, to Charlotte d'Amours, daughter of Louis d'Amours, Sieur de Chaffours, at Port Royal, in the presence of Subercase, Bonaventure, the bride's father, and Boulardiere.† Whether, like Desdemona,

"She loved him for the dangers he had pass'd," no Shakespeare informs us.‡

Between the years 1707 and 1710, the French manifested a strange indifference to the military necessities of Acadie; and, when Governor Dudley, in the latter year, sent General Nicholson, with thirty-six ships and thirty-four hundred men again to invade Port Royal, it had neither means of subsistence or defence. Many of the people were so destitute that Subercase gave them his shirts and sheets, from his bed, to keep them from suffering.

Subercase made such preparations for defence

* Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., 199; Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, II., 155.

† *Bangor Centennial*, 25; Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, I., 163, 171, 329.

‡ She was dead, in 1728.

as he was able, but, more probably, had his mind upon terms of capitulation. Nicholson was four days in landing and making preparations for the attack, during which time, there was some firing, on both sides, but no great loss on either. After his arrangements were completed, Nicholson summoned the garrison to surrender. Subercase made a virtue of necessity, and obtained very favorable terms; and the successful General was obliged to give food to the people, to save them from starvation.

Anselm de St. Castin was with Subercase and Major Livingston with Nicholson. As it was necessary to submit the Articles of Capitulation to Vaudreuil, the Governor-general of New France, and to make arrangements for an exchange of prisoners, these two officers were selected, by the several commandants, to go as messengers to Quebec, for the purpose.

They left Port Royal about the middle of October. On arriving at Pentagouët, now Castine, Livingston became the guest of St. Castin, who resided there, in what the Priests called the "Parish of the St. Famille," and was hospitably entertained by him. When every thing was in readiness, they took three Indian guides, with canoes, and proceeded up the Penobscot-river, intending to make the journey, as far as possible, by water. Presently, they came to the island of Lett,* where they met with fifty canoes and twice as many Indians, besides women and children, on their way from Winter-harbor, near the mouth of the Saco-river. There had been with them two English prisoners, taken at Winter-harbor, a little before; but one of them, who his captor had taken with him, on a hunting excursion, to a neighboring island,† had made his escape, with the savage's gun and canoe. It would not be a great stretch of the imagination to suppose that the refreshments of which the son of the forest had partaken rendered him oblivious to the movements of his prisoner; and that the latter had no conscientious misgivings as to his right to take advantage of the moment and opportunity afforded him to get back to Winter-harbor. However this might have been, the savage, two days after the arrival of St. Castin and Livingston, found his way back to his party, without canoe, captive, or gun, threatening vengeance against all Englishmen: and

* The circumstances render it more probable that it was Orphan, or Wetmore's, Island, (Verona) than any other. A party of savages had, a short time before, been engaged in hostilities against the English, not far from Winter-harbor, and killed three whites and taken six captives. This portion of the party was probably on its way to Winter-quarters.

Mr. Williamson thinks Lett was, probably, Oldtown. cannot see the grounds of the probability.

† Probably Brigadier's-island.

when he saw Livingston, he rushed towards him, and, seizing him by the throat, raised his tomahawk to dispatch him, and would have done so, but Anselm, seeing the movement, threw himself between them and saved the life of his companion. This accident was the occasion of the detention of Livingston, by the Indians, for several days; but St. Castin's influence was such that he procured his release, and they were on the route again, by the fourth of November.

On the next day after they had started again, the Major's canoe was upset and lost, with his gun, and one of the guides was drowned.* Soon after this, the ice began to form and so chafed and tore the bark of the canoes, that the party was obliged to leave them and perform the remainder of the journey on foot.† Guided by the compass, they passed over plains and mountains, around the heads of rivers and lakes, through forests of pine-wood and under-wood, through thickets of spruce and cedar, nearly impenetrable, at times wading through deep snows. They were in storms and fogs, for more than a fortnight, during which time, they never saw the sun. Six days before they reached any human habitation, their supplies were exhausted, and they were obliged to resort to moss, leaves, and dried berries, to sustain life.

It was a long and perilous journey. They did not arrive at Quebec, until the sixteenth of December, when they were nearly exhausted by their labors and privations. The Governor received them handsomely, and made every provision for their comfort and recuperation.

The news of the fall of Port Royal caused Vaudreuil much mortification. The French who remained in Acadie were "utterly at the mercy of the conqueror;" and the capitulation had "somewhat cooled the Indians," he said; but he did not abandon the hope of recovering the lost territory. He immediately set to work to regain the confidence of the savages and to re-establish the French influence over them, for, retaining their ancient rights in the territory, they could aid him greatly in his designs. It was important to have some one invested with French authority, among them, upon whom he could rely, and who would be least obnoxious to the English. He selected Anselm de St. Castin. M. Raudot, Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finance, concurred with him in the propriety of the appointment. In his letter to the Minister, M. de Pontchartrain, Vaudreuil says: "M. Raudot and I have concluded that we could

"do no better for the public service than to send Baron de St. Castin immediately back, the rather as the principal affair at present regarding his Majesty's service in those parts is the management of the Indian allies there, over whom Sieur de St. Castin possesses great influence; but, as it is proper to compensate him, in some sort, for the loss he has just experienced at Port Royal, and also to authorize him to command the French, in those parts, as well as the Indians, I have given him, subject to the King's pleasure, a commission of Lieutenant, and M. Raudot has handed him the emoluments thereof.*"

As Subercase, two years before, had written to the same Minister, in relation to St. Castin, informing him that he was kept out of his estates, in France, under pretence of illegitimacy, although he had the certificates of the missionaries and full evidence of his heirship—"this poor boy," he says, "has to do with the first *chicanier* of Europe, and Lieutenant-general of the town of Oleron, in Bearne, who, for long years, enjoys this property"†—and recommending that he be made Lieutenant-general of Pentagouët, with a salary, that official was prepared to approve the action of Vaudreuil, in approving the appointment.

Anselm's commission was dated the first of January, 1711. His rank was that of Lieutenant *en pied*. The Marquis d'Alogny, Commandant of the troops, was ordered to recognize him, as such, and to pay him his salary.‡ As the missionaries were a power among the savages, Vaudreuil impressed it upon those in Acadie to be unremitting in their endeavors to retain them in the French interests.

After Anselm had returned to Pentagouët, he and Father Gaulin conceived the project of retaking Port Royal—which was under the command of Colonel Vetch—and St. Castin sent forty Abenakis, under one, l'Aymalle, to assist in the enterprise. The party obtained some advantages over the English, of all which Vaudreuil was duly informed, by Father Felix Cappel, and commenced making preparations for sending aid. It was shortly afterward reported that the English were making extensive preparations for the conquest of Canada; and the project was abandoned.§

The Treaty of Utrecht, by which France surrendered to England all Acadie, with Port Roy-

* *New York Colonial Documents*, ix., 854.

† Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 804. This language implies that Anselm's father was dead. He was in France with a daughter and her family, in 1704.—Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 873; Church's *Indian Wars*.

‡ Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 399.

§ *New York Colonial Documents*, ix., 858, 859.

* This was probably soon after they reached the head of the tide, where the rapids first appeared. It is about a day's voyage, by canoe, from the Island, at that season of the year.

† They might have followed up the Stillwater branch, and crossed the country, by Moosehead Lake.

al—afterwards called Annapolis Royal, now Annapolis—and Newfoundland, was signed on the eleventh of April, 1713. Cape Breton and the other islands, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, remained to France. The rights of the Indians were not affected by the Treaty; and Anselm's authority continued to be recognized by them. He had now abandoned the expectation of recovering his family estates in France, to give his attention to affairs at "Panamske and Narantsouak.*"

Father Rasle, a learned Jesuit, had been with the Indians, at Narantsouak, since 1698. Father Lauveigait was with the Indians at Panamske, from 1718. While Toxus, a fierce war-chief of the Naridgewocks, was living, the Priests had his aid in keeping the Indians true to the French; but, in 1721, he was dead; and the influence of the English increased so rapidly that Rasle became alarmed, and wrote to Vaudreuil, informing him of the fact. The latter immediately procured a delegation from the Abenakis of St. Francois and Becancoue, to accompany Father La Chasse, the Superior-general of the Missions, to visit their brethren, at Narantsouak and Panaoumskè, to encourage the friends of the French among them.

In August of that year, the French succeeded in getting together about two hundred Abenakis from Norridgewock and Penobscot, and they appeared at Arrowsic-island, in ninety canoes, where they had a conference with Captain Penhallow, who commanded the English, there. The object of their visit was to demand that the English should remove from certain lands, on which the Indians alleged they had encroached, within three weeks. The demand was accompanied by a threat that their cattle should be killed and their houses burned, if they failed to comply.

La Chasse and Rasle were leading spirits, evidently, in this conference. The expedition was deemed hostile, by the English; and, as Anselm St. Castin was present, with his people, in the dress pertaining to his office, he was considered as partaking of the spirit of the party.

When the Government, at Boston, was informed of the presence of St. Castin, at Arrowsic, an order was issued for his arrest.

In the meantime, he had returned to Pentagouët, and was attending to his own affairs, when an English vessel, commanded by a person with whom he was acquainted, anchored, quietly, in the harbor. Being invited on board, by the Master, to partake of some refreshments, he went, unsuspectingly, for there was nothing, apparently, that indicated hostile intent. He had hardly got on board, however, before, to his

great astonishment, the sails were hoisted, and he was on his way to Boston! On his arrival there, he was cast into prison.*

This proceeding was the occasion of much unfavorable comment, in Massachusetts. There were those who thought it no crime in St. Castin to be with the Indians, at Arrowsic, and that to abduct him from his home, in a part of the country over which Massachusetts had never exercised jurisdiction, as against his people, and imprison him for no particular crime, was unjustifiable. The House of Representatives however, ordered that he be tried by the Superior Court of the County of Suffolk. The Council did not concur in this, but voted to send for witnesses, that the Court might determine the proper course of procedure. This was not agreeable to the House, and the case stood.

A Committee was afterward appointed to examine St. Castin; and he so well satisfied them that wrong had been done him by these proceedings, that they reported that he should be discharged. In reply to interrogatories, he said: "I received no orders from the Governor of Canada, to be present at Arrowsic. I have always lived with my kindred and people—my mother was an Abenakis—I was in authority, over them. I should not have been true to my trusts if I had neglected to be present at a meeting wherein their interests were concerned. My uniform is required by my position, which is that of a Lieutenant, under the French King. I have the highest friendship for the English. My disposition is to prevent my people from doing them mischief; and my efforts shall be to influence them to keep peace.†"

After the disagreement of the two Houses, there was a growing sentiment in favor of the captive. The Government wanted peace with the Indians; to have punished St. Castin, as a traitor, would have destroyed all prospect of it; their jurisdiction over him was, at least, questionable; and to try him in one country for a crime committed in another was improper. The Report of the Committee was readily accepted by both Houses, and Governor Shute approved the action. Vaudreuil had previously written to Governor Shute, complaining of St. Castin's imprisonment and demanding his discharge, but received no reply.‡

St. Castin was imprisoned in December, and released after five months' confinement. By some, he was considered a "very subtle fellow," and as having influenced the Committee by heartless professions. There seems to be a

* Murdock's *History of Nova Scotia*, i., 337.

* Shea's *Charlevoix*, v., 274.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, ii., 244.

doubt, however, that whatever his feelings might have been towards the English, he was desirous to keep his people at peace; and he encouraged their disposition to be on terms of friendship with them; and neutralized, in a great measure, the efforts of Lauveigait, in the other direction.

Rasle was killed, in 1724, and, believing it a good time to propose a Treaty with the Indians, the English sent a hostage and a captive, on their parole, to the Penobscots, to sound them upon the subject, in the Winter of 1724-5—Father Lauveigait was then in Canada—and, prompted by St. Castin, they gave a favorable answer to the messengers, who conveyed it to the English fort, at St. George, in February.

Unfortunately, in ignorance of this commencement of negotiations, Captain Heath, with a Company from Kennebec, went across the country and attacked the French and Indian fort and village, at the head of the tide, on the Penobscot, where were fifty or sixty dwellings, which he found unoccupied, and destroyed them.*

This interrupted the negotiations; but, after explanation, they were renewed, in June. But a fatality appeared to attend them, at every step. In July, a Captain John Pritchard, in an English vessel, took a small bark belonging to Anselm's younger brother, Joseph Dabadia, lying near Naakeag-point, (Sedgwick) with a quantity of beaver and other property, and committed other outrages upon him. Dabadia made this the subject of a remonstrance and a claim for damages, on Lieutenant-governor Dummer.†

* Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, ii., 286. The remains of this fort are still visible.

† The story is told by Dabadia, in his own English, in the following letter to Lieutenant-governor Dummer:

“PENTAGON, 28d July 1725

“Sir: I have the honour to acquaint you that the 9th of this present month as I rode at anchor in a small harbour about three miles distant from Nesket, having with me but one Indian and one Englishman whom I had redeemed from the salvages, as well as my vessel, I was attacked by an English vessel, the Commander of which called himself Lieutenant of the King's ship, and told me also his name, which I cannot remember.

“Seeing myself thus attacked and not finding myself able to defend myself, I withdrew into the wood forsaking my vessel. The Commander of the vessel called me back promising me with an oath not to wrong me at all saying that he was a merchant who had no design but to trade and was not fitted out for war, specially when there was a talk of peace, and presently set up a flag of truce, and even gave me two safe conducts by writing, both which I have unhappily lost in the fight. Thus thinking myself safe enough, I came back on board my vessel, with my Indian and my Englishman, whom I brought to show that I had no thoughts of fighting, and that I had redeemed him from the Indians as well as the vessel. But as I was going to put on my cloaths to dress

This matter was probably arranged satisfactorily, for a cessation of arms was agreed upon, and, finally, an excellent Treaty, called “Dummer's Treaty,” was signed at Casco, on the fifteenth of December, 1725, which was quite well observed by the Indians, until the fifth Indian War, which succeeded the French Declaration of War, on the fifteenth of March, 1744.

The Dummer Treaty and a subsequent one, made with the Penobscots, in 1727, exceedingly annoyed the French; and Lauveigait did not rest until he obtained a Declaration from the Chiefs, certified to by himself and St. Castin, that it was but a Treaty of Peace, Amnesty, and Accommodation between the two nations. He also wrote a letter to Vaudreuil, from Panaouamskè, dated the seventeenth of August, 1727, in which he said that the Chiefs of the village begged him not to doubt their fidelity to him, and to be assured that the English, by all their presents and all their artifices, could not separate them from the French, nor make them forget their religion; that, if necessity and a want

“myself more handsomely the Commander who was come in my vessel with several of his people would not permit me to do it, telling me I was no more master of any thing. He only granted me after many remonstrances to set me ashore.

“But after I came down and they held forth to me a bag full of blasket that was given to me as they said as a payment for my Englishman. They did catch hold of me and the Indian who accompanied me, I got rid of him who was going to seize upon me, but my Indian not being able to do the same, I betook myself to my arms—and after several volleys I killed the man who kept him, and got him safe with me. This is the second time that I have been thus treacherously used, which proceedings I do not suppose that you approve of, being against the laws of Nations. Therefore I hope that you will do me the justice, or that at least you will cause me to be reimbursed of the loss I have sustained.

“Namely

“For the vessel that costed me 90 French pistoles; For the Englishman 10 pistoles; 51 pounds of beaver that were in the vessel with 30 otters, 3 coats that have costed me together 20 pistoles; 56 pounds of shot that costed me twenty pence a pound; 2 pounds of powder at 4 livres a pound; 30 pounds of tobacco at 20 pence a pound; a pair of scales 8 livres; Tow cloth blankets each 23 livres; Tow bear skins 8 livres apiece; 4 skins of sea wolf 6 livres for the four; 3 axes 15 livres for both; 2 kettles, 30 livres for both, and severall other matters, which they would not grant me, so much as my cap. The retaken Englishman knoweth the truth of all this, his name is Samuel Trusk of the Town of Salem near to Marblehead.

“I have the honour to be

“Sir

“Your most humble & most

“obedient Servant JOSEPH

“DABADIA DE ST. CASTIN.”

of resources had obliged them to make peace, that would not prevent their joining the French again, as soon as they declared War against the English. This letter was accompanied by a paper, confirming his assertions, to which he had procured the names of the Chiefs.

From the following letter of Lauvergait to Father La Chasse, it would seem that St. Castin was sincere in his protestations of friendship towards the English, or, at any rate, was disposed to keep faith with them; and that Lauvergait found him a great obstacle to his schemes with the Indians. That Father was greatly enraged against both him and his brother; and it is probable that the French Governors considered his zeal quite equal to his discretion, for his representations had no immediate effect against them.

"PANAOUAMSKE,* July 8, 1728.

"VERY DEAR BROTHER :

"The insolence of the Messrs. de St. Castin has come to be so excessive, that they no longer set bounds to it, in their conduct to me or before God.

"The elder, who does not care to marry, and not satisfied with spreading corruption through the whole village, in addition to that, now makes a business of selling brandy, openly, in company with his nephew, the son of M. de Belle Isle. They have been the means of one man being drowned, already, on account of it, and are like to be the destruction of many others. The younger of the Messrs. de St. Castin never comes into the village without getting drunk in public and putting the whole village in an uproar.

"Both of them, prompted by the supplies they receive, pretend to be on my side and in the interests of the King, but, behind my back, they do not cease to work against me, and to oppose every enterprise I undertake, in the service of God and the King.

"Excessively puffed up with the commission and with the salary they have obtained from the King, through M. de Vaudreuil, the earth is not good enough for them to stand upon. They believe that they have a right, through this commission, to rule, absolutely, and to seize and dispose of every thing at their will; and if any one thinks of opposing them they threaten him with nothing less than death or massacre.

"They are going to Canada; and they will not fail to boast of their services, and to seem very much attached to the interests of the Colony. But here is what I believe, before God.

"That, before the savages had begun the War against the English, they did every thing in the world they could to prevent their undertaking it—and this in spite of all the exhortations I made to the savages, on the part of M. d'Vaudreuil, and notwithstanding all that M. de Vaudreuil had said to them, himself.

"That, after I had, in spite of them, engaged the savages to determine upon a war against the English, they broke up the first expedition I had formed, and prevented it from starting.

"That, after I had organized another war-party, and had sent it off, they stopped it, on the way, and would have absolutely prevented the war from breaking out, if I had not gone down to the sea-shore and persuaded my people to proceed with it.

"That, not having been able to prevent the attacks upon the English, they pretended to be neutral (except that they made money out of the booty taken from the English—and that for two whole years—) on the pretext that they were Frenchmen and not natives.

"That, when they could no longer abstain from deciding for one side or the other—M. de Vaudreuil having given them to understand, particularly, that their qualities, as Frenchmen, did not take from them their rights and, consequently, their duties, as savages—the younger, actually and in earnest, did go on an expedition, and signalized himself; but the elder contented himself with showing himself once only, and, although he received a hundred affronts from the English, by whom he was taken twice, by treachery, and robbed, yet far from dreaming of taking his revenge on them, he has sought their protection and asked favors of them.

"That, towards the end of the war, when I went to Canada, by your orders—the English having sent a hostage here, during my absence, to propose peace—the Messrs. de St. Castin were the first to suggest that a favorable answer should be made to the English, and disbanded an expedition that had just set out, by my orders, to make reprisals on the English, who had treacherously sent an expedition against us, the previous Winter, while at another point they assured us concerning peace.*

"That, since that time, these same gentlemen have not ceased to urge the savages to make peace with the English, and to accept their propositions, without caring what the French might think about it.

"All this I am positively certain about, and am ready to make oath to, and this, added to

* This village was either at the head of the tide or at Oldtown.

* Evidently the Heath Expedition, while negotiations were going on, at St. George.

all the other irregularities that these gentlemen are guilty of, such as selling at false weight and at false measure, cheating people so out of one-quarter to one-third of all they buy, is sufficient reason that their pay should be stopped, and that that they have not drawn of their salary should be confiscated.*”

By a letter from the Marquis de Beauharnois,† Governor of New France, to the Minister, Marquis de Choiseul, dated the first of October, 1731, it appears that communications had been received from St. Castin to him, although he did not go to Canada, himself, that year, to the effect that the English were forming considerable establishments in the neighborhood of the Indian territory, and probably would render themselves masters of it, by force—an opinion which the Governor appears to have entertained, himself.‡ In 1736, the French counted upon two hundred warriors, at Penobscot, as connected with the Government of New France; § and, by a letter from Beauharnois, dated the eighth of October, 1744, they agreed to unite with the French, in an expedition against Annapolis; and were supplied by him with belts and Archaes.¶

I have not yet been able to find any thing further relating to the St. Castins, after 1731. Nothing more is known of Dabadis, than appears in this paper. He evidently is the “Robardee” mentioned by Williamson,¶ and supposed, by Captain Francis, to have been the father of “Castine, the younger.” He, unquestionably, was Castin, the younger brother of Anselm; but Anselm must have been the Baron’s elder son, who was conspicuous, in Acadie, in the early part of the eighteenth century.

—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814, ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 76.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE DAVID B. DOUGLASS, LL.D., FORMERLY CAPTAIN OF ENGINEERS, U. S. A.; COMMUNICATED BY HIS CHILDREN, FOR PUBLICATION IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

THIRD LECTURE.

In the preceding Lecture, I have brought down the narrative of the Campaign, to the close

This letter was translated from the French, by Henry Prentiss, Esq., of Bangor.

This was the immediate successor of Vandrenuil. He was a natural son of Louis XIV. He was Governor from 1731 to 1747.

New York Colonial Documents, ix., 991.

Ibid, 1026.

Ibid, 1062, 1107.

Williamson’s *History of Maine*, ii., 71.

of the memorable Battle of Niagara Falls, Bridgewater, or Lundy’s-lane, including the operations on the morning of the twenty-sixth, till noon. I am now to proceed with the detail of the subsequent movements.

It will be recollected, among the consequences of the recent battle, that, General Brown and General Scott having been wounded, the command in chief had devolved upon General Ripley, and some little change was to be expected; in the military policy of the Campaign. My object in saying this is not to disparage the Commander last named, but to account for a fact.

Change in command, not unfrequently, produces change in the course of action, and so it was, in this case; and it is interesting to observe, in passing, how, after all, an unseen Providence guides and shapes all our ends, rough hew them how we will. Had the command descended but one step, no one would have apprehended any change in the character of the Campaign, as to enterprise, however many might regret—and, probably, none more than General Scott, to whom the command would have descended—the absence of the cool, deliberate sagacity of General Brown, in the councils of the Army. Had it descended three steps, to General P. B. Porter, very nearly the same result would apply, with nearly the same force. In either case, the question would be, whether the army should be reinforced, on the battle-ground, at the Falls, or occupy its position, at Chippewa. Nor, can it be doubted that, with the aid of the captured artillery, manned and munitioned by us, it would have been in our power to maintain the position, so taken, against any possible assault, on the part of the enemy. Such I happen to know was the unhesitating counsel of General Porter and of one, if not both, of the Field-officers of Engineers; and it was precisely in this policy that I was sent, towards the close of the battle, to prepare my command for the exigencies of the following day.

In the new state of things, however, a more cautious policy was adopted. General Ripley, having completed the reconnaissances of which I have spoken, on the day following the battle, and returned to camp, determined, not without much opposition from the ablest counsellors of the army, to retire upon Fort Erie, and take position, either at that place or on the heights opposite Black-rock. The Engineers opposing every part of this movement, were understood, of course, to prefer the latter to the former. The final question appears to have been settled in favor of the position at Fort Erie, during the march; and, about eleven o’clock, on the evening of the twenty-sixth, we arrived in the vicinity of the fort, and bivouacked for the night. The men slept where and how they could; and,

too tired to be over fastidious, I stretched myself upon the first camp-waggon I saw, which, when I turned up the canvass cover, on the following morning, proved to have been loaded with pickaxes, spades, crowbars, and various other tools and mining implements.

It was foreseen, by those who opposed this movement, that it would be seized upon by the British General, as giving color to an extravagant and unfounded pretension in regard to the recent battle; and so it turned out. In the same dispatch in which he claims the victory, on the field of Niagara, he has endeavored to characterize this movement as the disorderly flight of a beaten army.

"The retreat," says a recent British historian,* "was continued to Fort Erie, with such precipitation, that the whole baggage, provisions, and camp-equipage were thrown into the Rapids, and precipitated over the awful cataract of Niagara!" An awful affair, truly, if it had really happened, anywhere, except in the imagination of the historian. As matter of history, I assure you there is not a particle of truth in it.†

The movement, in proper military phrase, would, doubtless, be called a retreat. But it was not a disorderly nor a precipitate retreat. It was not, in any sense, *compulsory*, for we might have lain, any length of time, behind the Chippewa, in spite of the efforts of our enemy to dislodge us. But, in the situation in which we were left, after the battle, diminished in numbers while the enemy had been greatly reinforced, it was thought to be a question, not whether we *could* defend ourselves, but whether we could *protect our depots*, at Buffalo, and our line of communication, at so great a distance from them. In other words, the motive of the retreat was strategical, having regard to the general scheme of operations; not tactical, or evolutionary, having regard to the strength of a certain position or the relative force of the two armies. It was preceded by a forced reconnaissance, on our part, in which the enemy's outposts were driven in, at the distance of almost three miles from our camp. Nor did the British General advance from that position, even as far as the village of Chippewa, till the second day after. There was no pursuit—no hanging upon our flanks or rear—no enemy visible, in any quarter. The march was as quiet as if it had passed through a portion of our own territory. It was undertaken with perfect deliberation, and performed without the slightest disorder, of any kind.

* Allison.

† "It is, indeed, barely possible that some barrels of bad mess-beef or damaged biscuit may have been thrown into the Niagara."—Major Douglass.

Four days after the battle, General Drummond was reinforced, in addition to all his other reinforcements, with twelve hundred men of De Watteville's Brigade; and *then*, for the first time, he ventured beyond Chippewa-bridge. Finally, when he did show himself, at Fort Erie, on the sixth day after the battle, with more than double our numbers, instead of driving us into the lake, at the point of the bayonet, which, consistently with his vain-glorious dispatches he ought certainly to have done, what did he do? He kept at a most respectful distance, beyond cannon-shot, and only approached us in fact with the cautious operations of a regular siege.

It was before superior numbers, then, under a view of general policy, not by defeat or compulsion, that the army retired; and the British General, however he may have stooped to win laurels at our expense, in paper dispatches, showed plainly enough, by his conduct in the field, that the crown of victory was, in reality, now of his.

At the dawn of day, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, I had, for the first time, a survey of our position, of which, by reason of the darkness of the night, I had been prevented taking note, the evening before. The spot on which I stood was a hillock, partly natural and partly formed by the ruins of an old lime-kiln, between the fort and the lake, nearest the latter, eight or ten feet above the water-level, and about as much below the site of the fort. And here I immediately arranged a place for the encampment of my particular command. The different Corps and Regiments began, at the same time, to assume the order of a regular encampment, chiefly on the left of the fort, and extending, from it, towards a high, commanding hillock, called Snake-hill, about half a mile up the Lake, near the shore.

Before I proceed with any detail of events at Fort Erie, allow me to point out the difference between the Fort Erie of which I am now to speak and the little work which was taken by us, at the opening of the Campaign. The latter, as I have intimated in my former Lecture, was a small quadrangular fort, partly finished and not capable of containing a garrison of more than two or three hundred men, at the utmost.

After it fell into our hands, on the third of July, and until the the twenty-sixth, when it returned to it, the American garrison had been engaged in improving and completing its defences, as a mere fort; but, of course, without any idea of the neighboring ground being occupied by the army at large; nor had any work with reference to such an occupancy, been carried out or contemplated in the labors of the garrison.

son. The Fort Erie of the siege, now to be spoken of, was rather an intrenched camp, having the proper fort, indeed, for one of its strong points, but extending, for more than half a mile from it, along the lake-shore, with numerous other redoubts and batteries; and embracing an area sufficient for the accommodation of two or three thousand men.* With this explanation, I now go back in my narrative to the night of our arrival, when none of these works existed, save Fort Erie, proper.

While the first arrangements were in progress, I had a special duty to perform. One of my guns had broken down, the preceding evening, near Black-rock-ferry; and a detachment of the Company, with a spare limber and plenty of rope and extra draught-horses, was made ready, early in the morning, to go down and bring it in. At the moment of my departure, I was summoned into the presence of the Commandant of Artillery, and severely reprimanded, for having left the gun in that situation. I replied that I had done so by direction of my own Commander, having reported the fact to him, at the time. "Yes," he said, "but if the gun falls into the hands of the enemy, I have an accountability, too." "That," I said, "is impossible. I put it in the care of the rear-guard; and, besides, I am just going down, to bring it in." What peculiar difficulty he saw in this, or whether he was moved by the very juvenile appearance of the speaker, I know not; but he did not hesitate to treat my proposition as absurd and ridiculous; and I left him, meditating *revenge*. Two hours gave it to me. The gun, by that time, was safely brought into camp, weighing about fifty hundred-weights; and, in two hours more, it was safely mounted on another axletree, without the aid of machinery. The Commander came down to see me, at the close of the operation, and very frankly made his acknowledgment, giving me, in the fullest manner, his esteem and confidence, ever after.

On the twenty-eighth and following days of the month, the order of the encampment having been duly adjusted and the troops refreshed, the works of intrenchment were commenced. The ground-plan of a battery, for the extreme right of the position, was traced on the lime-kiln occupied by the Sappers and Miners, and immediately commenced by them. Another, of larger dimensions and in bolder relief, was laid out, on Snake-hill, on the extreme left; and a fatigue party, of several hundred men, was placed under my directions, for its construction. The intermediate ground, between Snake-hill and the fort, was, at the same time, laid out in a sys-

tem of breastworks and batteries, to be thrown up by the Regimental fatigue parties and Artillery, each in front of its respective Regiment and Corps; and a breastwork, also, in front of the Ninth Regiment, between my battery and Fort Erie.

As late as the morning of the thirtieth, the enemy had not yet made his appearance, in our immediate neighborhood. In the course of that day, however, a patrol of British Dragoons was discovered, by one of our scouting-parties, below Black-rock-ferry; and, in the early part of the night following, a larger detachment ascended as far as the ferry, and seized some of the boats which had been left there. It was about the middle of the night, that I was awakened, in my tent, by the Chief Engineer, and informed of this capture, with the caution to be on the alert, as my position was exposed, in the direction of the enemy. He also directed me to place one or two additional guns in the bastion of Fort Erie, commanding the approach, from below. The elevation of the bastion, and the narrow, cramped passage by which it communicated with the fort, rendered this a work of some difficulty. A succession of inclined planes had to be erected. We began the work, however, about one o'clock, with the Sappers and Miners constructing; and, at reveille-beating, two guns were wheeled into their places, in readiness for action.

The approach of the enemy, of course, stimulated our labors, in the trenches; and the soldiers were turned out, almost *en masse*, to work upon them. But it was yet many days before they were sufficiently matured to have given the least hindrance to an attacking enemy; and that General Drummond, with his great superiority of force, did not attack us, in that situation, is only to be accounted for, by assigning to the Battle of Niagara its true character, as a signal and impressive victory, on our part.

It was about the first of August, when the British appeared in force, on the heights opposite Black-rock. On the second, at evening, my own little battery, though not quite finished, was platformed, and the guns mounted. I made my bed on the platform, that night; and, for many weeks afterwards, took no rest, except on the trailed handspikes of one of the guns, with an old tent spread upon them, and wrapped in a horseman's cloak.* By great exertions, the battery on the

* In a letter dated "FORT ERIE, Sept. 13, 1814," the Lecturer thus speaks of the Douglass Battery:

"I cannot avoid giving you some account of it. It was 'originally a sort of arched vault or magazine, raised 'above ground, and opening towards the water. In the 'course of one night, I dug away one side into a loose 'sort of platform, and placed my gun there, having 'squared the top a little, so as to give it the appearance of

* See the accompanying map and description at the end of this Lecture.

left was advanced so as to receive a part of its armament, on the third. It was occupied by Towson's Artillery; and was called, afterwards, by his name. On the morning of the same day, the British, for the first time, made their appearance in the edge of the bushes, on the right, within sight of the fort; apparently a reconnoitering party, covered by a body of Indians and light troops. I pointed a couple of guns upon them, and fired the first myself; which was the first gun of a cannonade, which lasted, with very little intermission, from that time to the seventeenth of September, following. The British party was, of course, scattered, immediately, and retreated, with precipitation, under cover of the woods, the Indians making the welkin ring again, with the shrill notes of the war-whoop.

The British had not yet any regular battery to open upon us; but they posted two or three twenty-four-pounders among some sycamore bushes, on a salient point of the lake-shore, below, so as to rake part of our camp and fire into two man-of-war schooners, which were moored opposite. The firing was returned, from my battery, and also from one of the schooners; and, between us, according to the report of the man at the mast-head of the schooner, one of the enemy's guns was dismounted, in the course of the afternoon. †

"a parapet. After one day's brisk cannonade, I found that I had blown away the earth that remained on the top, and set fire to the timbers that constituted the arch. I immediately set the Bombardiers to work; cut away the logs, entirely; filled up the cavities of the vault; and formed it into a very decent breastwork. I planked the platform, also, at the same time. A few days afterwards, I connected it, on the left, to the breastwork which had been raised, on that side, by the Ninth Regiment.

"In this state it remained, for some time, until about a week since (early in September) when I began to devise some plan to keep the Bombardiers comfortable, as the nights grew cold; for, hitherto, we had all slept together, around the gun. On the right of the platform, the ground had a considerable descent; and here I set all hands to work, as near the gun as possible. In a few days, they had made a sort of cellar, ten feet broad and twenty feet long, neatly and firmly walled up with sods. Adjoining this, they dug another similar one, walled in the same way. I caused the whole to be covered with a layer of logs; the cracks to be filled up with good mortar; and a second layer of logs to be placed over this. The men live in the large part and I in the smaller. I can enjoy the occasional privilege of a candle, in the evening; while those who live in tents are obliged to put out their lights, soon after dark. We are perfectly secure from any kind of annoyance the enemy can send against us; and, on the whole, they are considered about the most comfortable quarters in camp."

† "Aug. 6th, 1814. In the evening, an officer of the Navy came with some Field-officers of the Army, to see

On the fourth of the month, General Gaines arrived in camp, and took the command; General Ripley remaining as second. The firing, during the fourth, fifth, and sixth of August, on the part of the enemy, was inconsiderable; and we learned that he had thrown himself forward, under cover of the woods, and was there busily engaged in constructing his batteries. We fired upon them, occasionally, to annoy and retard them, as much as possible, in the prosecution of this work; but, of course, it availed little. The first battery was completed and unmasked; and, on the morning of the seventh, a little after sunrise, it opened upon us, with a volley from five pieces, at the distance of about nine hundred yards from our works.

We had heard them cutting, during the night, for the purpose of unmasking this battery; and knew, very well, what we had to expect, in the morning. A little after day-light, therefore, the troops were paraded, with colors, as for a grand field-day; the national standard was displayed at every flag-staff; as soon as the first volley from the enemy was received, the Regimental Bands of the entire army commenced playing the most animating national airs; and, in the midst of it, a salvo of artillery was fired from every piece which could be brought to bear upon the hostile position.

From this time, the cannonade became severe and unremitting, on both sides; and, as the shot of the enemy passed lengthwise, through our camp, it became necessary to dispose the tents in small groups, along the line of the trenchment, and to erect massive embankments (called traverses) transversely, for their protection. The most secluded places were selected for the horses and spare carriages of the Park for the tents of the Hospital department, and for the parade and inspection of the guards. Yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, scarcely a day passed without considerable loss, and the annoyances were incessant. Shots fired with very small charges and great elevations—the ricochet firing of Vauban—were made to fall into the areas between the traverses, and, sometimes, to knock over a whole range of tents, by a single stroke. Others, glancing against accidental obstacles, were thrown off into oblique and transverse directions, producing the same effect. No spot was entirely safe. A Sergeant, under the apparent protection of one of the traverses, was getting himself shaved to go on guard; a chance shot, glancing obliquely, took off his head and the hand of the operator.

"me, telling me I had made some of the finest shots ever saw. This, you may suppose, would make ambitious young soldier feel very vain."—Letter from the Author.

the same moment. These chance shots, however, though of frequent occurrence, were not often thus destructive of life, as they occurred mostly in the daytime, when the men were engaged on the works. There, great pains were taken to protect the laborers, by keeping a man on the watch. But, even with all these precautions, the shots often eluded our safeguards, and fell among the working-parties, with terrible effect. In spite of it all, however, the works were carried on with vigor and steadiness; and, by the tenth, the battery on Snake-hill—Towson's-battery—was completed and occupied, at full force. The line of breastworks, between Snake-hill and Fort Erie, including two other batteries, was also in a state of forwardness; and the intrenchments of the extreme right, between the fort and my battery, though, from accidental causes, less advanced, were yet capable of making a very considerable resistance. In addition to the intrenchments here spoken of, on the extreme left, from Towson's-battery to the water, was closed with a very well constructed abattis;* and a similar construction was added, on some of the more exposed parts of the intrenchment, at other points.

The enemy, in the meanwhile, was still receiving, from time to time, further reinforcements. On the sixth and seventh of August, simultaneously with the opening of their first battery, we were given to understand that two fresh Regiments had joined them, making their aggregate strength a little more than five thousand men; and the expectation was, of course, excited, that we should have a desperate attack, from them, without much further delay. In anticipation of this attack, the men were distributed, for night-service, in three watches; one to be on duty, under arms; and the other two to lie down in their accoutrements, with arms at hand, as to be ready for action, at a moment's notice. In the batteries, the guns were carefully recharged afresh, every evening, with round-shot, grape, or canister, either, or all together, as the case might require; dark lanterns burned; with linstocks and other instruments in convenient places, ready for instant use. In my own battery, in addition to other missiles, bags of musket-balls had been quilted up, in the frag-

ments of an old tent, adapted to the calibre of the different pieces, and made ready for use.

A week at length transpired, in this state of expectation and uncertainty—the British frequently exchanging their guns and their men on duty, so as to keep up, without intermission or relaxation, the vigor of their cannonade. On the fourteenth, one of their shells entered a small ammunition-chest, in one of the outworks of Fort Erie, and blew it up. Neither the chest nor its contents were of much consequence to us, though it was to be expected that the enemy, watchful for every advantage, however small, would so regard it; and, accordingly, as soon as the sound of the explosion reached him, it was greeted with three hearty cheers, by his whole line; to which ours, not to be outdone, in anything, immediately responded in three equally hearty. One of their shots, also, a few minutes after, cut away the halyards of one of our flag-staffs and lowered the flag. It was almost instantly restored; but the omen was thought too good a one to pass unnoticed; and three cheers were again given and responded to, in like manner as before. These incidents, and a few others likely to be construed as advantages gained, on the part of the besiegers, gave us a strong assurance that an attack would be attempted, in the course of the following night.

Immediately after nightfall, the lines were all visited by the commanding General, in person, and a special admonition addressed to the officers, of every grade, to be watchful and vigilant, in the certain expectation of an assault. The Chief Engineer and various Staff-officers, also, made the rounds, at later hours, and gave such directions and counsel to the different Commanders, as the occasion seemed to require. "Be prompt and energetic" was the caution of the Chief Engineer to myself, "for you may be assured that, whatever else they may do, *this* will be one of their points of attack." Thus cautioned, we were not likely to be taken by surprise. The usual proportion of men and a larger than usual proportion of officers were on post, during the night; and the residue, though sleeping, were fully equipped and ready for action.

The early part of the night, after nine o'clock, passed with unusual calmness; and this—doubtless intended to lull us into security—was deemed a further indication of the hostile purpose of the enemy. Midnight at length came; and the hour after was still undisturbed and calm; till, towards two o'clock, it began to be doubtful whether our apprehension had not been excited upon insufficient grounds. I was reclining on my camp-bed, at this hour, and, being somewhat wearied with long watching and strong emotion, I gradually resigned myself to sleep. I was

*The Abattis is a defence constructed chiefly of rows of logs and the tops and large boughs of trees. The ends of the branches are first lopped off, so as to leave sharp points. The trees are then piled with their tops towards the fortification; and are secured by laying heavy timbers along the rows of trunks. The assailant, therefore, is both exposed to his enemy's fire and obliged to penetrate in the face of these innumerable bristling points, which are often made more impracticable by ending with them thorns, cat-briars, and the like. —D.B.A.

unconscious of the interval that elapsed: it seemed, in sleeping, much longer than it could have been, in fact. But, at length—whether it were a reality or only the confused imagination of a broken dream, I could not, at first, tell—the report of a musket seemed to fall upon my ear, followed by a hurried volley of eight or ten similar reports, immediately after. Whether it were fancy or fact, however, was of little account; my physical energies were roused into action, even before my will was awake; and, by the time I was fairly conscious, I was already on my feet and at my post. Another volley was now distinctly heard, on the far left. It was no dream: the hour of attack had come: and the cry “To arms!” “To arms!” hastily given along the line of tents, awakened the reserve, and brought them into line, in almost as little time as I have employed in narrating.

I think an entire minute could not have elapsed, after the first alarm, before the close double ranks of the Ninth Regiment were formed, upon my left, with bayonets fixed, ready for the battle. My own trusty corps, familiarized, by daily use and constant vigilance, were in their places; the primers had already done their work, and were holding their hands over the priming, to protect it from dampness; while the firemen, opening their dark lanterns, were in the act of lighting their slow matches.

* * * * *

The firing which had given the alarm, was that of the picket-guard, on the extreme left, indicating the approach of the British right column, on that point. The picket-guard, in this instance, behaved well, loading and firing several times with considerable effect, as it retired; so that, by the time it made good its retreat, our troops were in perfect readiness for the reception of the enemy.

The line, from Towson's-battery to the water, was occupied, at this time, by the Twenty-first Regiment, commanded by my gallant friend, Colonel Wood, privileged here, as elsewhere, to be always first in action. About two minutes after, we—on the right—were in our places, the Twenty-first was already hotly engaged with the enemy, and its position, marked by an illumination of exquisite brilliancy, shining far up in the dark, cloudy atmosphere which hung over us; while the battery, on its right, elevated some twenty feet above the level, was lighted up with a blaze of artillery-fires, which gained for it, after that night, the appellation of “*Towson's light-house*.” To the ear, the reports of musketry and artillery were blended together, in one continuous roar, somewhat like the close double drag of a drum, on a grand scale.

While the battle was thus raging, on the extreme left, a volley of small-arms, followed by a

rapid running fire and occasional discharges of artillery, were heard on that part of the intrenchment just South of, and joining, the fort, indicating the approach of an enemy, also, on that quarter.

All yet remained quiet in front of us, till the suspense began to be painful, and the inquiry was impatiently made, “Why don't the lazy rascals make haste!” That they would fail to come, no one, for a moment, entertained the thought. We had seen the signal rockets thrown up, from their right column, at the eve of its approach, and answered from the edge of the woods, in our front; and we knew, as well as they did, what was the meaning of it. The assurance, given by Colonel McRea to myself, that “Whatsoever else they do, *this* will be one of their points of attack,” was, in my mind, almost without the shadow of a doubt, that it was soon to be realized. Yet the intensity of the fire had begun to abate, on the left, and still nothing was heard or seen, in front of us. Hundreds of eyes were gazing intently through the darkness, towards the well known position of the picket-guard, some four hundred yards in advance. Ears were laid to the ground, to catch the first impression of a footfall; but the darkness and the stillness of the night were, as yet, in *our* front, unbroken. At last a sound came—apparently, three or four men, running or walking, quickly, in the direction of the fort. “Who comes there?” was shouted from several voices at once. A slight pause ensued; and then “the picket-guard,” was the rather timid reply. I cannot repeat the terrible volley of imprecations to which this announcement gave rise: “Go back to your post, you infamous cowardly poltroons! Go back! this instant or we'll fire upon you.” It was, probably, only a few stragglers from the picket-guard, or, at least, not the whole of them; for, within a minute after and long before these men could have reached their position, if they went back, a flash *was* seen, in the proper position of the guard; and the simultaneous report of five or six muskets gave us the signal for which we had been looking so anxiously.

And now were all eyes and ears doubly intent; for we soon began to hear the measured tread of the dense columns, approaching; the suppressed voices of the officers giving words of command and caution—“Close up”—“Steady!” “men—“Steady! men”—“Steel”—“Captain Steel's Company”—and other like words, the meaning of which I shall explain, presently. A brief pause being still permitted, for the retreat of the picket-guard, the darkness and silence of the night were *darkness* and *silence* no longer.

At a given instant, as if by a concerted signal, the fires broke forth; and were immediately in

full play, along the whole line of batteries and intrenchments, from the water to the fort, inclusive.

* * * * *

It was now near *three* o'clock. The firing had greatly abated, on the further left; and it was soon understood that the enemy's column had been repulsed, at all points, on that quarter. Their attack had been chiefly confined to the abattis, between Towson's-battery and the water, defended, as I have remarked, by the Twenty-first Regiment and the artillery of Towson's-battery; and, though conducted with great gallantry, and long persevered in, it was steadily and constantly repulsed. The enemy had been rallied, several times, and brought back to the assault, after being repulsed; but always with the same result. In the darkness of the night, they tried to deceive our people into a belief that they were firing upon their own men. A part of the column even waded out into the lake, to get around the left flank of the abattis; but the Twenty-first was ready for them, and received them, as prisoners, as fast as they reached the shore—finally, an offensive movement, on our part, threatening the flank of the attacking party, completed their repulse; and, after a running fight, of short duration, the ground in front of the Twenty-first was restored to our possession, and the picket-guard reposted.

The firing, on the immediate left of the fort, had also begun to subside at the period of the action to which we have now arrived. It was, in fact, a mere feint—an expedient, on the part of the enemy, to deceive us as to his real point of attack. The interest of the whole battle was now, therefore, transferred to Fort Erie, proper, and the extreme right. These points had been approached by the enemy, in two columns—one, moving on the level of the esplanade of the fort, for the attack of that work; and the other, along the lake-shore, on the level of my battery. The first was received by the artillery-fires of the fort and detachments of the Nineteenth and Rifle Regiments, stationed in and about it—too small an amount of musketry, doubtless, for the occasion, as we shall presently notice—the second, by the guns of my battery, with the musketry of a detachment of New York Volunteers, on the right, and of the Ninth Regiment on the left.

The darkness of the night prevented us seeing the precise effect of our fires; but the ground was familiar to us, and we had no difficulty in giving the proper elevation and direction to the guns. The cannon were loaded, habitually, for short quarters. They were filled with round-shot, grape, canister, and bags of musket-balls, at discretion, till I could touch the last wad, with my hand, in the muzzle of the piece.

The firing, on our part, had continued in this way, for some time; when a mysterious and confused sound of tumult, in the salient bastion of the fort, just above us, was followed by the cessation of the artillery-fires, at that point; and presently a command was addressed to us, on the level below, by some one on the platform, calling, in a loud voice and tone of authority, "Cease firing! You're firing upon your own men." The foreignness of the accent, however, betrayed the person and purpose of the speaker. The firing did, indeed, slacken, for a moment, and the column, in front, as we afterwards learned, was about to take advantage of it; but the reaction was short. Another voice was presently heard above the tumult, commanding, in a different strain, and with no foreign accent—"Go to H—. Fire away there, why don't you?" and so we did, with more animation than ever. Some of the guns of the bastion being charged with grape-shot, were then turned and fired upon us, and a rambling fire of musketry was kept up, for a short time, from the same point; all indicating that the bastion had most surely been carried, and was now in the hands of the enemy. An old stone building, however, overlooked the bastion, and separated it from the inner fortifications, by a narrow passage, which the enemy could not penetrate. A detachment of the Nineteenth Infantry had been stationed in this building; and we now saw, by the increased animation of the fires, from the windows and loop-holes of the second story, that it had been reinforced, for the purpose of reacting against the enemy, in the bastion.

A firing was heard, at the same time, from a remoter part of the interior of the fort; playing, with great animation, for a while, and then ceasing; and so, with varied intensity, for some time. It was evident that a strife of no common sort was going on, in that quarter, but with what effect, our engagements in front did not permit us to enquire.

Nearly an hour elapsed, in this kind of warfare: volleys of musketry, with an occasional clang of other weapons, within the fort; while the line with which I was particularly connected was hotly engaged with the enemy's column, in front. The aim of this last was to pass our breast-works, with scaling-ladders, or to penetrate the open spaces; and, though he had not succeeded in reaching these points, we had reason to know that he had, several times, renewed the attempt, and was only, in fact, finally repulsed, as the day began to dawn. The remnants of this column then joined the British reserve, near the woods; and the guns of the "Douglass Battery" were turned so as to rake across the salient point of the contested bastion, to intercept communications or succors. The

bastion itself was still in the possession of the enemy; but it was understood that they were not only unable to penetrate further, but that they had been terribly cut up by the fires from the block-house and other adjacent parts of the fort and outworks.

Several charges had been made upon them; but, owing to the narrowness of the passage and the height of the platform, they had, as yet, been unsuccessful. Another party, however, it was said, of picked men, was now just organized, with the hope of a better result. To this enterprise, then—the only thing now remaining to complete the repulse of the enemy—the attention of every beholder was most anxiously bent. The firing within the fort had already begun to slacken, as if to give place to the charging-party: the next moment was to give us the clang of weapons, in deadly strife. But, suddenly, every sound was hushed by the sense of an unnatural tremor, beneath our feet, like the first heave of an earthquake; and, almost at the same instant, the centre of the bastion burst up, with a terrific explosion; and a jet of flame, mingled with fragments of timber, earth, stone, and bodies of men, rose, to the height of one or two hundred feet, in the air, and fell, in a shower of ruins, to a great distance, all around. One of my men was killed by the falling timber.

* * * * *

The battle is over; the day had now fully broke; but, oh God! what a scene! At every point where the battle had raged, were strewed the melancholy vestiges of the recent terrible conflict. There is the ruined bastion, the scene of such desperate strife, smoking with the recent explosion, and, all around it, the ground covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded—the former in every stage and state of mutilation. Near the bastion, lay the dead body of a noble looking man, Colonel Drummond, the leader of the British charge, at that point: his countenance was stern, fixed, and commanding, in death. In front of our fires, between the bastion and the water, the ground was literally *piled* with dead. Within forty yards of my battery, a sword was found and handed me, still attached to the belt, which was stained with blood, and evidently had been cut away from the body of the owner, who could not be found and probably had been carried off the field. Of his rank, therefore, we could but conjecture; though the peculiarity of its shape and workmanship has since led me to suppose that it might have belonged to the leader of the One hundred and third Regiment, Colonel Scott, who was killed at the head of the enemy's left column.*

* The sword is still in the possession of the lecturer's family. The hilt is a plain but servicable one; the blade

It became my duty, as an Engineer, to overhaul and repair the ruins; and, as soon as the action was decided, I was called upon to re-lay the platform of the ruined bastion. The whole bastion and its immediate neighborhood were heaped with dead and desperately wounded: while bodies and fragments of bodies were scattered on the ground, in every direction. More than a hundred bodies were removed from the ruin, before I could proceed with the work. and, soon after, to heighten the misery of the scene, it began to rain, violently.

Several hours were employed in carefully disengaging the wounded and burnt from the ruins: those who were yet alive were sent to the care of the Army Surgeons; while the dead bodies were passed over the embankment. While the repairs were in progress, the parties detailed for the purpose excavated large graves a little distance without the fortification, and gathered the dead, who were buried, forty and fifty together, side by side, with the honors of War. How little do those who quietly read the papers know of the real calamities of War!

It is not difficult to account for the cause of the explosion, in the bastion. The magazine [*ammunition-chest?*] was under the platform, and quite open. In the haste and ardor with which the guns were served, during the action, and in the confusion of the *mêlée*, some cartridges were doubtless broken and the powder strewed around forming a train, or succession of trains, connecting with the magazine, which a burning wad or the discharge of a musket might easily ignite. As to its effect in deciding the contest, it was very small, if anything. The British General found it very convenient to assign the explosion as the chief cause of the failure of the enterprise; but he had been completely repulsed with dreadful carnage, at all points, *before* the explosion. The British troops, in the bastion, were unable to advance, one step. Their Commander was killed. Their numbers were momentarily thinned, by our fires; and so completely were they cut up and disabled, that of those removed from the ruins of the bastion, but a very few were free from severe gunshot wounds. Indeed, had the explosion been a few minutes later, the whole of their reserve would probably have been intercepted and cut off, by a strong detachment, which was in motion, for that purpose.

The loss of the enemy, by this engagement, killed, wounded, and prisoners, could not have been less than eleven to twelve hundred. No

is very much curved, and handsomely worked with arms and shields of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A scroll work, near the hilt, is inscribed with "THE 114th REGIMENT."

hundred and five is the loss, according to their own official returns, which do not name the De Watteville's, who are known to have lost from two hundred to three hundred, at least. The loss, on our side, was, certainly, not over fifty, in killed and wounded.

The following is the "Secret General Order of Lieutenant-general Drummond," issued on the eve of the battle:

"SECRET GENERAL ORDER OF LT GENL DRUMMOND.

"HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP BEFORE FORT ERIE.
"Aug 14, 1814.

"Order of Attack.

"RIGHT COLUMN. *Lieutenant-colonel Fischer*,
"to attack the left of the enemy's position. Eighth, or King's Regiment; Detachment of DeWatteville's; Light Companies of the Eighty-ninth and One hundredth Regiments;* Detachments of Royal Artillery, with Rockets; Captain Eustace's Picquet of Cavalry; Captain Powell, Deputy Assistant-quartermaster-general.

"CENTER COLUMN. *Lieutenant-colonel Drummond*. Flank Companies of the Forty-first and One hundred and fourth Regiments; Detachment of fifty Royal Marines; ditto of ninety Seamen; ditto of Royal Artillery. Captain Barney, Eighty-ninth Regiment,† will guide this column, which is to attack the Fort.

"LEFT COLUMN. *Colonel Scott*. One hundred and third Regiment‡; Captain Elliott, Deputy-quarter-master-general, will conduct this column, which will attack the right of the enemy's position, towards the lake, and endeavor to penetrate by the openings, using the short ladders, at the same time, to pass the intrenchment, which is reported to be defended only by the enemy's Ninth Regiment, two hundred and fifty strong.

"The Infantry Picquets, on Buck's Road, will be pushed on, with the Indians, and attack the enemy's picquets, on that road. Lieutenant W. Nicholl, Quarter-master-general of Militia, will conduct this column.

"The rest of the troops, viz., the First Battalion Royals; the remainder of the De Watteville's; the Glengary Light Infantry; and Incorporated Militia, will remain in re-

serve, under Lieutenant-colonel Tucker, and are to be posted on the ground at present occupied by our picquets and covering-parties.

"The Squadron of Nineteenth Light Dragoons will be stationed in the ravine, in rear of the battery nearest the advance, ready to receive charge of prisoners and conduct them to the rear.

"The Lieutenant-general will station himself at or near the battery; where Reports are to be made to him.

"Lieutenant-colonel Fischer, commanding the right column, will follow the instructions which he has received; copies of which are communicated to Colonel Scott and Lieutenant-colonel Drummond, for their guidance.

"The Lieutenant-general most strongly recommends a free use of the bayonet. The enemy's force does not exceed fifteen hundred men, fit for duty; and these are represented as much dispirited.

"The grounds on which the columns of attack are to be formed, will be pointed out, and the orders for their advance given, by the Lieutenant-general commanding.

"*Parole*, Steele. *Countersign*, Twenty.

"J. HARVEY. D. A. General."

The British General speaks disparagingly of our little force, and evidently contemplated an easy victory, at the point of the bayonet; but his tone was wonderfully changed, when he afterwards comes to sum up the materials for his Official Despatch. The fifteen hundred dispirited soldiers, not more than half of them having been really engaged, had repelled, with immense loss, all the columns of attack; and, though they were doubtless indebted, in no small degree, to their entrenchments, for this result, these very entrenchments were the creation of the army who defended them; having sprung into existence, within the last fortnight, in the face and under the fires of the same enemy by whom they were now attacked.

In the same ratio in which this result was mortifying to them, it was gratifying and encouraging to us. The troops, who had really been somewhat dispirited, were immediately restored to cheerfulness and confidence; nor were these feelings again subdued, during all the labors and privations of the subsequent siege.

The sensation produced in the neighboring Counties, on our side of the line, was no less remarkable. The inhabitants had been disheartened, as well as ourselves, by the defensive attitude to which we had been reduced. As far as our cannon were heard, even upon the Ohio lake-shore, the most excited apprehensions were felt for our safety; and the reaction among them, after the result of this battle was fully known, was equally interesting, in itself, as it was

* About eleven hundred men.

† Say about seven hundred men.

‡ About seven hundred and fifty men.

fruitful in kind offices for our personal comfort and relief. In a very short time, they began to venture over, in boats, from Buffalo; and, thus familiarized, an intercourse was afterwards kept up, which enabled us to obtain occasional supplies of fresh provisions, of which we were greatly in need.*

The losses of the enemy, in this assault, were so severe, that we were permitted to enjoy a few days of comparative rest from the fires of his artillery; and the interval was diligently improved by us, after repairing the bastion, in completing the residue of the defences, along the line of our intrenchment. The attack had made us aware of our weak points; and we lost no time in improving our experience. All unnecessary openings were closed; the abattis renewed; the intrenchments generally strengthened, at every exposed point; new defences were projected around Fort Erie; and ground broken, with a view to complete the unfinished batteries, in rear.

The enemy, during this time, were not idle—although they did not fire much upon us, they were evidently engaged, under cover of the woods, in extending and throwing forward their intrenchments, to the right of their first battery; and, on the morning of the nineteenth, they unmasked their battery, No. 2, more elevated, and nearer, by two or three hundred yards, than the first. It was armed with four heavy guns and an eight-inch howitzer. Its fires were chiefly directed against our working parties, on the new bastions of Fort Erie; while the guns of the first battery and two heavy mortars, now for the first time opened upon us, were used for the annoyance of the camp, generally. By the twenty-first, the cannonade from these two batteries was in full play, with a vivacity far exceeding anything we had before experienced, not only in the number of the guns, but in the activity with which they were served.

It will, perhaps, meet the interest of this occasion, at least, of the unmilitary portion of my hearers, to state a little more particularly the nature of these annoyances and the kinds of missiles which, at this time and for many weeks afterwards, were thrown among us, at the rate of one or two hundred—sometimes four or five hundred—per diem.

The chief firing was, of course, from heavy

* Our usual meals consisted of salt pork, raw, and salt pork, fried, served up on barrel-heads and staves, with biscuit and stale bread. The "varieties" of our camp bill of fare were salt butter, at four to six shillings per pound; heavy sour bread, at three shillings; perhaps some onions and potatoes, at two or three dollars per bushel; meagre wine, concocted of logwood and vinegar, with an infusion of gall nuts; and *cookery* as we could catch it.

cannon, of the calibres of twelve, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders, loaded with ordinary round-shot. Nine pieces of these were in play, from the two batteries mentioned, and four added, afterwards. The shot were fired direct and in ricochet, reaching almost every part of the camp, so that the most retired and secluded places scarcely afforded protection to the troops in guard-mounting and other parades.

A column, or a guard of no more than two or three files, sometimes a *single person*, on horse-back, in certain parts of the camp, drew one or more shots from the British batteries. The smallest gleam of light, in a dark night, produced the same effect; so that it became necessary to prohibit, in Orders, all lights, after dark. I had just crept, one evening, under an old tent that leaned against the ruins of a stone house, in rear of my gun, when Colonel Aspinwall, of the Ninth Regiment, came softly to me, and roused me with the agreeable intelligence that he had brought a letter for me. I had a dark lantern burning under the gun, to which I hastened; and, having opened it but a straw's width, I broke the seal and passed my letter, backwards and forwards, before the dim light, to catch the signature and the nature of its contents. The night, however, was somewhat misty, and the single gleam of light which faintly illuminated a small portion of the damp and ruined stone wall, did not pass unnoticed. I had barely stretched myself out again to rest, when an eighteen-pound shot came rushing past the gun I had just quitted, and tore directly through the wall under which I was lying. In a very short time the more exposed parts of the camp were thus completely ploughed up. Many of the tents were pierced with shot-holes; and some of them, on the right—my own among the number—were literally shot to rags. Scarcely a day passed without some hair-breadth escapes, and other like memorabilia, more or less wonderful. It was said that one of our officers being thirsty, in the night, raised himself up to reach a pitcher of water; and when in that position a shot passed through his tent and carried away his pillow.

One day, about dinner-time, at Headquarters, while Colonels McRea and Wood and other officers were seated around the mess-table, great tumult and confusion were heard in the next apartment, which was used as the kitchen, followed by a ripping and tearing of the timbers, nearly under their feet; and, upon inquiry, it appears that a round-shot had passed through the back of the chimney-place, killed one of the cooks, and somewhat disturbed the cooking utensils. The line of direction would have carried it precisely upon Col-

Colonel Wood, but these various obstacles served to glance the ball towards the lower edge of the partition, where it entered the floor, and, cutting through a few timbers, dropped into the cellar. Upon one occasion, a twenty-four pound shot came tearing along so close that I felt its unwelcome breath. It passed by and shivered to pieces a heavy cedar picket, which stood a few feet off; picking up some of the fragments, I threw them into my sleeping quarters. Upon opening my baggage, at West Point, some time after, I found that they had been wrapped up by my soldier-servant, in the fragments of my old tent; and, on handing them over to the joiner, he contrived to make me a very serviceable chess-board, using the cedar for the dark squares. Observing a group, one day, gathered round a wounded man, I presently joined it. A round-shot had carried away part of his left side. Life was ebbing away; but, as is usual, in such cases, the wound was attended with little pain. He was dictating, with great calmness and emphasis, a few words for his absent friends—"Tell them," he repeated, at intervals, "Tell them that I died like a brave man, doing my duty in defence of my country." While in the act of repeating this charge, he expired. Some of the occurrences were of a less serious character. A baltern of the Eleventh, a good humoredibernian, on returning to his tent, after being a fatigue, all day, found that a shot had passed through the tent and cut off the skirts of his uniform coat. He immediately seized the remaining part, by the collar, and brought it out to show his brother officers what a narrow escape he had had, as he had been "on the point," he said, "of putting on that same coat, in the morning!"*

I remember having heard the lecturer relate another anecdote of this same individual.

It seems he was famous for telling wonderful stories of what he had heard and seen, and was particularly fond of magnifying the things of the "owld country," above anything which could be found in the "new." One of his literary friends took a convenient opportunity to tell him that he would lose all character for truth, and nobody would believe him if he continued this habit, much longer; the bargain was made between them that, whenever "him" was on the point of committing himself to a rash assertion, the friend should pinch him, or hit him, or touch his foot, to put him on his guard.

It happened, soon after, that the conversation at the next table turned upon the subject of barns. "Umph!" said Jemmy, "the barns in this country are nothing to the barns in Ireland! nothin' at all! I knew onst of a barn on an estate in our neighborhood." Here his friend touched his foot, and Jemmy closed his mouth. "Why, Jemmy, what was that? tell us about it," called out half a dozen voices. "How large *was* it?" "How large! did

Another of our annoyances was from the bomb-shells. These could be avoided without much difficulty, if one had time to attend to them; but as this could not always be done, they were, sometimes, particularly in the working-parties, very destructive. Colonel McRea, with Major Trimble, was one day inspecting my work, at the new bastion, when a discharge was observed at the British mortar-battery, and an officer in company remarked that the shell was falling precisely in the bastion where we were. We eluded it, however, though with some difficulty, by retreating to the further side of a row of heavy palisades.

It was by a missile of this kind that, on the eighth or ninth of September, General Gaines, with some Staff-officers, in the house occupied as Head-quarters, was severely wounded. I happened to be on the rampart of the new bastion, at the time, and traced the flight of the shell, as it passed over my head, until it descended through the roof of the building. The General was writing, at the time. It passed down, near his right hand, into the cellar and instantly exploded.

Another kind of missile was called the shrapnel-shell—so called from its inventor, Colonel Shrapnel of the British Army. It is a thinner cast-iron shell than the bomb-shell, and is filled with bullets, etc., etc.; and the interstices are filled up with gunpowder. It is projected, like a round-shot, from a piece of ordnance called a howitzer. The contents are often exceedingly destructive. When the shell explodes, they sometimes scatter in every direction: sometimes they are thrown together, in one mass. I have seen the bullets of one of these shrapnel-shells strike the side of a firmly imbedded rock, and, breaking into minute fragments, fall to the ground, in a shower of silver flakes.

Finally the congreve rocket, which, however, served only to frighten a few horses and set fire to a tent or two, although our enemy seemed to set a high value upon its destructive powers. For it happened, one day, at the same time that a number of British Dragoons

"you say?" replied Jemmy, forgetting the admonition. "How large! Why, it must have been sex thousand foot long, and upwards." A roar of laughter ensued, during which the friend contrived to grind his toe with great emphasis. As Jemmy started back, some one called out to know how *wide* that barn was. "How wide!" piteously answered Jemmy, who was inspecting his bruised member, "Oh, dear! it was sex foot." Hereupon the laughter was very loud and long; and Jemmy, losing patience, turned wrathfully upon his considerate friend—"See there, now—ye've made me a greater fool than ever, for 'if ye hadnt trod so hard on my toe, I'd have squared the barn."—*Rev. Malcolm Douglass, D.D.*

were seen riding to a distant part of the shore, to water their horses, an Artillery-officer came down to my battery, to experiment with some of these rockets, of his own manufacture. But, though they scarcely reached half the distance, no sooner did the Dragoons hear the rush of the rocket than they turned their horses' heads, and scampered off, out of reach of all missiles.

Such were some of the modes of warfare with which we had to contend; and such a few of the occurrences among us, from the twentieth of August to the seventeenth of September.* But it is amazing to see how soon men may be familiarized, even to such forms of imminent danger. After the first week, although fifteen or twenty men were frequently carried off in a day, from the fatigue-party, in the bastion, the works went on, without any visible interruption, and with no dread of danger, in comparison with that of the incessant severe labor. The soldier-boys of the camp were seen constantly running races with spent balls and throwing stones at a bomb-shell, just ready to explode, in much the same spirit as we see them, sometimes, stoning a hornet's-nest.

The British, in the mean time, were extending their works also in the woods, further round to their right; and, early in the month of September, we had reason to believe they were preparing a *third* battery for us, on the salient of the new bastion. With a view to retard this work as much as possible, their position was reconnoitered and a lantern hung in the edge of the woods to give the direction to our gunners. A vast number of shot were

thrown; but the battery was nevertheless unmasked, and opened upon us, at the distance of five hundred yards, early in September.*

The completion of our bastions, now elevated fourteen or fifteen feet above the esplanade, in the face of these accumulated fires, became a work of great difficulty and exposure. Much of it had to be done in the night; and it took, therefore, nearly two weeks in September to do what could, otherwise, have been done in five or six days. It was finally completed, and the guns mounted, ready for action, on the fifteenth.

While the strife was thus going on, on the part of the Artillery and Engineers, the Infantry, in addition to their extreme fatigue-duties, were almost daily engaged in skirmishing-parties with the picket-guards and parties of the enemy. In these affairs, we almost always gave the lead; for such was the general desire to draw the enemy into battle, that officers and men were always ready to volunteer for such enterprises. We had now been many weeks exposed to a galling cannonade, and had become heartily tired of the annoyances and inconveniences of this condition. We knew they had recently received reinforcements; our defenses were very complete; and, by the middle of September, no hope was more ardently cherished than that they would come and attack us again. Many a morning, from two o'clock till day light, have I stood on my battery—a duty

* Amongst some detached papers in the original manuscript, I find the following note: "Meantime, however, our works went steadily on. The intrenchments, wherever they had not been previously finished, were formed up and arranged, in the best possible manner for defence. On many parts of the line, where there was any exposure to attack, pikes of a rude construction were prepared, by fitting rejected bayonets on poles of sufficient length to reach over the parapet, to be used against the enemy, in case he attempted to scale. The line of abatis was, at the same time, completed around the entire work, and, at all exposed points, was rendered more impenetrable than ever. One night, a deserter from the enemy became somehow entangled in it and remained several hours without the power to extricate himself; and when, after calling piteously for release, he was, at last, taken out, with the assistance of some of our men, his clothes were, for the most part, triumphantly retained by the relentless thorns and briars of the abatis. Our ability to repel attack became every day more and more apparent; but the enemy, unfortunately, gave us no further opportunity of testing it. He seemed to have had enough of personal encounter, and aimed only to cripple us or tire us out, by the fires of his artillery."

"The soldiers now, since the assault, work with activity, and the works are making astonishing progress. Descentions have indeed taken place, but comparatively very few, and for a few days past, none. They, on the other hand, are flocking over to us, in great numbers; so that more than eleven have come in this day, among whom is one Royal Scot, a most remarkable circumstance. The information they bring is rather amusing. They say they had finished a new battery in the woods, and got it in readiness to open (this we knew). But when they came to cut away the bushes and trees, they found it would not work; and they were obliged to commence in a different situation. This I must acknowledge as going upon true *a-posteriori* principles; but, at the same time, I should hardly suppose an officer of the Royal Engineers would adopt this mode of proceeding, so far as to build his battery first, and then try if it would answer his purpose." I should hardly do worse, myself. I had almost forgotten to tell you, that General Brown, by some masterly manœuvre, had intercepted the British mail, and made himself master of some interesting documents. Among the rest, is an official return of their loss in the late action, by which they acknowledge the hundred and five, killed, wounded, and missing, without naming the De Watteville's, whose loss is supposed to be two or three hundred, at least."—Letter from Mr. D. B. Douglass, September 9th, 1814.

* A similar error was committed before Sebastopol.

other officers sometimes dropping in—to watch the position of the picket-guard, in the hope to catch the first flash of a musket. But it came not; and the conclusion was, at length, generally adopted that we must be the attacking party, if we fought at all.

After the wound of General Gaines, the command, of course, devolved upon General Ripley; but General Brown having now partially recovered from his wounds received at Niagara Falls, returned to camp, about the eleventh, and resumed the command. It was now understood, also, that large bodies of Volunteers were collected at Buffalo, about to join us; and soon, without any one having noticed the passage of boats, during the day-time, it was observed that a considerable camp of Volunteers was formed, on the lake-shore, above Towson's - battery. Some reinforcements of Regular troops also came in, from time to time. Every thing pointed towards an approaching *coup de-main*; but when, and in what manner, was reserved to the secret councils of the Commander-in-chief, to which, in this case, few besides the Field-officers of Engineers were admitted. On the seventeenth of September, however, it was developed in the Order for the sortie. Of which I am now to speak more briefly than I could wish.

[The author was in the habit of continuing and closing his Lecture, from this point, with a series of extempore remarks, in the order of the following notes:

- "1st. Plan and success of the Sortie; killed and wounded; Colonel Wood.
- "2nd. M'Cree and Wood; General Brown's dispatches.
- "3rd. Esprit de Corps, and Loyalty.
- "4th. One more application: Life a warfare—A militant "or disciplinary State—Like that of a camp of instruction, having for its end the formation of a character—That character in a vastly higher relation "indeed may be said to be, Love of Rectitude, Fidelity, Loyalty, Gentleness, Self-devotion, Implicit Obedience."

It is a source of great regret that these notes were not filled out by the author's own hand. The last two, in particular, were characteristic of the man himself, and the cream of some thirty years varied experience, from the date of this campaign. Those who have heard them, will not fail to remember the remarkable clearness and vigor of the thoughts which were expressed; the strong convictions of manly duty which they carried to the heart of every hearer; the high tone of Christian chivalry which dignified every sentence, and proved the speaker to have been, as an eloquent friend remarked, "the soldier of *CHAMBERLAIN* as well as of his country."

For the remainder of this Lecture, the Editor must profess himself responsible. He has aimed, simply, to bring it to a proper and satisfactory conclusion: and, in order to preserve the strict integrity of the narrative, has carefully confined himself to well-authenticated facts, with which,

however, so far as his recollection extends, the spoken narrative of the author perfectly harmonises.

Colonels Woods and M'Rea, it will be seen, are particularly noticed; for the lecturer was accustomed, not only in these lectures but, often, in the social circle, also, to acknowledge the benefits he derived from the patronage and example of both these distinguished officers. His mention of Colonel Wood, in particular, was marked with undisguised warmth and affectionate feeling. It seemed impossible for him to look back to the young days of an ardent and generous ambition, even through the long period of thirty years, without a pang of sorrow, at the recollection of the high-minded and chivalrous man, who was his friend and brother-in-arms; his companion, amidst scenes of the most soul-stirring interest; his tutor in Military Science; his mentor in the perplexities of an early and important responsibility; his guide and example, in all that was high, noble, and disinterested, in the walk and profession of a soldier.—*Rev. Malcolm Douglass, D.D.*]

It will be observed that the British batteries of which mention has been already made, were quite distinct from the British camp. The camp proper was situated, some two miles to the rear of its batteries, upon a cleared space, not far from the Niagara-river, but screened by heavy forests from the risk of annoyance from the American side. For the management and protection of the batteries, however, the Infantry of the British force had been divided into three Brigades, which were appointed, alternately, to guard them against surprise. They were thus kept constantly defended by a force of from twelve to fifteen hundred men; and were strengthened, besides, along their whole line, by a complexity of defences, in front and in rear, consisting of other intrenchments, lines of brushwood, felled timber, and abattis, arranged with studied intricacy and expressly calculated to retard and confuse an assailing party. The object of the *sortie*, as General Brown concisely observes, was "to storm these "batteries, destroy their cannon, and roughly "handle the Brigade upon duty, before those "in reserve (at the British camp) could be "brought into action."

The plan of the sortie was arranged with reference to such aids and facilities as the character of the ground afforded, in order that the attack might, so far as was practicable, have the effect of a surprise. The forest which bordered upon the extreme left of our camp extended around and far beyond the enemy's

* For these and other items, see General Brown's Report to the Secretary of War, dated "Fort Erie, Sept. 29, 1814;" also General Porter's Report to the Commanding General, dated "Fort Erie, Sept. 29, 1814;" also the map of the British Batteries and their defences, as sketched by D. B. Douglass, in September and October of 1814; also original letters of D. B. Douglass, dated in September and October of 1814.

batteries; and, about half way between the nearest battery and the salient point of our bastion, the upper plateau of the river was intersected by a slight ravine, which opened, indeed, in full view of the enemy, but which headed from the woods, and might, therefore, be gained, it was thought, without attracting his observation. Accordingly, on the sixteenth, fatigue-parties were sent, under the charge of able officers, to mark a road through the swampy and timbered ground; in doing which they proceeded with so much caution, that they passed the extreme right of the enemy's line, and turned upon the rear of his batteries, without discovery.

On the morning of the seventeenth, every thing appeared favorable for the meditated enterprise. The atmosphere was heavily loaded with vapors, with, now and then, a slight shower, all which was well calculated to screen our movements and to cherish our enemy's sense of security. The attack was organized to be made principally at two points. The left column, in three divisions, under General Porter, passed through the woods by the circuitous route marked out, on the preceding day, until they were within a few rods of the British right flank. The right column, commanded by General Miller, was, in the mean time, passed by small detachments, into the edge of the woods, under cover of which it marched to the head of the ravine, and, passing quietly down, took up its position nearly opposite the enemy's center. General Ripley was stationed by Fort Erie, with a column in reserve; and the artillery was put in readiness to cover the return of the troops.

About half past two in the afternoon, the action commenced with the assault of the right of the enemy's works, by our left column. The right column, under General Miller, immediately charged from the ravine; pierced the enemy's intrenchments; and succeeded in co-operating with General Porter's column. In a few minutes, they had taken possession of the block-houses; cleared the intrenchments of their defenders; captured the second and third batteries; and disabled their cannon. The British first battery held out for a short time, but was finally abandoned, when its guns also were disabled or otherwise destroyed. The whole of the enemy's reserve was, by this time, in full march for the scene of action; but the object of the sortie had been fully accomplished; and our troops retired, in good order and without molestation, to the fort.

Our losses in this affair were considerable, and were increased perhaps by the same causes—viz., the mist and rain—which had favored the attack. As, for instance, owing to the obscuri-

ty of the sun, detached parties, unacquainted with the country, moved off, at the signal for retiring, in the wrong direction, and met the enemy's approaching columns. It was in this way that we nearly lost the gallant General Miller, who was separated from his command, and, meeting the enemy's advance, saved himself only by a very speedy retreat. In this way, also, a body of fifty prisoners, who had surrendered, and were ordered to the fort, under the charge of a subaltern and fourteen volunteers, were conducted towards the British camp and re-captured, with nearly the whole of their escort. These, with other instances of the same sort, together with the loss which necessarily accompanied the bold attack upon the batteries and breast-works, reduced our effective force upwards of five hundred men including some highly valued officers. But unfortunate as was the battle, in this respect it was, in itself, a most glorious achievement and very decisive for us, in the result. In one hour of close action, our two thousand Regular and Militia destroyed the fruits of fifty days labor, and reduced the strength of the enemy, as we were informed by their own General Order, one thousand men, at the least; and gave them such an idea of Yankee courage or as they termed it, desperation, that they broke up their encampment, on the night of the twenty first, and retired rapidly down the river.*

CONCLUDING NOTE.—“Amongst our losses, in “this affair,” writes the lecturer, “I have the “sorrow to name our ever to be lamented and “gallant friend, Colonel Wood. He went out “with the Volunteers, and, amidst the confusion “which necessarily attends a fight in the woods “was, somehow, separated from them. When “they returned, after the battle, he was missing. “Enquiry was made, next day, by a flag; and “we received the unwelcome intelligence that “he had been mortally wounded in the action, “and died in the British camp, the night after;” professing, it is said, the most ardent attachment to his country, and a jealous solicitude for the honor of her arms, commending her, with his last breath, to the favor and protection of the Almighty.

Thus ended his promising career. “He died, “as he had ever lived, brave, generous, and “enterprising.” Modest and retiring, in his general manners; gentle as a maiden, in the society of his friends; you could scarcely recognize the same person, upon the field of battle. Wherever danger was, there was he found—fearless, self-possessed, and calm as upon parade. In action, he was like a lion. It was

* See General Brown's Report of the Sortie; P. S. Douglass's correspondence; etc., etc.

peculiar good fortune to be the first in every engagement, and ever *with* the first in the estimation of his Commander. "Permit me," writes General Harrison,* "to recommend Captain Wood, of the Engineers, to the President, and to assure you that any mark of his approbation bestowed upon Captain Wood would be highly gratifying to the whole of the troops who witnessed his arduous exertions." "From the long illness of Captain Gratiot, of the Corps of Engineers, the important duties of fortifying the camp devolved on Captain Wood of that Corps. In assigning to him the first palm of merit, so far as relates to the transactions within the works, the General is convinced the same decision will be awarded by every individual in the camp who witnessed his indefatigable exertions, his consummate skill in providing for the safety of every point and in foiling every attempt of the enemy, and his undaunted bravery in the performance of his duty in the most exposed situations." "To Major Wood," writes General Ripley,† "I feel particularly indebted. This officer's merits are so well known that approbation can scarcely add to his reputation." "You know," writes General Porter,‡ "how exalted an opinion I have always entertained of Lieutenant-colonel Wood, of the Engineers. His conduct on this day" (*of the sortie*) "was what it uniformly has been on every similar occasion, an exhibition of military skill, acute judgment, and heroic valor." "His name and example," writes General Brown to the Secretary of War, "will live to guide the soldier in the path of duty so long as true heroism is held in estimation."§

McRea, too, the senior officer of the Engineer Corps, on the Niagara, must not be passed by unnoticed. Writing of the Battle of Lundy's Lane, General Brown remarks: "The Engineers, Majors McRea and Wood, were greatly distinguished on this day, and their high military talents exerted with great effect; they were much under my eye and near my person, and to their assistance a great deal is fairly to be ascribed. I most earnestly recommend them as worthy of the highest trust and confidence." "Major, or as he is now, Colonel, McRea's industry and talents are the

"admiration of the whole army."* After the sortie, General Brown thus writes,† "Lieutenant-colonels McRea and Wood having rendered to this army services the most important, I must seize the opportunity of again mentioning them, particularly. On every trying occasion, I have reaped much benefit from their sound and excellent advice. No two officers of their grade could have contributed more to the safety and honor of this army, * * * McRea still lives to enjoy the approbation of every virtuous and generous mind, and to receive the reward due to his services and high military talents." But that reward, it seems, was never forthcoming. With science and military talent of the very highest eminence, and a genius for command able to direct the operations of the largest army which could be brought into the field, he, together with the other long-distinguished and able officers of the Engineer Corps, was passed by for a foreigner. Colonel McRea, himself, aided and contributed to the success of the negotiations which brought General Bernard to this country; and, having done all that he could do, in the faithful discharge of this duty, he resigned his commission, with a wounded heart, and retired from the service to private life. He died, in 1832, of the cholera.

The lecturer's own words, on the first of October, 1814, will conclude the narrative of his share in the events of this Campaign: "Now that the British force have retired, my time is spent very differently from what it was a few weeks since. The large details of men have ceased, in a great measure; and, instead of being incessantly engaged in the engineer work of the batteries and bastion, I take out a squad of Bombardiers and spend my time, very quietly, in measuring the principal lines about the camp and the adjacent country. This, always a favorite employment with me, would be still more delightful if I had any instruments to work with; but, the difficulty is, that I have no means, except of my own invention, for measuring either a line or an angle; and it is necessary to go over some of my work, two or three times, in different ways, to prove its correctness or detect any error which might occur. For my lines, I use an old cord with half a dozen knots in it, to which I am obliged to apply a ten-foot pole, every five minutes, to correct its variations. As for my angles, I have divers ways and some very wonderful ones, too, of ascertaining them."

* General Harrison to the Secretary of War, "Fort Meigs, May 9, 1813;" General Harrison's "General Orders," Fort Meigs, May 9, 1813.

† To the Commanding General, "Fort Erie, August 17, 1814."

‡ To the Commanding General, "Fort Erie, September 23, 1814."

§ The monument, at West Point, erected to his memory General Brown.

|| To the Secretary of War, "Buffalo, August, 1814."

* D. B. Douglass, "Fort Erie, September 9, 1814."

† To the Secretary of War, "Fort Erie, September 29, 1814."

October 18th, 1814. "From the time I wrote my last letter, I continued to employ myself, as there stated, but I had hardly completed my rough sketches of the ground, until loss of appetite and health compelled me to be confined to my quarters. The extremely unhealthy nature of under-ground quarters, such as mine, rendered them very unfit for the residence of a healthy man, and much more so for one in my situation. I became weaker and weaker, every day, while I remained in them, until Colonel McRea procured an order for me to be removed to Williamsville, on the American side."

The exposures, fatigues, privations, and anxieties, of this eventful Campaign had proved too much for him. He languished for many days, under a bilious fever, from which, however, by the blessing of God, his naturally elastic and vigorous constitution gradually recovered.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—THE WESTERN STATES OF THE GREAT VALLEY; AND THE CAUSE OF THEIR PROSPERITY, HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.—CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 89.

BY JOSEPH F. TUTTLE, D.D., PRESIDENT OF WABASH-COLLEGE, INDIANA.

"July 18th.—Paid my respects, this morning, to the President of Congress, Gen. St. Clair. Called on a number of my friends. Attended at the City Hall, on members of Congress and their Committee. We renewed our negotiations. Dined with Capt. Hammond, in company with a young Irish nobleman and Mr. Hillegass, Treasurer of the United States, and some other company. Drank tea and spent the evening at Sir John Temple's. This day is Commencement, at Cambridge, which Major Sargent, Gen. Webb, and a few others called to mind; and we celebrated it, at eleven o'clock, at General Webb's, with a bottle or two of wine and some good old Cheshire cheese. We conclude they must have had a fine Commencement, if the atmosphere at Cambridge has been as fine and cool as our's, in New York.

"July 19.—Called on members of Congress very early this morning. Was furnished with the Ordinance establishing a Government in the Western Federal Territory. *It is, in a degree, new modelled. The amendments I proposed have all been made, except one; and that is better qualified.* It was that we should not be subject to Continental taxation, until we

"were entitled to a full representation in Congress. This could not be fully obtained, for it was considered, in Congress, as offering a premium to emigrants. They have granted us representation, with the right of debating, but not of voting, upon our being first subject to taxation. As there are a number, in Congress, decidedly opposed to my terms of negotiations, and some to any contract, I wish now to ascertain the number for and against; and who they are; and must then, if possible, bring the opponents over. This I have mentioned to Col. Duer, who has promised to assist me. Grayson, R. H. Lee, and Carrington are, certainly, my warm advocates. Holton, I think, may be trusted. *Dane must be carefully watched, notwithstanding his professions.* Clarke, Bingham, Yates, Kearney, and Few are troublesome fellows. They must be attacked by my friends, at their lodgings. If they can be brought over, I shall succeed; if not, my business is at an end. Attended the Committee, this morning. They are determined to make a report, to day, and try the spirit of Congress. Dined with Gen. Knox—about forty gentlemen, officers of the late Continental Army, and among them Baron Steuben. Gen. Knox gave us an entertainment in the style of a prince. I had the honor of being seated next to the Baron, who is a hearty, sociable, old fellow. He was dressed in his military uniform, and with the ensigns of nobility—the Star and Garter. Every gentleman at table, was of the Cincinnati, except myself, and wore their appropriate badges. Spent the evening at Dr. Holton's, with Col. Duer and several members of Congress, who informed me an Ordinance was passed, in consequence of my petition; but, by their account of it, it will answer no purpose.

"July 20.—This morning, the Secretary of Congress furnished me with the Ordinance of yesterday, which states the conditions of a contract, but on terms to which I shall by no means accede. Informed the Committee of Congress that I could not contract on the terms proposed. Should prefer purchasing lands of some of the States, who would give incomparably better terms, and therefore proposed to leave the city, immediately. They appeared to be very sorry no better terms were offered, and insisted on my not thinking of leaving Congress, until another attempt was made. I told them I saw no prospect of a contract; and wished to spend no more time and money in a business so unpromising. They assured me I had many friends in Congress, who would make every exertion in my favor; that it was an object of great magnitude; and that I must not expect to accomplish it, in less than

"two or three months. If I desired it, they
 "would take the matter up, that day, on differ-
 "ent grounds; and did not doubt they should
 "yet obtain terms agreeable to my wishes. Col.
 "Duer came to me with *proposals from a num-
 "ber of the principal characters in the city, to
 "extend our contract and take in another Com-
 "pany; but that it should be kept a profound
 "secret.* He explained the plan they had con-
 "certed; and offered me generous conditions,
 "if I would accomplish the business for them.
 "The plan struck me agreeably. Sargent in-
 "sisted on my undertaking; and both urged
 "me not to think of giving the matter up so
 "soon. I was convinced it was best for me to
 "hold up the idea giving up contract with
 "Congress, and making a contract with some
 "of the States, which I did, in the strongest
 "terms, and represented to the Committee, and to
 "Duer, and Sargent, the difficulties I saw in the
 "way, and the improbability of closing a bar-
 "gain, when we were so far apart; and told
 "them I conceived it not worth while to say any
 "thing further to Congress, on the subject.
 "This appeared to have the effect I wished.
 "The Committee were mortified, and did not
 "seem to know what to say; but still urged
 "another attempt. I left them in this state;
 "but afterwards explained my views to Duer and
 "Sargent, who fully approved my plan. Prom-
 "ised Duer to consider his proposals. We had
 "agreed, last evening, to make a party to Brook-
 "line, on Long Island, which is a small village
 "opposite New York, divided from it by East-
 "river. Duer, Webb, Hammond, and Sargent,
 "and others were of the party. When we land-
 "ed, we ordered a dinner of fried oysters, at
 "the Stone House tavern. We took a walk on
 "the high lands, and viewed several of the old
 "forts erected by the British, at the expense of
 "immense labor. Here we had a fine prospect
 "of New York, the shipping in the harbor, and
 "of Staten Island. We dined at four, dinner
 "was elegant. Oysters were cooked in every
 "possible form; but the fried were most delic-
 "ious. Spent the evening (closeted) with Col.
 "Duer, and agreed to purchase more land, if
 "terms can be obtained for another Company,
 "which will probably forward the negotiation.
 "*Saturday, July 21.*—Several members of
 "Congress called on me, early this morning.
 "They discovered much anxiety about a con-
 "tract; and assured me that Congress, on find-
 "ing I was determined not to accept their terms
 "and had proposed leaving the city, had dis-
 "covered a much more favorable disposition,
 "and believed, if I renewed my request, I might
 "obtain conditions as reasonable as I desired.
 "I was very indifferent, and talked much of a
 "contract with some of the States. At length,

"I told them if *Congress would accede to the
 "terms I had proposed*, I would extend the pur-
 "chase to the tenth township from the Ohio, and
 "to the Scioto, inclusively, by which Congress
 "would pay near four millions of the national
 "debt; that our intention was an actual, a large
 "and immediate, settlement of the most robust
 "and industrious people in America; and that
 "it would be made systematically, which must
 "instantly enhance the value of Federal lands,
 "and prove an important acquisition to Con-
 "gress. On these terms, I would renew the ne-
 "gotiations, if Congress was disposed to take
 "the matter up again. Dined with Gen. Webb,
 "Maj. Sargent, and Maj'r Giles, at the Mess
 "House, in Broadway, opposite the play-house,
 "at the invitation of Maj. Giles; a very fine
 "dinner. Spent the evening with Mr. Dane and
 "Mr. Milliken. They informed me that Con-
 "gress had taken up my business again.

"*July 23.*—My friends had made every exer-
 "tion, in private conversation, to bring over
 "my opponents in Congress. In order to get at
 "some of them, so as to work powerfully on
 "their minds, were obliged to engage three or
 "four persons before we could get at them. In
 "some instances, we engaged one person, who
 "engaged a second, and he a third, so on to the
 "fourth, before we could effect our purpose.
 "In these manœuvres, I am much beholden to
 "the assistance of Col. Duer and Maj. Sargent.
 "The matter was taken up, in Congress, and
 "warmly debated, until three o'clock, when an-
 "other Ordinance was obtained. This was not
 "to the minds of my friends, who were now
 "considerably increased, in Congress; but they
 "conceived it to be better than the former; and
 "they had obtained an additional clause, empow-
 "ering the Board of Treasury to take order upon
 "this Ordinance, and complete the contract, on
 "the general principles contained in it, which
 "still left room for negotiation. Dined with
 "Mr. Henderson, for the first time, since I have
 "been in the city, which he insisted upon, altho'
 "I had several other invitations. Spent the
 "evening with Col. Grayson and members of
 "Congress from the Southward, who were in
 "favor of a contract. Having found it impos-
 "sible to support Gen. Parsons as a candidate
 "for Governor, after the interest that Gen. St.
 "Clair had secured, and suspecting this might
 "be some impediment in the way, for my en-
 "deavours to make interest for him were well
 "known, and the arrangement of civil officers
 "being on the carpet, I embraced this opportun-
 "ity frankly to declare that, for my own part,
 "I ventured to engage for Maj. Sargent that, if
 "Gen. Parsons could have the appointment of
 "First Judge and Sargent Secretary, we should
 "be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his

“Excellency, Gen. St. Clair, might be the Governor; and that I would solicit the Eastern members to favor such an arrangement. This I found rather pleasing to the Southern members; and they were so complaisant as to ask, repeatedly, what office would be agreeable to me in the Western country. I assured them I wished for no appointment in the civil line. Col. Grayson proposed the office of one of the Judges, which was seconded by all the gentlemen present. The obtaining an appointment, I observed, had never come into my mind; nor was there any civil office I should, at present, be willing to accept. This declaration seemed to be rather surprising, especially to men who were so much used to solicit, or be solicited, for appointments of honor or profit. They seemed to be the more urgent on this head. I observed to them, although I wished for nothing for myself, yet I thought the Ohio Company entitled to some attention; that one of the Judges, besides Gen. Parsons, should be of that body; and that Gen. Putman was the man best qualified and would be most agreeable to the Company. I gave them his character. We spent the evening very agreeably, until a late hour.

“July 24.—I received, this morning, a letter from the Board of Treasury, enclosing the Resolutions of Congress which passed yesterday, and requesting to know whether I was ready to close a contract, on those terms. As the contract had now become of much greater magnitude than when I had only the Ohio Company in view, I felt a diffidence in acting alone, and wished Maj. Sargent to be joined with me; although he had not been formally empowered to act, for the commission from the Directors was solely to me. It would, likewise, take off some part of the responsibility from me, if the contract should not be agreeable. After consulting Duer, I proposed it to Sargent, who readily accepted. We answered the letter from the Board, as jointly commissioned in making the contract. We informed the Board that the terms in the Resolves of Congress were such as we *could not accede to without some variation*; we, therefore, begged leave to state to the Board, the terms on which we were ready to close the contract; and that those terms were our ultimatum. This letter we sent to the Board; but the packet having just arrived from England, and another to sail, the next morning, it was not in their power to attend any farther to our business for the day. Dined with Mr. Hilligass, Treas^r of the United States. Spent the evening with Mr. Osgood, President of the Board of Treasury, who appeared to be very solicitous to be fully informed of our plan.

“No gentleman has an higher character for planning and calculating than Mr. Osgood. I was, therefore, much pleased with an opportunity of fully explaining it to him. But we were unfortunately interrupted with company. We, however, went over the outlines, and he appeared well disposed.

“July 25.—This morning, the Board of Treasury sent our letter to the Secretary of Congress, requesting him to lay it before Congress, for their approbation or rejection. But the packets from Europe, received, yesterday, by the British packet, occupied the attention of Congress for the day. Mr. Osgood desired me to dine with him, assuring me he had positively omitted inviting any other company, that we might not be interrupted in going over our plan. I had been repeatedly assured that Mr. Osgood was my friend, and that he had censured Congress for not consenting to the terms I had offered; but such is the intrigue and artifice which is often practised by men in power, I felt very suspicious, and was as cautious as possible. Our plan, however, I had no scruple to communicate, and went over it, in all its parts. Mr. Osgood made many valuable observations—the extent of his information astonished me. His views of the Continent and of Europe were so enlarged, that he appeared to be a perfect master of every subject of this kind. He highly approved our plan, and told me he thought it the best ever formed in America. He dwelt much on the advantages of system, in a new settlement; said system had never before been attempted; that we might depend on accomplishing our purposes, in Europe; and that was a most important part of our plan—if we were able to establish a settlement as we proposed, however small, in the beginning, we should then have surmounted our greatest difficulty; that every other object would be within our reach, and if the matter was pursued with spirit, he believed it would prove one of the greatest undertakings ever yet attempted in America. He thought Congress would do an essential service to the United States if they gave us the land, rather than our plan should be defeated; and promised to make every exertion in his power, in our favor. We spent the afternoon and evening alone and very agreeably.

“July 26.—This morning, I accompanied Gen. St. Clair and Knox on a tour of morning visits and, particularly, to the Foreign Ministers. This visit had been previously proposed by Gen. Knox, who was so obliging as to introduce me to them. * * * Being at eleven o'clock, Gen. St. Clair was obliged to attend Congress. After we came into the

"street, Gen. St. Clair assured me he would make every possible exertion to prevail with Congress to accept the terms contained in our letter. He appeared much interested and very friendly; but said we must expect opposition. I was now fully convinced that it was good policy to give up Parsons and openly to appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed Governor. Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the Eastern members, in favor of his appointment. I immediately went to Sargent and Duer. We now entered into the true spirit of negotiation, with great bodies. Every machine in the city that it was possible to set to work, we now put in motion. Few, Bingham, and Kearney are our principal opposers. Of Few and Bingham there is hope; but to bring over that stubborn mule of a Kearney, I think is beyond our power. The Board of Treasury, I think, will do us much service, if Doctor Lee is not against us, tho' Duer assures me I have got the length of his foot, and that he calls me an open, frank, honest, New England man, which he considers an uncommon animal. Yet, from his natural jealous, cautious make, I feel suspicious of him, especially as Mr. Osgood tells me he has made every attempt to learn his sentiments, but is not able to do it. His brother, Richard Henry Lee, is certainly our fast friend. I have hopes he will engage him in our interest. Dined with Sir John Temple, in company with several gentlemen. I immediately, after dinner, took my leave and called on Doctor Holton. He told me Congress had been warmly engaged in our business, the whole day; that the opposition was lessened, but our friends did not think it prudent to take a vote, lest there should not be a majority in favor. I felt much discouraged; and told the Doctor I thought it in vain to wait longer, and must leave. He reproved my impatience; said, if I obtained my purpose in a month from that time, I should be far more expeditious than was common in getting much smaller matters through Congress; that it was of great magnitude, for it far exceeded any private contract ever made before, in the United States; that, if I should fail now, I ought still to pursue the matter, for I should most certainly finally obtain the object. To comfort me, he assured me that it was impossible for him to conceive by what kind of address I had so soon and so warmly engaged the attention of Congress, for, since he had been a member of that body, he assured me, on his honor, that he never knew so much attention

"paid to any one person, who made application to them, on any kind of business, nor did he ever know them more pressing to bring it to a close. He could not have supposed that any three men from New England, even of the first character, could have accomplished so much, in so short a time. This, I believe, was mere flattery, tho' it was delivered with a very serious air; but it gave me some consolation. I now learned, very nearly, who were for and who were against the terms. Bingham is come over; but Few and Kearney are stubborn. Unfortunately, there are only eight States represented; and, unless seven of these are in favor, no Ordinance can pass. Every moment of this evening, until two o'clock, was busily employed—a warm siege was laid on Few and Kearney, from different quarters; and, if the point is not effectually carried, the attack is to be renewed in the morning. Duer, Sargent, and myself have also agreed, if we fail, that Sargent shall go on to Maryland, which is not at present represented, and prevail on the members to come on, and to interest them, if possible, in our plan. I am to go on to Connecticut and Rhode Island, to solicit the members from those States to go on to New York, and to lay an anchor to windward, with them. As soon as those States are represented, Sargent is to renew the application. I have promised Duer, if it be found necessary, I will then return to New York again.

"*Friday, July 27.*—I rose very early, this morning; and, after adjusting my baggage for my return—for I was determined to leave New York, this day—I set out on a general morning visit, and paid my respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of my intention to leave the City, that day. My expectations of obtaining a contract, I told them, were nearly at an end. I should, however, wait the decision of Congress; and, if the terms we had stated (and which I conceived to be advantageous to Congress, considering the circumstances of that country) were not acceded to, we must turn our attention to some other part of the country. New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and give us exclusive privileges beyond what we had asked of Congress. The speculating plan, concerted between the British of Canada and New Yorkers, was now well known. The uneasiness of the Kentucky people, with respect to the Mississippi, was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union, if a War with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and, most certainly, systematic settlement in that country, conducted by men strongly attached

"to the Federal Government, and composed of
 "young, robust, and hardly laborers, who had
 "no idea of any other than the Federal Govern-
 "ment, I conceived to be objects worthy of some
 "attention. Besides, if Congress rejected the
 "terms now offered, there could be no prospect
 "of an application from any other quarter: if
 "an honorable purchase could now be obtained,
 "I presumed contracts with the natives, similar
 "to that made with the Six Nations, must be
 "the consequence, especially as it could be
 "much more easily carried into effect. These
 "and such like, were the arguments I urged.
 "They seemed to be fully acceded to; but,
 "whether they will avail is very uncertain. Mr.
 "R. H. Lee assured me he was prepared for
 "one hour's speech; and he hoped for success.
 "All urged me not to leave the city so soon;
 "but I assumed the air of perfect indifference,
 "and persisted in my determination, which had,
 "apparently, the effect I wished. Passing the
 "City Hall, as the members were going into
 "Congress, Col. Carrington told me he believed
 "Few was secured; that little Kearney was
 "left alone; and that he determined to make
 "one more trial of what he could do in Con-
 "gress. Called on Sir John Temple, for letters
 "to Boston; bid my friends, good bye; and,
 "as it was my last day, Mr. Henderson insisted
 "on my dining with him and a number of his
 "friends, whom he had invited. At half past
 "three, I was informed that an Ordinance had
 "passed Congress, *on the terms stated in our*
 "*letter, without the least variation*; and that
 "the Board of Treasury was directed to take
 "order and close the contract. This was agree-
 "able, but unexpected intelligence. Sargent
 "and I went, immediately, to the Board, who
 "had received the Ordinance; but they were
 "then rising. They urged me to stay. They
 "would put by all other business to complete
 "the contract; but I found it inconvenient,
 "and, after making a general verbal adjust-
 "ment, I left it with Sargent, to finish what
 "remained to be done, at present. Dr. Lee
 "congratulated me, and declared he would do
 "all in his power to adjust the terms of the
 "contract, so far as was left to them, as much
 "in our favor as possible. I proposed three
 "months for collecting the first half million of
 "dollars and for executing the instruments of
 "purchase; which was acceded to. By this
 "Ordinance, we obtained the Grant of near
 "five millions of acres of land, amounting to
 "three million and a half of dollars. One
 "million and a half of acres for the Ohio Com-
 "pany, and the remainder for a private specu-
 "lation, in which many of the principal char-
 "acters in America are concerned. Without
 "connecting this speculation, similar terms and

"advantages could not have been obtained for
 "the Ohio Company. On my return, through
 "Broadway, I received the congratulations of
 "a number of my friends in Congress, and
 "others, whom I happened to meet with. At
 "half past six, took my leave of Mr. Hender-
 "son and family, where I had been most kind-
 "ly and generously entertained. Left the city
 "by way of the Bowery. Although I felt great
 "anxiety to return, yet I left New York with
 "reluctance. The attention and generous treat-
 "ment I had met with here, was totally differ-
 "ent from what I had ever before met with.
 "My business and introductory letters were
 "the occasion of my forming an extensive
 "acquaintance, and with those of the first
 "characters. I passed away my time, notwith-
 "standing all my labor and fatigue, in a con-
 "stant round of pleasure. Some of my ac-
 "quaintance, here, I shall ever consider among
 "the first with whom I have had the happiness
 "to form a connection, particularly Mr. De-
 "who took his leave in the most affectionate
 "manner. He is a gentleman of the most
 "sprightly abilities, and has a soul filled with
 "the warmest benevolence and generosity. He
 "is made both for business and the enjoyment
 "of life; his attachment strong and sincere;
 "and diffuses happiness among his friends,
 "while he enjoys a full share of it himself."

We are sure our readers will be grateful for
 the publication of these full quotations from
 this Diary of Doctor Cutler, displaying so
 clearly, the manners, people, and places which
 he had the opportunity of observing, and es-
 pecially, for the view given of the difficulties
 he had to surmount, before securing the pur-
 chase of lands North of the Ohio, on terms
 which should be in harmony with the con-
 ditions and interests of the men who employed
 him as their Agent and who, themselves, expect-
 ed to become actual settlers on the land. It
 is evident, one point most prominent before his
 mind, was the enunciation of a fundamental
 principle, by the Congress with whom he was
 negotiating the purchase, which would certainly
 insure to those who should colonize, exemp-
 tion from the evils of slavery and the enjoy-
 ment of privileges, in matters of religion and
 education, in kind similar to those which pre-
 vailed in New England.

What was the precise state of affairs in this
 respect, when Doctor Cutler came New York
 in 1787? The State of Virginia, in March
 1784, "ceded all her claims to jurisdiction over
 "territory North-west of the Ohio, and to the
 "soil also of that territory, subject to the ex-
 "emption in behalf of her soldiers." Imme-
 diately, a Select Committee was appointed
 of which Mr. Jefferson was Chairman, to report

an Ordinance for the government of this territory. This resulted in Jefferson's Ordinance, the fifth Article of which declared that, "after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty." This Report further advised the division of the territory into ten States, by parallels of Latitude and Meridian lines, these States to bear the names of Assenisippia, Silvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Metropotamia, Illenoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisippia. The slavery prohibition was struck out, on motion of Mr. Spaight of North Carolina, seconded by Mr. Read of South Carolina—*Journal of Congress, 1784, 873*. In this mutilated form, the Ordinance was passed, on the twenty-third of April. On the sixteenth of March, 1785, Mr. King of Massachusetts succeeded in getting an absolute prohibitory Article committed to a Committee of one from each State; but the effort was again defeated, and the Ordinance passed, on the twentieth of May, 1785, with no fundamental prohibition of slavery in the North-western Territory—*Journal of Congress, 1785, 481, 520*. Up to the time of the Ohio Company's purchase, there had been two attempts to legislate on the modified or absolute exclusion of slavery; but both had proved failures. The Virginia reservation was made in the rich "Scioto Country;" and it may well be doubted whether Mr. Jefferson's prohibitory Article, allowing slavery in the Territory for sixteen years, would not have become the very means of giving slavery a hold from which no force could have dislodged it.

And this was the status of the business, at the time the clerical Agent of the Ohio Company made his proposals to the Continental Congress, for the purchase of several millions of acres of land in the Ohio country. One attempt for a modified plan, to be in force until 1800, and another for an absolute prohibition, at once and forever, had failed. The Agent seemed, with consummate good sense, to perceive what were the opinions and wants of his constituents; and that, when he was conducting his negotiations with Congress, there was not a line on their statute-book which met those opinions and wants. These men were no ordinary land-speculators, buying land and letting it remain to be appreciated by the labors of others. They meant to sell their freeholds, in New England, and cut loose, entirely, from them, as a place of habitation; to carry their wives and children thither; to organize civilization, at once, with families, churches, schools, courts, and laws, very similar to what they were

leaving behind. Many of these men had seen slavery in States where it most flourished; and, with keen insight into its actual present and prospective evils, desired to be rid of the system, through all their generations. Doctor Cutler well knew that Putnam, and Tupper, and their companions, in this enterprise, would as soon have planted a Colony in Virginia or Georgia as on the Muskingum, unless there should be fundamental guarantees against the introduction of the hated system; and we strenuously insist that we cannot rightly interpret this Diary of Doctor Cutler, nor his extreme solicitude about the terms of agreement and the Ordinance for the government of the North-west Territory, without viewing the transaction, from this stand-point. It was as an honored, living descendant of the Ohio Company's Agent has pointedly put it, when he says, in regard to the policy of the real "Jeffersonian Ordinance" of 1784, "He" [Jefferson] "provided that slavery might remain until 1800. If settlements had been effected under that Ordinance, and the system of slavery had acquired a growth of sixteen years—from 1784 to 1800—it is idle to suppose that the prohibition, after 1800, would have been of any practical value. It must also be borne in mind, as a collateral fact, tending to prove a willingness, on the part of Jefferson and his friends, to accommodate slavery with a 'limited period,' that Congress had agreed with the State of Virginia, that all the lands between the Scioto and Little Miami, should be used for the benefit of Virginia officers, soldiers of the Revolution. What so natural as that these men should desire to take their 'servants' with them, to perform the exhausting labor and toil of new settlements? It is very evident to my mind, that, whatever anti-slavery notions Jefferson may have entertained, they were rather the timid vagaries of the Philosopher than the resolute plans of the practical Statesman. Under his indulgent treatment, the curse would have spread over the entire North-west. When the Puritan grappled with the monster, his head rolled off, instantaneously. The Ordinance of '87 was the proper and legitimate fruit of Puritanism. Whatever credit may be found to belong to prominent actors, respectively—Doctor Cutler and Mr. Dane—it must be borne in mind that they represented a Puritan constituency, the one as a member of Congress and the other as their special Agent, sent to look after and arrange the foundations for their future homesteads. Doctor Cutler and Mr. Dane were neighbors and intimate personal friends; and it is but reasonable to suppose that they acted jointly and harmoniously, and were faithful

"representatives of an intelligent constituency, "who understood their own wants and were "quite determined to have *Law* as well as *Land*, "for their future heritage. I think it but fair "to claim for Doctor Cutler, at least, an equal "participation in the great event of '87. He "was specially commissioned and sent to New "York for the purpose; and I think his Jour- "nal affords ample evidence that he performed "his duty faithfully and well."—*Substance of Hon. William P. Cutler's Speech, at the Pioneer Celebration, at Marietta, April 7, 1866.*

We shall have occasion, in another place, to allude to Mr. Jefferson's relations to the great North-west, at a subsequent stage in its history.

On the thirteenth of July, 1787, the celebrated "Ordinance for the government of the Ter- "ritory of the United States, North-west of the "Ohio River," was passed. This Ordinance contained two Articles of special significance, in their relations to the future States to be organized in that territory. The *third* ordained that "*Schools and means of education shall, for- "ever, be encouraged;*" and the *sixth*, that "*there "shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servi- "tude in said territory.*" The entire instrument is worthy the age and the exigency calling it forth; but those two Articles must make it famous forever. It becomes a matter of great interest, to inquire who was the responsible agent in the introduction of the anti-slavery Article which is, except in one important respect, quite similar to that introduced by Mr. Jefferson, in 1784, and, as Mr. Greeley says, lost only by "a most deplorable and fatal acci- "dent of the absence of a member from New "Jersey."

In his famous rejoinder to Colonel Hayne, Mr. Webster eulogized Mr. Dane, as the sole author of this celebrated Article, and, indeed, of the entire Ordinance. This is the common opinion, as recorded in works and speeches which treat of this important transaction. We do not wish to detract from Mr. Dane's well-deserved honors. There is no doubt that he reported the Ordinance and helped secure its adoption; but we cannot resist the conviction that Doctor Cutler was "the power behind the "throne," who suggested and urged it. It is to be regretted that we have not more accurate records from his and other pens; but it will be remembered that, as already quoted from his Journal, on the tenth of July, the day before Mr. Dane reported the Ordinance, Doctor Cutler made this record, "that as Congress was now "engaged in settling the form of Government "for the Federal Territory for which a Bill has "been proposed and a copy sent to me, to make "remarks and propose amendments, and which I "had taken the liberty to remark upon and PRO-

"POSE SEVERAL AMENDMENTS, I thought this "the most favorable opportunity to go to Phil- "adelphia: accordingly, after I HAD RETURNED "THE BILL, WITH MY OBSERVATIONS, I set out at "7 o'clock." The next day, Mr. Dane reported the Ordinance; on the thirteenth, Congress passed it; and, on the nineteenth, Doctor Cutler was back in New York, and records, in his Journal, these words: "Called on members of "Congress, very early, this morning—was fur- "nished with the Ordinance establishing the "Western Federal Territory. It is, in a degree, "*new-modeled*—THE AMENDMENTS I proposed "have ALL been made except one and that re- "lates to *taxation*. It was that we should not be "subject to *taxation*, &c."

With this, now associate the UNVARYING TRADITION—perhaps a stronger term is warranted—handed down, by Doctor Manasseh Cutler, to his eldest son, the late Judge Ephraim Cutler, of Washington-county, Ohio; and, by him, to his son, the Hon. William P. Cutler, of the same place, that, among the most important amendments which he suggested, was *this*—*excluding slavery*, or involuntary servitude, forever, from that territory, a part of which he was seeking to purchase, for actual settlement, by men who hated slavery and belonged to the only Commonwealth of the original thirteen which then had no slaves, and whose anxieties were, at this very time, excited by the fact that a large portion of that very Western country, which they were expecting to make their home, had been given to Revolutionary officers belonging to a slave State. All these facts bear on the question whether Doctor Cutler is not fully entitled to the honor of an equal share, in the conception which, when legitimated by Congress, has proved the one great cause of what the North-west now is, and all it promises, in the future, to be.

It may be that, in some old closet or chest, in some old house, in New England, may be posing the very letters, or diaries, or documents, which may settle this claim, definitely as false or well-founded. That the name of Mr. Dane is, and that it ought to be, forever associated with this Ordinance, we shall insist on, most strenuously; at the same time, we feel warranted, also, in the conclusion that the truly able, sagacious, and indefatigable Agent of the Ohio Company, Doctor Manasseh Cutler, also bore a very important part in bringing that instrument into the form which, for his own sake and also for the momentous results flowing from it, must take its place, in history that is never to be forgotten. We now begin to appreciate the importance of the act which would emblazon on the great act itself, the names of Nathan Dane and Manasseh Cutler.

We omit, entirely, the familiar facts pertaining to the actual settlement made at Marietta, the next year; the marked men led by General Rufus Putnam, to take possession of lands which could never be lawfully trodden by slaves; the thrilling adventures which attended the planting of the institutions of civilization, there; the wars with the savages; and the Peace conquered by General Wayne. These facts are accessible, in any library; but it is important to remark that, among the most assiduous agents in inducing emigration to the good land he had purchased for the Ohio Company, was Doctor Cutler, who used the press, as an important auxiliary. In 1787, soon after his negotiations with Congress had been successfully concluded, he published "an anonymous pamphlet, which seems, now, to have been prophetic to a degree truly surprising. He hazards the prediction that many, then living, could see our Western waters navigated by the power of steam; and that, within fifty years, the North-western Territory would contain more inhabitants than all New England. What seemed, at the time, a random and improbable conjecture, has since risen to the dignity of a prophecy, the fulfilment of which has astonished the world."—Sprague's *Annals*, ii., 17.

In 1791, it was *guessed* that Ohio had about a thousand people; and, at Vincennes, there were nearly two hundred French slave-holding families. After Wayne's Treaty with the Indians, emigration began to pour into the Territory, so that, in 1800, Ohio had forty-two thousand, one hundred, and fifty-six. The first city organized, that of Washington, dates back to 1788; and the first Court, to the same year. The first Territorial Legislature began its sessions, at Cincinnati, on the sixteenth of September, 1799. The late Judge Jacob Burnet, of Cincinnati, was one of the Legislative Council, consisting of four, one being from Cincinnati, one from Vincennes, one from Marietta, and one from the region of Steubenville. The lower house was made up of Representatives from the now Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois. The condition of the country may be inferred from the fact that Judge Burnet's law-office embraced not a small part of that immense district, just named. On the third of March, 1800, a Committee of Congress reported on the condition of the country, its Courts, and its resources; and recommended the setting off the Indiana Territory. This took effect in 1801; and General W. H. Harrison became the first Governor. In that year, an attempt was made to divide the present territory of Ohio, by making the Scioto the boundary, thus postponing the admission of Ohio as a State. This led to a

special mission to Washington, by the late Governor Worthington, who defeated the obnoxious measure and secured the passage of a law permitting the People of Ohio to form a State Constitution, in order to admission into the Federal Union.

The settlers on the Ohio Land Company's purchase were opposed to the formation of the State, at that time. The Convention for forming the new Constitution met in September, 1802; and, on the preliminary question, as to the expediency of forming a State Constitution, Ephraim Cutler, the eldest son of Doctor Cutler, stood alone in the opposition. For many facts, relating to this remarkable man, we are indebted to the funeral discourse delivered by Professor E. B. Andrews of Marietta-college; and for other facts to the memoranda and conversations of Judge Cutler himself. The Constitutional Convention was divided into three parties—the first, a slavery party, led by a Mr. John W. Brown, an Englishman, naturalized at Marietta, a Dissenting Minister, who represented Hamilton-county, in the Convention. The only time Ephraim Cutler was ever known to be in a towering passion, was when, on his way to this Convention, he heard this man, Brown, declare that "Washington was no better than an Atheist;" and he told the libeler if he repeated the offence he would whip him. The second party was anti-slavery; and was led by Judge Cutler. The third party was made up of those members who were not identified with either of the others; and who held the balance of power, in the Convention.

In order to understand the nature of this struggle, in that first Constitutional Convention, North of the Ohio, and on which so much depended as to the future Commonwealths of the Great Valley and, indeed, the entire Republic, it must be remembered, as already stated, that a large tract of the best lands in Ohio had been reserved for Virginia soldiers; that, already, along the Ohio and Scioto, with their tributaries, including a considerable fraction of the "Scioto and Miami Country," had already settled large numbers of emigrants, from Virginia and other slave-States, who desired to bring their slaves with them, and who, perhaps, in some cases did bring them; but the most of whom regarded with dislike the Ordinance of '87, as doing them a wrong. We know there were slaves in Indiana and Illinois; and we have heard the fact asserted that there were slaves in Ohio, also. Indeed, we have no doubt of the fact.

We have already mentioned the fact that the pro-slavery party in the Ohio Constitutional Convention was led by a Mr. Brown. He, as Judge Ephraim Cutler affirms, openly declared

that his "views were sanctioned by one of the "greatest statesmen of the day."

It now appears that *Mr. Jefferson* was the high authority quoted as sanctioning the limited slavery scheme and using his influence to secure its adoption in Ohio. To some, this may appear incredible; but, in fact, this very element was in his draft of the Ordinance of 1784, "that, "after the Year 1800 of the Christian Era, "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary "servitude in any of the said States." This dissolves the improbability of the statement as to the part Mr. Jefferson, through his friends, took in the attempt to introduce a system of limited slavery into Ohio. The question was at once raised by the Convention's Committee on the *Bill of Rights*, of which this John W. Brown was the Chairman and Judge Cutler a member. The Judge records it in his diary that "an exciting subject was immediately brought "before the Committee, the subject of admitting "or excluding slavery. Mr. Brown produced a "Section which defined the subject, in effect, "thus: *No person shall be held in slavery, if a "male, after he is thirty-five years of age; and, "if a female, after twenty-five years of age.*"

In private conversations, Judge Cutler declared his conviction that this momentous sentence, proposed for adoption into the fundamental laws of the new State, was inspired by Thomas Jefferson and was in his handwriting; and he hints this conviction, in the following entry in his Journal: "I observed to the Committee, that those who had elected me to represent them, there, were desirous of having "this matter clearly understood, and I must "move to have the Section laid on the table, "until our next meeting; and, to avoid any "warmth of feeling, I hoped that each member "of the Committee would prepare a Section "which would express his views, fully, on this "important subject. The Committee met, next "morning, and I was called on for what I had "proposed, the last evening. I THEN READ "THEM THE SECTION, AS IT NOW STANDS IN "THE CONSTITUTION. Mr. Brown said that "what he had introduced was taught by the "greatest men in the nation to be, if established "in our Constitution, obtaining a great step "toward a general emancipation of slavery; "and was, in his opinion, greatly to be preferred to what I had offered."

Professor Andrews, in his eulogy on Judge Cutler, cites "a letter received, recently, from a "gentleman of high respectability and intelligence," which throws light not merely on the position of President Jefferson, but on the critical position of the embryo States of the West, at that time. "In the Winter of 1846-7," writes this gentleman, "as I think, I had several con-

versations with the late Governor Jeremiah "Morrow, who was then at Columbus. These "related, in a considerable degree, to the early "history of Ohio, the Convention that formed "the Constitution of 1802, and the characters of "many of the leading men of that period. I "had then just read, very attentively, the Journals of the Convention, and, being interested "in the subject, sought to elicit from him such "reminiscences as he had, in relation to these "points. In one of them, he stated that, when "he went to Philadelphia, as a member of "Congress, in 1803, he visited Mr. Jefferson, "that their conversation turned upon the new "Constitution of Ohio; that Mr. Jefferson "commended it, highly, in its main features, "but thought the Convention had misjudged, "in some particulars. One of them was in the "structure of the Judiciary, which Mr. J. "thought too restricted for the future wants of "the State, using, in this connection, the expression that 'they legislated too much.' "Another was the exclusion of slavery. Mr. "Jefferson thought it would have been more judicious to have admitted slavery, for a limited "period, 'an opinion,' added Governor Morrow, "in which I did not concur.' His statement "of the conversation with Mr. Jefferson was "much more full and minute; but, as I have "not by me the memoranda I made, at the "time, I can give only the substance. I am "am sure is correct."

With this position attributed to Mr. Jefferson, we think many confirmatory statements might be selected from his published volumes. The names of the Committee having this important Section under consideration, as given in the *Journal of the Convention*, were Messrs. Brown, Cutler, Gotorth, Dunlavy, Ballin, Grubb, Wood, Updegraff, and Donaldson. Here were two propositions—the one for a limited slavery, understood and believed in by the Convention to have emanated from President Jefferson, and the other, that which was introduced by Ephraim Cutler and as contained in Article VIII, Section II., of the old Constitution of Ohio, absolutely declaring that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, in this State," etc. These propositions were warmly argued in the Committee, especially by Mr. Brown and Mr. Cutler. The latter was not a man of liberal culture, but of high reading and honored as the founder of the first public library in Ohio. He had settled in Ohio, in 1795, a noble Christian pioneer from Massachusetts; a man of singular modesty and yet unbending independence and integrity. He, like many plain men of that day, had reflected, profoundly, on the great questions which were before our nation, during the period

the Revolution and the formation of the Federal Constitution. On the subject of slavery, as "a political and social cancer," his convictions were clear as light; and, in common with thousands of the best men, in New England, he settled on the North bank of the Ohio, because he had faith that the great Ordinance of '87 would, forever, shelter that land from the curse which rested on the Southern States. He was naturally a lethargic man; and it required extraordinary motives to rouse him to exert his full power. Tradition says that, in that Committee-room, he argued like a great Christian statesman, who felt that the destinies of the future were entrusted to his speaking; and so well did he put the case that, on the final vote, five of the Committee stood with him and four with Brown; and so Cutler's Article was reported to the Convention. But it was by no means yet out of danger. Brown and his friends were active and determined; and, one day, when Cutler was confined to his room, by sickness, they took the opportunity to move and *carry* an amendment, which, in effect, neutralised or set aside, altogether, the Article as reported by the Committee, and introduced the Article rejected in the Committee-room. They were very exultant over their victory; but, the next day, a scene occurred which is worthy of record. Judge Cutler moved to strike out the hateful amendment that proposed to fasten slavery on Ohio; but Brown insolently demanded what he wanted *that* for, and broadly sneered at the gentleman as "hard to please," and patronizingly asked "what he wanted?" The English legate, whom his antagonist had threatened with a whip if he reviled Washington's good name again, now seemed to take special delight in asserting his superiority. The young farmer was thoroughly stirred up and, with masterly power, unfolded the nature of the system about to be fastened on the young Commonwealth of Ohio, and its influence on the morals, manners, thrift, and political destinies of the States—he portrayed, also, the disastrous consequences of introducing that into the new State, which the best men in Old Virginia were deprecating, as a curse and calamity. He spoke with great power and the eloquence of conviction; and so well that, to quote from his own journal, "When the vote was called, Mr. Milligan changed his vote and we succeeded in placing it—the Article—in its original state. Thus an overruling Providence, by His wisdom makes use of the weak to defeat the purposes of the great and wise."

Thus a Massachusetts farmer, by his firmness and wisdom, defeated a measure which depended on the stability of only one vote to

have entailed, not on Ohio alone, but the other Western States, the calamities which have fallen so heavily on Kentucky and Missouri. And it was singularly fit that these two men, father and son, Manasseh and Ephraim Cutler, should be the instruments of accomplishing such beneficent measures for the West, the one, in conjunction with Mr. Dane, suggesting the immortal Sixth Article in the Ordinance of 1787, and the other carrying it into effect, in the Constitution of the first State included in that North-western Territory. and so determining the character of the rest.

In a historical discussion of the Ordinance of '87, Governor Coles of Illinois says that, after Indiana was organized, as a Territory, several hundred slaves were held there. The same was true of Illinois. After the passage of the Ordinance, the larger slaveholders, in what is now Indiana and Illinois, removed their slaves across the Mississippi or Ohio; but not a few of the more ignorant among them, being unacquainted with the English language, continued to hold their slaves, for many years.

Under date of the twelfth of January, 1796, four persons of Kaskaskia, in a Memorial to Congress, represent that they "now are possessed of a number of slaves which the Article 'above' [*Sixth Article, Ordinance of '87*] "seems to deprive them of (perhaps inadvertently) without their consent or concurrence." They argue the question as to the justice and constitutionality of the Article, which "would deprive them of their most valuable property." In view of their reasoning, they "humbly pray that the Sixth Article of Compact, "in the Ordinance of 1787, may either be repealed or altered so as to give permission to introduce slaves into said Territory, from any "of the original States, or otherwise; that a law may be made permitting the introduction "of such slaves, as servants for life; and that "it may be enacted for what period the children of such servants shall serve the master "of their parents."—*American State Papers, Public Lands, i., 61.* The Committee of the House reported adversely, that they are informed it would be disagreeable to many of the inhabitants of the Territory, "and the petition ought not to be granted." The early French colonists, who settled at Vincennes and Kaskaskia, held many slaves; and, during the successive occupancy of the territory, by France, Great Britain, and Virginia, up to the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, "the right of the "inhabitants of the territory to hold slaves "was not questioned by any legislative authority." Both in Indiana and Illinois, previous to their becoming States, "rules had been pre-

"scribed," by the Territorial Legislature, allowing a limited period of slavery; "but many slaves were removed from the Indiana Territory—including, then, Illinois—either to the Western side of the Mississippi or to some of the slave-holding States."—Dillon's *Indiana*, 410; Ford's *Illinois*, 32.

General William Henry Harrison, a native Virginian, the first Governor of Indiana Territory, was said to be a pro-slavery man in his sympathies; and, in a letter addressed to Congress, in 1803, he declared that "the people of Indiana," by their Delegates, in Convention assembled, give "their consent to the suspension of the Sixth Article of the Compact between the United States and the people of that Territory." On the second of March, 1808, John Randolph of Roanoke reported against this "declaration" in the following language: "That the rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of colonies in that region. That this labor, demonstrably the dearest of any, can only, with advantage, be employed in the cultivation of products more valuable than any known in that quarter of the United States; that the Committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the North-western country and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier. In the salutary operation of this sagacious and benevolent restraint, it is believed that the inhabitants of Indiana will, at no very distant day, find ample remuneration for a temporary privation of labor and emigration."—*American State Papers, Public Lands*, i., 146.

The memorialists, in this case, present the case as strongly as they can, "as highly advantageous to the Territory," and also because the people of Indiana "were not represented in the body" which passed the Ordinance. In 1804, some Indiana people sent a similar petition to Congress. To this, Mr. Rodney of Delaware, Chairman of the Committee, reported, recommending the suspension of the Sixth Article—the anti-slavery one—of the Ordinance, for ten years, on condition that the descendants of such slaves should, if males, be free at twenty-five years and, if females, at twenty-one. The House rejected the Report. In 1806, a third petition was presented; and Mr. Garnett of Virginia repeated the recommendation of Mr. Rodney, in 1804; and, again, the House voted it down. In 1807, Mr. Parke, the Delegate of the Indiana Territory, made a similar proposition, which the House again refused to adopt; and, in November, 1807, a similar peti-

tion was presented to Congress, from the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of Indiana Territory. At the same time, was presented a Remonstrance from the citizens of Clarke-county; and, in view of all the facts, Mr. Franklin of North Carolina reported against any suspension of the Ordinance of 1787. This Report was adopted by the House of Representatives.

It was this series of attempts to foist slavery into the territory North of the Ohio and covered by the immortal Ordinance of '87, that led Thomas Benton, on the tenth of June, 1850, to say, in the Senate of the United States, "That five times, in four years, the respective Houses of Congress refused to admit even a temporary extension or rather re-extension of slavery into Indiana Territory, which had been, before the Ordinance of 1787, a slave-territory, holding many slaves at Vincennes. These five refusals to suspend the Ordinance of '87 were so many confirmations of it. All the rest of the action of Congress on the subject was to the same effect and stronger."—Coles' *History of the Ordinance of 1787*, 20-21.

These repeated refusals led to some curious measures in the Territory of Indiana; and, among these, the passing of a law "authorizing the indenture of slaves, over fifteen years of age, for a specified term of years. In many cases, it was extended, in practice, to *nine years*, or for a term which was intended to include the life of the party indentured. As a slave is not competent, by law, to make an agreement or contract, he had first to be made free before he could enter into the indenture. But this was made a mere matter of form, being done simultaneously, and the master taking care that neither instrument should be valid until the other was executed. If a slave, after his master had signed his instrument of emancipation, and he was nominally free, should refuse to sign his indenture, the master had the right to send him out of the State, to sell him, and to retain over him all his rights as a master."—Coles' *History of the Ordinance of '87*, 22-23.

Repeated attempts were made to nullify the Ordinance, by submitting cases to the Supreme Court of Indiana; but, in every case, the Court sustained the Ordinance. In the same spirit, both in Indiana and Illinois, the subject was brought into the political arena; and the whole ground was fought over, with the greatest animosity. In some cases, the Ordinance was in peril; but, in the end, it triumphed over opposition. Governor Ford, in his *History of Illinois*, gives a graphic picture of the introduction of a qualified apprenticeship to slavery; the laws passed in consequence, and

borrowed directly from the Codes of Virginia and Kentucky; and the uneasiness produced among the settlers by the Southern emigrants, who crossed the State, into Missouri, with their numerous slaves. Fortunately, the "new gospel" of the later day had not been proclaimed; and there was enough sagacity and moral rectitude, in high places, to deny the wicked popular importunity, which, first in Ohio, then in Indiana, and then in Illinois, demanded the introduction of that system of human bondage which had so crippled and weakened Kentucky as to suffer Ohio, her younger free-soil rival, far to outstrip her, and Illinois to outstrip her rival, Missouri, and entailed evils of the greatest magnitude on all the new slave States, from Tennessee to Texas.

But, in the results we have described as having been attained in the nine Western States of the Great Valley, named in the beginning of this article—results which, in our opinion, constitute one of the most remarkable civil developments known in history; results which must mainly be assigned to two potent causes, *Free Soil* and *Free Schools*—history will not do full justice to the agents employed by Divine Providence, in their accomplishment, until she names, with the most honorable approbation, not only that true and pure statesman, Nathan Dane, but those honored and great men, the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D., and his son, Judge Ephraim Cutler, whose wise foresight, and resolute purpose, and devout virtue, so greatly aided in planting the seeds which have sprung up into universal freedom and Free Schools for the North-west.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, IND.

J. F. T.

IV.—HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO- COUNTY, NEW YORK.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 101.

BY S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

VII.—TOWN AND VILLAGE OF NORWICH.

Among the earliest settlers in the territory now comprised in the County of Chenango, were Avery Power, of Norwich, Benjamin Hovey, of Oxford, and William Guthrie, of Jericho, now Bainbridge.

Mr. Power immigrated hither, with his family, from the Eastern States, as early as 1788, and became the occupant of the "Indian-fields," one mile below the present village of Norwich, paying a small rent, in produce and merchandize, to the Indian proprietors of the "Castle," on the

East-side of the river, who had already effected a partial clearing on the opposite "fields." In 1790, he perfected his title, by a purchase of his farm, then consisting of two hundred and eighty-six acres, from the State, at three shillings, or seventy-five cents per acre; and opened an inn, or house of public entertainment, for his Indian friends and such of the white settlers or travelers as might require temporary accommodation. In 1800, he sold the farm to Captain John Randall, for the sum of forty-one hundred dollars, in whose possession and that of his descendants—John Randall, Junior, and Charles York—it remained, until a very recent period, when it passed into the hands of Jeduthan Newton, of Norwich. Benjamin Hovey, in 1789, purchased of the State a large tract of land in that part of the original township of Fayette, now included in the village of Oxford; and William Guthrie, in 1790, opened a public-house, in a portion of the township of Clinton, afterwards called Jericho, and now known as Bainbridge.

The citizens of Norwich, in 1789, employed Captain John Harris, an early settler, and a man of enterprise and energy, to purchase the land comprised in the present village and other lands situated in the valley of the Chenango. He, however, seems to have engaged in a sea-voyage, after arriving in New York, where the sales were to take place, and committed his trust to an agent, who was outbid by Mr. Leonard M. Cutting, who offered one penny more per lot, and to whom the whole was struck off. He re-sold the lots, to the principals of Captain Harris, for five dollars per acre each, an advance of about four dollars on his own purchase. On his death bed, shortly afterwards, he re-conveyed the fifteenth town—Norwich—to Melancthon Smith and John Stiles, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, the former of whom immediately came on and executed contracts to the settlers in possession, with the exception of Avery Power, who had previously purchased from the State.

The first settlers in Norwich, after Power, were chiefly immigrants from Massachusetts and Connecticut, and found their way into the Chenango valley, in the Fall and Winter of 1790 and Spring of 1791, either, by way of Albany, to the Unadilla-river, and thence, through the wilderness, aided by the marked trees of the early surveyors, to the Power farm and tavern; or, directly, through Whitestown, near the present site of Utica, down the Chenango. Among them were David Fairchild, who took up the "Terry Farm," near the old Gates' Tavern, four miles below the village; Silas Cole, who purchased the tract of land, included in the present village, North of the South bridge across the Canasewacta-creek and East of Main-street to its intersection with the street running East to

the river, subsequently known as the "Elder Randall" and "Judge Steere" farms, built the house afterwards owned by Elder Jedediah Randall and subsequently by Charles York, and occupied it as a tavern; * William Smiley, who located the farm, next South of "the old Randall farm," subsequently owned by Elias Breed, and now in the possession of John Fryer and William R. Breed; † Nicholas Pickett, who purchased the large farm, on the East side of the river, known as the "Nathan Pendleton farm; ‡ Thomas Brooks, a Massachusetts-man, compromised by the "Shay's rebellion," who occupied a portion of the land subsequently owned by Peter B. Garnsey, and built a log dwelling on what is now known as the "West Green" of the village; § Israel, Charles, and Matthew Graves, who became the owners of all that part of the present village of Norwich lying North of its southern boundary, and West of South Main-street, to the North line of the old "Seth Gallick property;" Manasseh French, the first clergyman, who settled on what was afterwards known as the "Joseph Brown farm," a little South of Norwich village; Captain John Harris, the purchaser of the "old Harris farm," on the East of North Main-street, and North of the "Judge Steere property;" Samuel Hammond, owner of the farm next adjoining "the Harris farm," on the North; Hascell Ransford and William Ransford, who became the purchasers of a large farm, lying on both sides of the highway, North of the "Harris" and "Dickinson" farms; Daniel Skinner; William Munroe, afterwards, for many years, Sheriff of the County, who was the purchaser, from the State, of the

* Mr. Cole seems to have become, shortly after, embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and to have parted with his farm to Elder Jedediah Randall, who, on his death, bequeathed to Judge York, that portion now occupied by him. Cole subsequently emigrated to Ohio, where he died, several years since.

† "The 'Smiley farm' included the once famous sulphur-spring, which, in times past, was a fashionable resort for the villagers. The waters were supposed to possess valuable medicinal qualities; but, by attempted improvement, its vein was finally destroyed."—Clark.

‡ "He occupied it for a few years, when he sold out, and removed westward."—Clark.

§ "His property, East, was confiscated to the Government; and he came hither to repair losses. The Major always admitted his participation in the rebellion, and justified it. He had also been a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and was at Bunker's-hill. Major Brooks built a log-house, on the West Green, in Norwich village. *There was not a hammer nor a nail used about the building*—these articles not having then been introduced. Afterwards, the Major removed to Plymouth, where he suddenly died by the fall of a tree, about the year 1823-4."—Clark.

"Garnsey farm," extending from the "Gallick farm," on the West side of South Main-street, in Norwich village, to the Canasewacta-creek, and North to the South bounds of the "Dickinson farm" and which was, subsequently, purchased by Elisha Smith, Esq., who transferred it to Peter B. Garnsey, in whose possession it remained until his death, and is now occupied by his heirs; * Josiah Dickinson, who became the owner of all the land lying North of the "old Garnsey farm," and West of North Main-street, to the northern boundary of the village; and Stephen Steere, who purchased, of Silas Cole, all the land North of the South Canasewacta-bridge, on the East side of Main-street, to the "Harris farm," on the North, and extending, easterly, to the river, with the exception of the "Jedediah Randall farm," on the South, and the adjacent dwelling-house and lot of Doctor Jonathan Johnson. Benjamin Edmunds purchased, early in the present century, the lot of ground on the East side of South Main-street, North of the residence of Judge Steere, and extending, North, as far as the North boundary of the lot on which the American Hotel, formerly known as the "Noyes House" now stands. On this lot, Mr. Edmunds built the "old yellow house," the late residence of Judge Purdy, and the adjoining house, belonging to the Rider family. Thompson Mead, Josiah Brown, John Wait, Martin Taylor, Joseph Skinner, William Ransford, Junior, William Gibson, (the old butcher) Simeon and Job Spencer, John Welch, Lemuel Southwick, Leonard Monroe, Lotter Jaynes, and Richard Miller are also enumerated by Mr. Clark, as among the early settlers of the village and its immediate vicinity—all without exception, dead, now. "Miss Clara Brooks came into the town, when a child, with her father, Major Brooks, and was believed to be the oldest of the females living, who first settled in Norwich. Miss Harriet Graves afterwards Mrs. Hascall Ransford, Senior, moved into the town, in the year 1791."

It will be perceived that the original owners of all the land now included within the bounds of the village of Norwich, at or about the commencement of the present century, were:

* This farm extended, on the West, to the Canasewacta creek, and, for some distance beyond, where the Gannett Mills were subsequently erected. "Prior to the erection of these mills," observes Mr. Clark, "the inhabitants either transported part of their grain to Tloga-point, at great expense and endless toll, or they constructed rafts, by hollowing out, at one end, a log, from three to four feet in length, and working them by a sweep, with a pestle attached." Such were the hard labors, and privations of the pioneer settlers of the Chenango-valley, within the memory of some now living.

† Clark's *History of Chenango*.

On the East side of Main-street, and extending to the Chenango-river, reckoning from South to North, Jedediah Randall, Doctor Jonathan Johnson, Stephen Steere, Captain John Harris, and Samuel Hammond.

On the West side, extending from the Canasacta-creek, on the South and West, Israel, Charles, and Matthew Graves, Colonel William Munroe, ("the Garnsey farm") and Josiah Dickinson.

Elder Randall sold off the North part of his farm to Doctor Jonathan Johnson. Judge Steere sold "the Benjamin Edmunds" and "the Doctor Joseph Brooks" lots, North of his residence; and donated to the village, the East Green. The Graves family sold to Seth Garlick and James Birdsall the lots and land afterwards occupied by them. Colonel Munroe sold to Elisha Smith, and Judge Smith to Peter B. Garnsey; and the latter, after donating to the village the West Green, sold to Joseph S. Fenton, Asa Morton, and Doctor Henry Mitchell, on the North, and to Beriah Lewis, Charles Randall, and Truman Mos, on the West. Mr. Dickinson sold a part of his farm, on the North, to Elisha Smith and Samuel Randall. All subsequent dispositions of property in the village, are believed to be traceable from these roots.

Elder Jedediah Randall devised the northern portion of the residue of his farm to the Hon. Charles York, who, until a very recent period, occupied the homestead originally built by Silas Cole, having previously sold the southern portion to Thomas Prentiss, who, or whose descendants, still continue to occupy it. Judge York subsequently sold off the lot now owned and occupied by Nelson B. Hale, between his own residence and the Prentiss farm. On the North of Doctor Johnson's lot, three or four small plots, extending to the present Chenango-canal, were sold off, by him and the representatives of Judge Steere; and Timothy Steere succeeded, in 1816 or 1817, in the occupation of the old homestead, including, as was subsequently ascertained, the lot on which Mr. Edmunds erected a dwelling-house, in 1819, South of and adjoining the "Yellow House" lot. This portion of the Steere property was afterwards sold to George L. Rider, in whose family it still remains. The "Yellow House" property, extending North to that of Doctor Brooks, was conveyed by Mr. Edmunds, in 1808, to his son-in-law, Perez Randall, who built a store and office on the North, and either built or purchased the dwelling-house adjacent to the Brooks property, now forming a part of the "American Hotel," or "Noyes' House." Mr. Randall afterwards conveyed the "Yellow House" and lot, including the store and office, to Charles York, who conveyed to the late owner, Smith M. Purdy. James M. D. Carr subse-

quently purchased the intervening lot, between Judge York and the "American," and erected a dwelling-house and shop upon it. The house and lot occupying the present site of the "American Hotel," passed, in 1815 or 16, into the possession of Mr. Edmunds and Perez Randall; and, in 1819-20, into that of Thurlow Weed, then Editor of the *Republican Agriculturist*, published in the village; and was subsequently purchased, in 1825-26, by Josiah S. Miller, who built the Hotel, and occupied it, until his death, a few years later, when it passed into the possession of Colonel John Noyes, Junior, by marriage with the widow. On the death of Colonel Noyes, it was transferred to its present proprietors, or their immediate predecessors.

On the death of Doctor Brooks, whose large Hotel immediately adjoined that of the present "American," on the North, this property passed into the hands of his widow, who, a few years afterwards, married Lot Clark; and, from her, into the possession of other parties.

The large building, on the North-east corner of the Public Square, on the East side of Main-street—at which point it assumed the designation of "North Main-street"—and since known as the "Eagle Hotel," was originally occupied by Asabel Steere, and passed from his possession and ownership, successively, into those of Moses Doty, Mark Steere, and General Harry De Forest, during whose occupancy it was burnt down, in 1849, and, subsequently, re-built and occupied as a Hotel.

Adjoining the Hotel, on the North, on the site subsequently occupied by the store of Alfred Purdy and Porter Wood and the law-office of Abial Cook and Smith M. Purdy, and, more recently, by the store of B. Slater & Co., stood, as late as 1822-23, an old paint-shop, occupied by Jeduthun Hitchcock, North of which was the residence of a widow Adams, afterwards the dwelling-house and shop of J. K. Duryea, merchant-tailor, on which the present "Duryea Block" was erected; and, still further North, the residence and blacksmith-shop of Israel Hale, subsequently the residence of David E. S. Bedford. On the North of this, and standing a few rods in rear of the highway, were the printing-office of the *Norwich Journal*, edited by John F. Hubbard, and the residence of William Johnson. Next, on the North, was the residence of General Thompson Mead, afterwards occupied by his son-in-law, John F. Hubbard, and, more recently, by Charles A. Thorp. North of that, was the office of Doctor Henry Mitchell; and, next above the present site of the Methodist-church, the residence of William Palmer.

Thomas Milner resided a few rods East of Hascall Ransford's, on the East side of the river; John Pellet, on a large farm, a mile or two South,

on the same side; Asa Pellet and Stephen and Smith Steere, on two large farms, nearly opposite each other, on East-street; Colonel Samuel Randall occupied a farm at the North extremity of the village; Charles Randall and Truman Enos, side by side, at the western extremity; and Consider Coomes and Thomas Prentiss, at the southern—all worthy men and good citizens.

The first clergyman in Norwich was Manasseh French, "a practical and unaffected preacher," who settled upon "the Joseph Brown farm," half a mile South of the present village. Was it Mr. French, or old Elder Ransom, his successor, who was accustomed, in those primitive times, to repeat his discourses from the beginning, on the arrival of each tardy member of his congregation, as they came sauntering in, frequently rendering it necessary to go over the same ground, some six or eight times, in the course of his morning or afternoon sermon?

The first marriage which took place in Norwich was that of Miss Harriet Graves, daughter of Matthew Graves, to Hascall Ransford, on the twelfth of July, 1792. At that time, previous to the arrival of the Rev. Manasseh French, there was no clergyman or magistrate, nearer than Tioga-point, who could legally perform the marriage ceremony; and, in this embarrassing situation, it had, at first, been determined to repair, by canoe, to that place, some seventy miles distant, through a howling wilderness. Fortunately, however, a Commission, as Justice of the Peace, for Joab Enos, of Hamilton, arrived in season for the performance of the nuptials, without the necessity of so painful and dangerous a pilgrimage; which was reserved only for the sturdy cultivators of the soil, who, prior to the erection, by Judge Elisha Smith, of the present "Garnsey flouring-mill," were compelled to carry their grain, by this tedious route, to Tioga-point.

"The earliest physician," says Mr. Clarke, "was Jonathan Johnson, who removed here, from Connecticut, about the year 1794. During the vigorous portion of his life, he enjoyed a lucrative, and, at the same time, most arduous practice. In the earliest years of his ride, the country was infested with bears and wolves—the latter hunting in packs—and ferocious panthers. More than once, the Doctor pursued his lonely rides over the thickly wooded hills, serenaded by moans, howls, and screams proceeding from the midnight orgies of these formidable occupants."

Doctor Johnson continued to occupy his dwelling, in Norwich, until his death, in 1838.

The first male child born in Norwich was Marcus Cole, son of Silas Cole, in the old "Elder Randall house," now owned and occupied by Judge York; and the second child was Horace Ransford, Junior, the offspring of the marriage,

above referred to. The first female child—and the *first native white child* born in the Chenango valley—was Lucy Power, daughter of Aver Power, the original occupant of the "Randall farm." The site of the small, rude hut, which then constituted his residence, is still pointed out, on the present farm, in the vicinity of those of the old Randall homestead, now, and for many years, uninhabited.*

We will now proceed to enumerate the most prominent citizens of the town and village, who were the immediate successors of the earliest pioneers, down to the year 1825, with brief sketches of their leading traits of character, occupations, and positions.

During the whole of this period, Doctor Johnson, Elisha Smith, Benjamin Edmunds, Peter B. Garnsey, Hascall Ransford, Matthew Graves, Josiah Dickinson, Casper M. Rouse, and Elder Jedidiah Randall remained among the older residents.

General Obadiah German became a resident soon after the beginning of the century, in the part of the town now known as "North Norwich." He was a man of imposing presence, great dignity and courtesy of demeanor, superior intellectual abilities, and commanding political influence. He represented the County, in the State Legislature, during the years 1804, 1805, 1807, 1808, and 1809, when he was elected United States Senator. In 1819, he was again returned to the Assembly, and chosen Speaker. He was appointed one of the Judges of the County Court, in 1801; and retained that position, until his election as United States Senator. In 1814, he was appointed First, or presiding, Judge, and continued as such until 1818.

Peter B. Garnsey was a prominent lawyer and politician, and represented the County, in the Legislature of 1800. He was a large land and mill-owner, a public spirited citizen, and an estimable and worthy man.

Hascall Ransford was also a member of the Legislature of 1814; and took a leading part in all town affairs. In the early portion of the century, he kept a public-house, at his residence, half a mile North of the present village, where town meetings were then held, when Norwich included all the western towns, and part of the eastern and northern. At an early period he married one of the daughters of Matthew Graves.

Elder Randall officiated as the Pastor of the Baptist Society, until a few years before his death, and was universally respected and regarded as a pious, venerable, and good man.

Elisha Smith, at an early period in the century removed from Oneida-county to Green-county, and soon afterwards, promoted to a seat on the Bench.

* Clark's History of Chenango.

of the County-court; and, in 1813, transferred his residence to Norwich, where he was long known as an influential and highly respected citizen of the village. In all matters pertaining to the title, value, sale, and transfer of real estate, he was an acknowledged authority; and possessed, in every respect, the entire confidence and regard of the community. His wife was a Miss Wattles, of Unadilla. In latter life, he suffered much from a cancer, which finally caused his death, somewhere about 1824-5.

Josiah Dickinson was a considerable landowner, in the upper part of the village; a carpenter and builder by trade; and a worthy, reputable citizen. The contract for building the first Court-house was awarded to him, and successfully and satisfactorily executed.

Benjamin Edmunds, who came to the village in an early period of the century, was a native of Massachusetts, and served his apprenticeship, as a blacksmith, with a Mr. Walker, of Worcester Dudley. His wife was Eunice Parker, a sister of Jeremiah Parker, of that neighborhood. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and, up to the period of his death, in 1827, received a pension from the United States. The "old yellow house," erected by him, and afterwards, for many years, occupied as a tavern, is still remaining, one of the few surviving relics of that early period. Mr. Edmunds was a zealous Universalist; a great reader; and a kind-hearted, benevolent, worthy man.

Casper M. Rouse was an early settler in the town, and resided on a farm just below the northern boundary of the village, on a slight elevation, North of the present Cemetery, which formed part of his farm, and was ceded by him to the village, as a burial-ground. He occupied the Bench of the County-court, from 1804 to 1809; was a member of the State Senate, from 1810 to 1814; and, subsequently, a Judge of the County-court, from 1815 to 1819. His participation in the celebrated indictment of David Thomas, State Treasurer, for bribery, in 1812, has already been adverted to. He was a man of impetuous speech and manners, and inordinate vanity, accompanied by respectable acquirements, as a legislator and magistrate, and a kindly and obliging disposition.

Joseph S. and Loring Fenton, Charles York, Benjamin Chapman, John Lamb, and Asa Norton, were among the earliest merchants of Norwich. The elder Fenton subsequently removed to Michigan; of which State his son, William M. Fenton, became Lieutenant-governor. Loring Fenton, a amiable and worthy young man, died at an early age. Messrs. York and Chapman constituted one of the leading mercantile firms, for several years; and, on the withdrawal of the former, Mr. Chapman continued the business, up

to a very recent period. Mr. York was, for many years, Supervisor of the town and, subsequently, a Judge of the County-court. Mr. Chapman still survives, [1873] at an advanced age, honored and respected by all who know him. Messrs. Lamb and Norton remained only a short period.

Anson Jones, who afterwards succeeded General Samuel Houston, as President of the Texan Republic, was the keeper of the first Drug-store established in the village. He was succeeded, in 1824-5, by Richard L. Lawrence. Richard L. De Zeng, at about the same time, opened an additional Dry-goods store.

Asahel Steere, Moses Doty, Mark Steere, and General Harry De Forest successively occupied the present site of the "Eagle-tavern;" William Palmer, Seth Garlick, Zebina C. Andrews, and James M. D. Carr, the "Brooks'-tavern;" and Newman Gates, James Perkins, John Cooke, George B. Champlin, and B. Holcomb, the "Edmunds'-tavern."

Doctor Johnson, in conjunction with the practice of his profession, entered into a mercantile partnership with Judge Noyes, about the year 1818 or 1819. He was a man of great intelligence, considerable scholarship, and well versed in his profession; somewhat eccentric and absent-minded, in his professional and social intercourse; but highly esteemed, by all, for his honesty, integrity, and moral worth. Doctor Henry Mitchell was his contemporary, in the medical field, during the latter portion of his practice, and maintained a high reputation, as a skillful physician. He was a member of the State Legislature, in 1828, and represented the district, in Congress, from 1833 to 1835. Of great energy and decision of character, and unimpeachable integrity, he possessed the entire confidence and regard of the community, during the whole of his long and active life. Doctor Harvey Harris, who is still living, also enjoyed an extensive medical practice, during this period, and was always a welcome visitor, by the bedside of the sick, as well as a worthy and highly respected citizen.

The principal law practitioners of this period, were James Birdsall, David Buttolph, Nathan Chamberlain, Abial Cook, Lot Clark, Simeon S. Emmons, and Addison C. Griswold.

Mr. Birdsall was prominently identified with the political affairs of the Clintonian, and Mr. Clark with those of the Republican, or "Bucktail," party. The former was a Representative of the district, in Congress, from 1815 to 1817; subsequently Cashier of the Bank of Chenango; and, in 1827, a member of the State Legislature. He was a man of polished manners and great intellectual and financial ability; and exerted a commanding influence, as a politician. Mr. Clark represented the Congressional district,

from 1823 to 1825; was District Attorney, in 1822-23; and, although wanting in the personal graces and scholarship of his rival, was a sound and successful lawyer and an able political leader. While in Congress, he was a confidential friend of William H. Crawford and Martin Van Buren, in the Presidential canvass of 1824; and, for many years, virtually controlled, with skill and ability, the politics of the County. With him was associated, as a partner, at this period, Addison C. Griswold, a young man of fair talents, who was succeeded, soon afterwards, by John Clapp, now of Binghamton. Mr. Cook was just then commencing his long and successful career as an advocate; which, but for his invincible indolence and disinclination to devote himself to the study of his profession and the mastery of its authorities, might have placed him at the head of the Bar. Judge Purdy, a few years later, became his partner; and the firm achieved a high degree of success. Mr. Buttolph was a partner of Mr. Birdsall—a sound lawyer, and most estimable man. Simeon S. Emmons was an eloquent orator, and achieved some distinction, as a politician; but, from ill health, terminating in an early death, he failed to make any permanent impression upon the public mind. According to Mr. Weed's statement, his most important enterprise was the introduction of the culture of *asparagus* into the town. Mr. Chamberlain remained but a short time in the place; but was regarded as a good lawyer and an excellent citizen.

John F. Hubbard and Thurlow Weed were the rival political Editors of the village—the former as the printer and Publisher of the *Norwich Journal*, and the latter of the *Republican Agriculturalist*. Both were able men, who, at a subsequent period, made their mark in the political history of the State, and identified themselves with its leading interests. They were not on intimate terms with each other—some personal animosities having grown out of a business transaction, connected with the establishment of the *Agriculturalist*; but both were highly esteemed by the community; and both are still living, at an advanced age, surrounded by "honor, obedience, and troops of friends."

Mr. Hubbard came to Norwich, at about the year 1816, and purchased the printing establishment of John B. Johnson, Editor and Proprietor of the *Volunteer*, originally the *Olive-Branch*, published at Sherburne, in 1806, by Phinney and Fairchild; and transferred, in 1813, to Norwich, as the *Volunteer*. On the accession of its new Editor, its title was changed to that of the *Norwich Journal*; and its publication, as a Republican and Democratic journal, continued, with great ability and success, by himself and his partner, Ralph Johnson—who became connected

with the paper, in 1827—until 1844, when it passed into the hands of La Fayette Leal and J. H. Sinclair, by whom, in 1847, it was merged into the *Oxford Republican*, and its name changed to that of the *Chenango Union*. In 1854, Harvey Hubbard, a son of the former Editor, purchased the interest of Mr. Leal, in the *Union*, and, in 1859, that of Mr. Sinclair, and continued the publication, until his death, in 1862, when it passed into the hands of his brother, John F. Hubbard, Junior, by whom, in 1868, it was transferred to G. H. Manning.

From 1828 to 1836, Mr. Hubbard held a seat in the State Senate, where he distinguished himself as an efficient and successful advocate of the construction of the Chenango-canal and other internal improvements; and, subsequently, he enjoyed the gratification of seeing his only surviving son, J. F. Hubbard, Junior, filling the same high position, for two successive senatorial terms, from 1868 to 1872. He possessed fine literary talents; was a strong and nervous political writer; and his social qualities were universally acknowledged. His wife was a daughter of General Thompson Mead; and, after the termination of his senatorial career and abandonment of his journal, he retired to the quiet and undisturbed repose of a cheerful and happy home.

Mr. Weed was born in Cairo, Greene-county, on the fifteenth of November, 1797, and, in 1808, removed, with his parents, to that part of the town of Cincinnatus, in Cortland-county, now known as Marion. Previous to his removal, he had served two Summers as a cook and cabin-boy, on the Hudson; had enjoyed but one quarter's schooling; and was employed, during the Winter of 1807, in the printing-office of Marky Croswell, in Catskill. During his first Winter in Cincinnatus, he was employed in an ashery, occasionally attending school, during the day-time. Afterwards, however, in 1811, he obtained another quarter's schooling, in Oromocto hollow, paying for his board and schooling, and work in the family of Mr. Jasper Hopper; and was, subsequently, employed in the printing-office of the *Lynx*, at that place. In 1812, he was employed as a printer in the office of the *Columbian Gazette*, in Utica, edited by Thomas Walker; in 1813, in that of the *Herkimer Advertiser*, by William L. Stone, afterwards of the *Commercial Advertiser*, New York. In the Winter of that year, he volunteered, as a private, in Captain Ashbel Seward's Company, then stationed at Adams, Jefferson-county, and served for six months; afterwards, for another term of three months, at Brownville, in Lieutenant Ellis's Company of Artillery, attached to the Regiment commanded by Colonel Arurab M. M. calf, of Cooperstown; and, again, for

months, at Sackett's-harbor, as Quarter-master-sergeant, in the Regiment of Colonel Myers, of Herkimer. From 1814 to 1818, he was employed, as a printer, at different periods, at Auburn, Spring-mills, Sangersfield, Cazenovia, Coopers-town, Utica, Herkimer, Albany, and New York. In the Winter of 1818-19, he removed to Norwich, where he remained, as Editor of the *Agriculturalist*, until 1821, when he established or purchased the *Onondaga County Republican*, at Canastota. The next year, he removed to the present city of Rochester—then only a flourishing village of the "Great West"—where, after serving for two years in the office of the *Rochester Telegraph*, edited by Everard Peck, he purchased the establishment, in 1824. In 1827, discontinuing the *Telegraph* and uniting his political fortunes with the Anti-masonic party, he established the *Anti-masonic Enquirer*, and, in 1830, the *Albany Evening Journal*, which speedily became the organ of the Anti-masonic party, subsequently, of the Whig and Republican party, and which he conducted until the Winter of 1855.

In April, 1818, he married Miss Catharine Strander, of Cooperstown, who died at Albany, several years since, leaving two daughters. His father died a few years previous to his mother.

In 1824 and, subsequently, in 1829, Mr. Weed was elected to the Assembly, from Monroe-county. In 1843, he visited England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, and Belgium; and, in 1852, Switzerland, Germany, Saxony, Austria, Prussia, and Italy. Since 1856, he has resided in the city of New York, where he has occasionally contributed to the columns of the *New York Times*, *Commercial Advertiser*, and other periodicals.

In the Summer of 1872, he re-visited Norwich, where he was called upon by his old adversary and rival, Mr. Hubbard, and by several of his surviving acquaintances and friends of fifty years. His present residence is near the corner of Twelfth-street and Fifth-avenue, where, in the society of his eldest daughter, he is enjoying the calm evening of a long and well-spent life, familiar intercourse with his friends; in occasional excursions; and in the preparation of an autobiography, which promises to be of great interest and value.

David G. Bright, who, in 1815, succeeded Uriah, as County-clerk, was remarkable chiefly for his immense corpulency; his success in business, as a hatter, and, subsequently, as a merchant, in partnership with Joseph S. Fenton; and his social qualities and genial nature. His son, Michael Graham Bright, occupied the position of Deputy-clerk, under his father, and was especially noted for scholarship, ability, and great future promise. Soon after the expiration of his

official term, Mr. Bright removed, with his family, to the present State of Indiana, where his younger son, Jesse D. Bright, achieved a high reputation as a successful business-man and lawyer; and, was, subsequently, elected, for several successive terms, as United States Senator from that State.

Truman Enos and Charles Randall, at an early period in the century, established a tannery and leather manufactory, near the Canesewacta-creek, on West-street. For many years, they occupied residences adjacent to their works and to each others; and, there, Mr. Enos remained, until his death, in 1870, at the advanced age of ninety-two. His partner, however, having dissolved the business connection between them, retired to a farm, two miles below the village, on the East-bank of the Chenango, nearly opposite the "old Randall farm," where he remained until the advance of years and growing infirmities induced him to return to the village, where he continued to reside until his death, in the Spring of 1872, in the ninety-third year of his age. For more than fifty years preceding his death, he was an active and exemplary member and officer of the Baptist-church, as was his early friend and partner, Mr. Enos, of the Presbyterian. Both were among the earliest pioneers of the County: the former having effected a settlement, as herein before stated, with his father, in the present town of Pharsalia, as early as 1797.

Perez Randall, also, came with his father and brothers to Chenango, in 1797, and removed with them, a few years later, at the opening of the century, to the "old farm," on the West bank of the river. He received his early education at the Academy, in Clinton, Oneida-county, supporting himself and defraying his expenses by teaching, during the Winter; and, on his return to Norwich, married a daughter of Benjamin Edmunds and opened a store in the vicinity. His business relations having been disastrously affected by the monetary revulsions consequent upon the termination of the War with England, he withdrew from mercantile life; and, having been appointed Post-master, at Norwich, was, in 1817, elected member of Assembly for the County, in conjunction with Tilly Lynde, of Sherburne, and Simon G. Throop, of Oxford. In 1819, he was appointed County-clerk, which office he continued to fill, with brief intervals, till the period of his death, in 1839. As a public officer, he possessed the entire confidence and regard of his constituents; and, as a man and a citizen, he was universally respected and beloved.

Colonel John Randall, Junior, and Samuel Randall, elder and younger sons of John Randall, and brothers of Charles and Perez, were also residents of the village, from an early

period in the century; both enterprising and reputable farmers, worthy men, and good citizens. Their father, about the year 1816, retired from his farm and took up his residence in the village, with his son Perez, on the present site of the American Hotel, where he soon afterwards died.

Samuel Pike, for a long time Deputy Sheriff and Jailer, occupied rooms in the Court-house. He was a brother of Colonel Jarvis K. Pike; and was a most efficient officer and excellent man.

Bela Farr was chiefly conspicuous for his genial social qualities, literary culture, and inventive faculties, as a mechanist. Like Socrates among the Athenians, he was wont to spend the principal part of his time in literary, ethical, and political discussions with his fellow-citizens, in the various places of public concourse; and was always listened to with great respect and deference, except by those who had, perhaps, for weeks and months, been patiently waiting the completion of some half-finished work of gold or silver jewelry. The successive appearance of the earlier of the *Waverly Novels*, which were anxiously looked forward to by all the devourers of the new and brilliant romances, afforded an inexhaustible theme for his critical lucubrations.

Noah Hubbard, an elder brother of the Editor, was, also, with all his faults, a most accomplished devotee of ancient and modern literature, as well as a gifted poetical writer, and a vigorous prose contributor to the *Journal*.

Judge John Noyes went on the Bench of the Court of Common Pleas, in 1815, and remained until 1822. He represented the County, in the Legislatures of 1810 and 1814, and succeeded Judge Rouse, in the State Senate, from 1816 to 1820. Without possessing more than an average share of ability, he uniformly sustained the character of a just man and a good citizen.

General Thompson Mead, who was an early resident of the town, took a prominent part, as has already been seen, in the War of 1812; represented the County, in the Legislature of 1811 and the Second Session of 1814; and was appointed and elected Sheriff, from 1821 to 1825.

Judge York was promoted to the Bench of the County Court, in 1831.

Edmund G. Per Lee was a member of the State Legislature, in 1820 and 1832; and, with his brother, Abraham Per Lee, resided in North Norwich. Both were highly intelligent, estimable, and respected citizens, and exerted great influence on the politics of the County.

Colonel Jarvis K. Pike, of the same neighborhood, also enjoyed a deservedly high reputation. He was a member of the Legislature, in 1830 and 1831; and, in the Fall of the latter year, was elected County-clerk.

The Rev. Edward Andrews succeeded Lyman S. Rexford in the pulpit of the Presbyterian-church, in 1820 or 1821, and was one of the most popular clergymen of that period. He was a graduate of Harvard University; a thorough scholar; and an amiable, excellent, and altogether genial man. He subsequently became Principal of Oxford Academy and Rector of St. Andrew's church, in New Berlin, and of an Episcopal-church, in Binghamton.

In the pulpit of the Baptist-church, at this time, Elders Allerton and Spaulding were successively, associated with Elder Randall. Elder Spaulding was succeeded by Elder Jabez S. Swan, who officiated in the church, for several years. He was, in all respects, a very remarkable man. Gifted with a voice of thunder; forcible and energetic, in delivery; enthusiastically devoted to his profession and to the cause of Christianity, in accordance with the peculiar views of his sect; and uncompromising in his hostility to every form of vice, impiety, and irreligion, he exerted a powerful influence, for good, not only within the limits of his own congregation, but over the community at large. His incessant labors, combined with the enthusiasm of his temperament, prostrated, for a season, his intellect; and it was found necessary, by his friends, to seclude him, temporarily, in an Asylum, and to separate him from the field of labor in which he had so long and faithfully toiled. After his recovery, he resumed his clerical profession, in Albany and elsewhere, distinguishing himself as an effective exhorter and preacher, in religious revivals and protracted meetings, throughout the State. So late as the Winter of 1872, he was thus engaged in his old church, in Norwich.

The Universalists, headed by the venerable Samuel Hull, Colonel William Munroe, Benjamin Edmunds, and Uriah Avery, held periodical meetings, for many years, in the Court-house, where Hosea Ballou, of Boston, Stephen R. Smith and Mr. Underwood, of Oneida, Nathaniel Stacey, and Messrs. Jones and Flagler, alternately officiated, with great power and ability—the two first-named clergymen being especially distinguished for their eloquence, learning, and zeal.

Stephen Hopkins became a resident of the village, in 1818 or 1819, and, for several years, had charge, in conjunction with his sister, Silvia, and Miss Fluvia Arnold, of the Public, or District, School, taught in the old Academy-building, then standing on the East side of North Main-street, on a site now occupied by Mitchell-street. Mr. Hopkins was a highly successful and well-qualified teacher; thoroughly versed in the duties of his profession; and enjoying the respect and esteem of the community.

Among those who succeeded, or were, in part, contemporary with these early pioneers, were Peter B. Garnsey, Junior, George Field, Joseph K. Duryea, James M. D. Carr, Joseph H. Moore, Obadiah G. Rundell, George L. Rider, Squire Smith, Burr B. Andrews, Elias P. Pellet, William B. Pellet, Walter M. Conkey, Cyrus Strong, William Snow, Benjamin T. Cooke, James Kerhaw, Nelson B. Hale, David Brown, Frederick Byington, Ansel Berry, Levi Ray, Junior, Jonathan Wells, Hascall Ransford, Junior, William Sheldon, Ralph Johnson, Cyrus Wheeler, Sheldon Tomlinson, Nelson C. Chapman, Elisha K. Smith, George M. Smith, William Lewis, Doctors James Thompson, Henry Bellows, and Charles I. Mitchell, Thomas and Amos Lewis, Nathan D. Stanton, Abner W. Warner, George W. Herlick, and others, more or less identified with the interests of the village and town, from 1825 to 1850, and many of them long subsequently. Many of them have already been referred to; and brief and cursory glances only can be given to others, whom professional avocations, political or literary distinction, or other circumstances, do not seem specially to require it.

Peter B. Garnsey, Junior, or Guernsey—as the name was subsequently spelt—was a young man of very amiable character, excellent scholarship, a highly cultured mind, and very promising prospects of future usefulness and distinction. These prospects were, however, fatally blasted by the ravages of consumption; and, after having fruitlessly resorted to a foreign voyage, in the vain effort to check the progress of his relentless disease, he went down to an early grave, regretted by the entire community of which he was an ornament. A few years previous to his death, he had married a Miss Ellinger of Catskill—a very superior woman, who afterwards became the wife of Doctor Henry Mitchell. William G. Guernsey, the only other son, died recently at the age of sixty-four.

Harvey Hubbard, the eldest son of John F. Hubbard, Senior, whose death prematurely occurred in 1862, was a young man of singular talents and genius, and unexceptionable personal character. As a poet, he was distinguished for force, beauty, and brilliant imagination; an intense love and appreciation of nature, in all her aspects; and a pure and lofty Christian morality. A few years previous to his death, he was elected a Judge of the County Court. His brother, John F. Hubbard, Junior, succeeded him, as Editor of the *Chenango Union*, and was twice honored with a seat in the State Senate, where he distinguished himself as a leading and prominent politician.

Hiram C. Clark, eldest son of Lot Clark, was distinguished, both as a sound lawyer, an accurate local historian, and an esteemed and respect-

ed citizen. His younger brother, Lot Curran Clark, removed to Richmond-county, at an early period, where he achieved signal success, for many years, as the public prosecuting Attorney of that County.

Among the members of the Bar who came into the village, as residents, during the ten years, from 1825 to 1835, may be enumerated John Clapp, Smith M. Purdy, Charles A. Thorp, Benjamin F. Rexford, Philander B. Prindle, George M. Smith, and Samuel B. Garvin.

Mr. Clapp succeeded Lot Clark as District-attorney, and became a member of the firm of Clark & Clapp. He was an excellent and well-read lawyer; and possessed a highly cultivated literary taste, genial social qualities, and a kindly heart. Educated “at the feet of Gamaliel,” by his brother, James Clapp—the patriarch and highest ornament of the Chenango Bar—he was thoroughly versed in his profession; and in his turn educated such men as Daniel S. Dickinson, the late Governor Metcalf of New Hampshire, Judge Garvin of New York, and others of lesser note but equal professional scholarship. As an eloquent advocate and orator, he was unrivalled in his theatre of action; and is now reaping the well-earned rewards of an upright, useful, and honored life, in a dignified retirement, at Binghamton, surrounded by all those domestic and social enjoyments which he can so well appreciate.

Judge Purdy, as has already been said, formed a co-partnership with Abial Cook, and was promoted to the head of the Common Pleas Bench, in 1835, and elected to Congress, in 1843. As a lawyer and Judge, he ranked high in the profession; and, as a citizen, he possessed the entire confidence and regard of the community.

Mr. Thorp had already gained an excellent legal reputation, as a member of the firm of Tracy & Thorp, in Oxford; and in his new capacity, as a partner of David Buttolph, Esq., he secured an extensive practice and the general esteem and respect of his fellow citizens.

Mr. Rexford, at the commencement of his practice, laid the foundation of future prosperity and success, as Attorney for the Bank of Chenango, upon which he subsequently built up an ample business, and became, with all his eccentricities and originality, a general favorite and an influential citizen. His death occurred in the Autumn of 1872.

Mr. Prindle evinced an early disinclination to the routine of the profession, and seldom appeared in Court; but was deservedly popular, in all social, literary, and political societies; and, for several years, between 1840 and 1850, he occupied the position of Clerk of the Assembly.

Mr. Garvin, in 1835, was a member of the firm of Randall & Garvin; subsequently removed

to Utica, where he was appointed United States District-attorney; and, thence, to New York, where he was elected a Judge of the Superior Court and District-attorney. He was a man of fine personal appearance and superior abilities, with great tact and political shrewdness, accompanied with an invincible disinclination to the irksome labor of his profession. As a prosecuting Attorney and Judge, however, both in Utica and New York, he distinguished himself, and secured an enduring reputation.

Mr. Smith succeeded Mr. Clapp, as District-attorney, in 1841; and was regarded as a successful practitioner.

At a later period, E. H. Prindle, Horace G. Prindle, Isaac S. Newton, Lewis Kingsley, David L. Follett, D. H. Knapp, George W. Ray, George M. Tillson, H. M. Tefft, Robert A. Dunning, Elmore Sharpe, Charles Shumway, R. A. Stanton, Albert F. Gladding, Edward B. Thomas, George W. Marvin, and several others whose names cannot now be recalled to mind, were enrolled in the list of Attorneys and Counsellors: distinguished, alike, for professional ability and moral and social worth. Mr. Kingsley was transferred, in 1871, to a high and honorable position, in the Naval office, at New York, where, early in the succeeding year, he was prematurely cut off by death.

Doctors James Thompson, Charles H. Mitchell, and Henry Bellows succeeded Doctors Johnson and Mitchell, in the medical field.

Ralph Johnson became co-proprietor of the *Journal*, with Mr. Hubbard; the *Agriculturalist*, after the departure of Mr. Weed, dragged out a feeble existence, for a few years, under the charge of Samuel Curtis, Junior; and the *People's Advocate* was established, in 1824, by J. G. C. Brainard and William G. Hyer—the latter a young man of fine literary culture, and marked editorial capacity. This journal was succeeded, in 1829, by the *Anti-masonic Telegraph*, of which Elias P. Pellet became the Editor and, in company with Benjamin T. Cooke, Proprietor. Mr. Pellet was a young man of superior intellectual ability, industry, vigor, and perseverance; a self-made man, thoroughly conversant with the political affairs of the State and Union; and with the highest promise of future political influence and success; but, soon after 1840, he was prematurely cut off by an incurable malady; and the *Telegraph*—now known as the *Chenango Telegraph*—passed into the hands of others, as did the *Journal*, at about the same period, on the retirement of Messrs. Hubbard and Johnson.

Nelson B. Hale was born in Norwich, in 1805; his father and mother having removed, in that year, from Connecticut, to a small farm in the North-east quarter of the town, about one mile

West of the South end of what is known as the "Chenango Lake," or Mathewson Pond, in the town of New Berlin. The family—consisting of his father, Israel Hale, his mother, two elder sisters, and himself—participated, for several years, in all the dangers, sufferings, and vicissitudes of pioneer life, in a sparsely settled wilderness, until, about the year 1809, when they removed to the village of Norwich, where the younger Mr. Hale still resides, at the age of seventy years. His father followed the business of blacksmithing, until his death, sending his son, after affording him all the advantages of an excellent common school education, under the tuition of Stephen Hopkins, to a select academic school, under the charge of the Rev. Edward Andrews, and, subsequently, in 1822, to Oxford Academy, during the Principalship of David Prentice. A few years subsequently, he embarked in the mercantile business—retiring, after a successful and prosperous career, to a rural residence and an agricultural and horticultural nursery, in the southern part of the village. During the angry and embittered controversy, growing out of the enactment of the Free School Law, in 1849-50, Mr. Hale stood almost alone, in his neighborhood, in advocacy of the law; and, among his fellow-citizens, no man has enjoyed a more general or deserved share of respect and esteem, during his whole life, than himself.

William M. Fenton, eldest son of Joseph B. Fenton, preceded Mr. Hale and myself, one year, both in the Norwich and Oxford Academic schools; entered Hamilton-college, in 1822, and graduated in 1826. On his return to Norwich, in the latter year, he became involved in an attachment to a young lady—Miss Adelaide Birdsall, daughter of James Birdsall, Esq.—disapproved of, by his father, between whom and Mr. Birdsall unfriendly relations had, for some time, existed; and, in despair of obtaining the hand of his betrothed, without a sacrifice of his paternal prospects, he suddenly disappeared from home; entered, as a common sailor, on board a vessel sailing for Europe; and remained abroad for several years. On his return, he found himself freed from all opposition to the consummation of his wishes; married Miss Birdsall; and removed, with the families of both his father and Mr. Birdsall, to Michigan, where he was soon afterwards, elected Lieutenant-governor and President of the Senate of that State. There, in addition to the high political honors thus conferred upon him, he succeeded in accumulating a competent fortune, which he continued to enjoy, until his death, a few years since, respected and esteemed by all who knew him.

Ansel Berry came to Norwich, at about the year 1826. He was by trade a hatter; an active

and zealous politician; a pious and sincere Christian; and, in all respects, an exemplary member of society. His son, B. Gage Berry, one of the present Editors and Proprietors of the *Chenango Telegraph*, has achieved an enviable reputation in his profession, and is a worthy follower in the footsteps of his father.

Thomas and Amos Lewis, sons of the venerable Beriah Lewis, one of the earliest settlers in the town, Nathan D. Stanton, Levi Ray (father and son) Frederick Byington, Henry Snow, A. W. Warner, Joseph K. Duryea, David Griffing, Burr B. Andrews, James M. D. Carr, and George W. Herrick, were mechanists, carpenters, cabinet and carriage makers, or actively engaged in other industrial departments, sustaining, one and all, unblemished characters, and laying the foundations of the future prosperity of the village. Thomas Milner, General Henry De Forest, George L. Rider, and Josiah S. Miller fulfilled, reputably and worthily, for many years, the functions of hotel-keepers, while actively and zealously engaged in the promotion of the various social, political, moral, and religious interests of the community.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

V.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

BROEK-KLEIN, THE GARDEN-TOWN OF HOLLAND.

One of the most noted places in Holland is Broek, a suburb of Amsterdam. Its history is uneventful: it was never besieged nor burned in the historic Wars of the Dutch; but it has won the name of being the nearest possible approach to a Dutchman's idea of the Garden of Eden; and it is the darling hope of every Amsterdam youth to own a house in Broek, to which is given the pet name of "Broek-klein"—dear little Broek.

This Dutch paradise is situated in the edge of the marshes, about three miles from Amsterdam, and has a population of nearly seven thousand people, many of whom are merchants, landed proprietors, under-writers, stockbrokers, or tradesmen, who have amassed fortunes and retired from business, with a scattering of army and naval heroes on the retired list. Some of them have taken up with the manufacture of exquisite cream cheeses and sweet butter, fully

equal to our best Jersey-cow butter, in which they take an honest pride; others have devoted their energies to landscape-gardening and to horticulture; their orchards are famous for the variety and excellent quality of apples, pears, apricots, and gooseberries; while their hot-houses are filled in Winter with the most luscious grapes, and are redolent with the perfume of the rarest and most brilliant exotics.

The exquisitely kept gardens and lawns, for which Broek-klein is so famous, belong mostly to those who have moved into the town, from the neighboring city, within the last twenty-five years. There are, however, several families who have inhabited the place from time immemorial, and from their paternal acres have supplied the neighboring city with vegetables; but, at present, the profits of market-gardening are not sufficient to pay interest and land-taxes.

It has been the established custom of the good people of Broek-klein to exclude all kinds of nuisances, especially slaughter-houses and factories, so that no inconsiderable part of the town is owned under restrictions forbidding stables even. As a natural consequence, there are but two classes of people in town—the rich and the poor—with a few of the middle class, who supply them with meat and groceries, shoe their horses, and mend their carriages.

But, as the land belongs largely to the wealthy class and is under high cultivation and care, and the streets are under constant repair, the number of day-laborers is unusually large, several hundred of whom are employed by the Syndicate or town authorities, and as many more by private parties.

The poorer class is quite distinct in habits and manners, and even in speech, as they come mostly from the remote Province of Over-Yssel. They live apart, by themselves, in the lower part of the town, called "Maarsse," which, owing to the peculiarities of the inhabitants, does not share in the high reputation Broek-klein itself enjoys, for order and cleanliness. All the trink-saale (grog shops) of Broek are to be found in the "Maarsse" district; and they are too numerous and well patronized, by the Over-Ysselmén, for their own good.

The road from Amsterdam to Broek-klein leads over a broad dike, across the marshes, and like our "mill-dam," is a favorite drive of the citizens of both places. Broek-klein derives its name from a sluggish, muddy brook which separates its territory from that of the neighboring city. A stranger will be disappointed upon entering Broek-klein, because he first reaches the "Maarsse" district, reeking with the stench of sewers and pig-pens and the refuse of the gas-house; but if he will press on, he will be amply rewarded by the sight of

sumptuous public-buildings and elegant residences.

The most imposing public-building in Broek-klein, is the new stadhuis or town hall. It is of native stone, one hundred feet high, in the secular gothic style, recently built, at the cost of half a million of florins. It is one hundred and forty-six feet long by ninety feet wide. The upper or grand hall is over fifty feet high, and about seventy feet wide by one hundred long. Though built for the citizens to meet and discuss public measures, this large hall is rarely used for that purpose; but the citizens are allowed to use a smaller hall, underneath it. It, however, is used on great occasions and for banquets after an election. Exactly for what purpose this great upper hall was built does not clearly appear. Some of the citizens seem to think that it was built for public balls, for which it seems admirably suited, with its retiring and dressing-rooms; while others say it was for private theatricals as well as public speaking. But the general impression seems to be that it will stand, forever, a monument of the wealth and pride of this select community and of the taste and broad views of the Building Committee, as it is the finest edifice of the kind in all Holland.

Adjacent is the "Bibliothek" or public library, containing some fifteen thousand volumes. This is managed by a Select Committee. It is contrary to custom to allow the inhabitants of the "Maarsse" to take charge of public instruction or of the library. A place on these two Committees is rather ornamental and highly esteemed. The library building is low, with a flat roof and tall portico, and has the appearance of having been "telescoped," in some way by the weight of snow on its roof. The contrast between the low library and the lofty town-hall is quite striking. The other public buildings of the town are not especially noteworthy for architectural pretensions or elegance, though they are quite numerous.

The form of government of Broek klein is a modification of our good old New England town system. The Syndics (town officers) are elected, annually; they comprise the Recorder and five Burgomeisters, who meet once a week to transact such business as may come before them. These, with the Town Notary, form the Syndicate, which seems possessed of almost absolute power. The Town Notary, though nominally appointed by the Burgomeisters, seems to be their factotum. It will be readily seen that this office—happily unknown in our New England towns—is liable to great abuse; as it is easy to carry any measure, whether right or wrong, by first obtaining the favor of the Notary. His office is said to be not only lucrative in

many respects, but is thought to have quite demoralized the Dutch system of local self government. It is also said to be an innovation which has lately grown up, in several of the local governments of Holland; and its effect has been so perniciously marked, in Broek-klein, that its citizens are beginning to give up the pet name of Broek-klein (dear little Broek) in disgust; and many are thinking seriously of moving to Amsterdam, in consequence of it. Many even attribute the recent great increase of town-expenses to this unfortunate innovation, though, probably, there are other exciting causes; but this much is certain, that the annual expenses have increased very rapidly, until now they are fourfold what they were four years ago; and the taxes are about the same as in Amsterdam; while, in that time, a large funded debt, in addition, has been rolled up. This causes alarm among the peaceful citizens who have to pay the bills, especially as new and expensive projects of public improvement—costing more than a million florins—are being pressed on the town, by the Notary, which cannot, they fear, be checked, except by overthrowing the system.

It is to be regretted that this beautiful town, famous, not only in Holland but throughout the world, as a veritable Garden of Eden, has fallen into the hands of those whose folly may not only kill the goose that lays golden eggs, by forcing Broek-klein to seek the protection of Amsterdam, and in return to become a garden-ward, but will deprive the world of a well-known example of a pure and simple democratic form of local government.

—*Boston Advertiser.*

BROEK-KLEIN.

THE CONTRACT WITH LAFAYETTE.

In overhauling the old documents, in the Treasury Department, recently, the following Agreement, made between our Government and the Marquis de Lafayette, was brought to light. It is interesting in itself, and as showing the great undertakings required short contracts, early in our early history:

AGREEMENT OF MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

"The desire evinced by the Marquis de Lafayette of serving in the armies of the United States of North America, and the interest which he takes in the justice of their cause, and wishing for an opportunity of distinguishing himself in war, and of rendering himself useful, to the extent of his ability; but not concealing from himself, that he may be unable to obtain the consent of his family to his serving in foreign countries, or to cross the ocean, unless he shall go there in quest of

of a General Officer, I believe I cannot better serve my country, and act in accordance with my power to grant Commissions, than in conferring on him, in the name of the Most Honorable Congress, the rank of Major General, for which, I pray, the States will confirm, ratify, and promptly bestow a Commission, for him to assume and hold the rank, from this date, which belongs to a General Officer of the same grade.

"His high birth, his connections, the honorable titles which his family enjoy at this Court, his very considerable wealth in this Kingdom, his personal merits, his renown, his disinterestedness, and, above all, his zeal for the liberty of our Provinces, have alone induced me to promise him the above rank of Major-General, in the name of the United States.

"In testimony of which I have signed these presents.

"Done at Paris, 7th December, 1776.

"SILAS DEANE."

"Under the above conditions, I offer my services, and promise to take my departure, at this time and in the manner which shall appear most suitable to Mr. Deane, to serve the United States, with all the zeal in my power, without any pay or special allowances, reserving to myself only the liberty of returning to Europe when my family or my King shall recall me.

"Done at Paris, 7th December, 1776.

"LE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE"

Washington Star.

BOSTON COMMON.—It having been announced at the Paddock heirs are about to commence it at law for the possession of Boston Common, the plea that certain conditions of the bequest have been broken, the *Boston Transcript* gives the following history of the manner in which Boston became possessed of this piece of real estate:

"This tract comprises the larger part of the land purchased, in 1634, of William Blackstone. It was laid out for public uses; and has, ever since, been devoted to that purpose.

"The Common takes its name from the fact that it was land common to all the inhabitants of Boston. It is a reservation out of the original Grant to the first settlers; and has always been held by the Government, for the common benefit of the people.

"By the town-records of Boston, it appears that the following vote was passed, on the thirtieth of March, 1640. 'Ordered, That no more land be granted in the town out of the open ground, or common field, which is left between Sentry Hill and Mr. Colburn's end,

"except 3 or 4 lots to make up the street from 'bro. Robt. Walker's to the Round Marsh.'

"That vote, two centuries and a third ago, was the origin of Boston Common. Sentry-Hill was Beacon-Hill, Mr. Colburn's end is Boylston-street. In addition to the Deed of release from Blackstone, the town also took a Deed from the Indian Sachem, Charles Josias, son and heir of Josias Wam Patuck, late Sachem of the Indians inhabiting Massachusetts, and grandson of Chickabat, the former Sachem. This Indian merely confirmed Grants made by his ancestors, of the land known as Boston. For two hundred and thirty-three years, the Common has been public property, not identified with any family name nor devoted to the special use of any particular class of the people, civic or military."—*Maine Farmer.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S LOVE.

The following letters will be read with interest:

RICHLAND, STAFFORD CO., VA., }
September 17, 1873. }

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ALEXANDRIA GAZETTE:

MY DEAR SIR:—At the request of many persons, I send you, and thus permit the publication of, the enclosed letter.

It is, as you see, from General Washington, written over *one hundred and twenty years ago*, and is addressed to "Wm. Fauntleroy, Sr., in "Richmond," the brother of "Miss Betsy," referred to so tenderly.

I think it reveals an "affair du cœur" on the part of "the Father of his Country"—for it is not said he was ever the father of anything or anybody else—not heretofore known.

Washington, at the time this letter was written, was some twenty years and three months old, and is represented, by all historians and biographers, as a quiet, dignified, bashful, and reticent young man; but, alas! it seems in that, as in this day, that particular kind of young men always did the most courting.

Very respectfully,

your ob't servant,

FIZTHUGH LEE.

May 20th, 1752.

SIR:—I should have been down long before this, but my business in Frederick detained me somewhat longer than I expected, and immediately upon my return from thence I was taken with a violent pleurisy, which has reduced me very low; but purpose, as soon as I recover my strength, to wait on Miss Betsy, in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence, and see if I can meet with any alteration in my favor. I have inclosed a letter to her, which should be

much obliged to you for the delivery of it. I have nothing to add but my best respects to your good lady and family, and that I am, Sir,

Your most ob't humble serv't,

G. WASHINGTON.

HAS OUR CLIMATE CHANGED?

Considerable has been said, within a few years, that the climate, here, North, has been growing milder. I have had my faith shaken considerable, of late, in that particular, by reading Samuel Champlain de Brouage's account of De Mont's voyage of discovery, in North America, in 1604. He says: "We came 'to Richman's Island, near Casco Bay, and 'there we found such an abundance of grapes 'that they named it 'L'Isle de Bacchus.' The 'natives gathered around us and we spent the 'night in revelry." From the general reading of his account, in French, from my rendering, I come to the conclusion that, at that time, the climate was similar to that of France.

Now, I think, at this time, it would be most impossible to procure a grape that would ripen on the island; nor is there a sign that there was ever a grape-vine upon the island.

CAPE ELIZABETH.

S. P. MAYBERRY.

NOTE.—Mr. Jenness, in his recently published *Isles of Shoals*—a most entertaining little book, and one of special interest to Maine readers—alludes to the incident quoted by our correspondent, when giving an account of the voyage of De Mont, from Nova Scotia, along the coast, to Long Island, in 1604-5. While it would be interesting to know, exactly, what kind of grapes it was upon which these early navigators made such a feast; the bare fact must probably remain unexplained and uncontradicted. It may also be mentioned that, at so recent date as 1815, peaches were grown and ripened, in the open air, at Hallowell, by the Messrs. Vaughan—a thing now regarded as impossible, in any part of Maine. Possibly this may be taken as another fact in support of the theory that the seasons, instead of growing milder, have, in reality been growing colder.—*Maine Farmer*.

SCRAP.—In an article published in the *Christian Witness*, it is stated that Philadelphia can claim the credit of having had the first chime of bells ever used in this country. They were purchased in London, in the year 1754, and, "being the first set of bells that reached this 'country, they attracted great attention; and, 'when put into the steeple, were rung, for some 'time, to the gratification of the natives."

With no particular desire to stop their boast-

ing, I wish merely to state the historical fact, that a chime of eight bells was put into the steeple of Christ-church, in Boston, ten years before the purchase of those in Philadelphia. They were cast by Abel Rudhall, of Gloucester, England. On the first tenor bell, is the following inscription: "THIS PEAL OF EIGHT BELLS 'IS THE GIFT OF A NUMBER OF GENTLEMEN 'PERSONS, TO CHRIST CHURCH, IN BOSTON, NEW 'ENGLAND, ANNO 1774, A. R." The third has the following device: "WE ARE THE FIRST 'RING OF BELLS CAST FOR THE BRITISH EM- 'PIRE IN NORTH AMERICA, A. R. 1744." And, on the eighth, is inscribed: ABEL RUDHALL OF 'GLOUCESTER, CAST US ALL, ANNO 1744." The cost of these bells, from the founder, was five hundred and sixty pounds, sterling; the freight from England was generously given by John Rowe, Esq. The other charges, for wheels, stocking, and putting up, ninety-three pounds sterling. The whole weight of the bells is seven thousand, two hundred, and seventy-two pounds—the smallest weighing six hundred and twenty, the largest fifteen hundred and forty-five pounds.

This church also claims to have had the first Sunday-school established in this country.

J. T. BURRELL.

VI.—WHAT WE HAVE TO SAY ABOUT IT.

[Under this caption, THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE proposes to "have its say" on whatever, concerning the History, Antiquities, and Biography of America—living and dead—their opinions and conduct as well as dead men and dead issues—it shall incline to notice, editorially.]

HOW SOLID LITERATURE IS SUPPORTED

"That only three hundred dollars is given to 'Salem for the support of the *American Naturalist*, the *Memoirs and Reports of the Academy*, the *Historical Collection*, and *Bulletin of the Institution*, all combined, is another 'item of which we should, as citizens, feel 'ashamed, when these same publications furnish 'employment to such a number of our people, 'and necessitate an outlay of many thousand 'dollars, by these very institutions, that they 'bring such credit to our city, that she is now 'spoken of as 'a great scientific centre."

We copy the above paragraph from an article in a recent number of the *Salem Gazette*, complaining of the beggarly support which Salem extends to those publications which, very much to the credit of the scholarship of that ancient city of the Puritans, are published there; and do so, in order that we may be enabled to suggest that there is nothing new, in that neglect. Indeed, the more merit which a work possesses,

matter what the subject on which it treats may be, the less will it be thought of and supported by the great body of the people; and if it shall be especially desirable to secure a total failure, in any literary enterprise, the best way to secure it will be to make that enterprise peculiarly worthy of a better fate. The periodicals named by the *Gazette*, are in the highest degree, creditable to Salem and eminently worthy of a liberal support, the country over; but Salem does out an apology only, for a local support, and that only comes from those who, generally, do so to oblige a neighbor, without caring a particle for the works themselves or the Societies which stagger under their publication; while the country at large is far less interested in the matter.

Let some bare-legged *danseuse*, or some prostituted opera-singer, or some lecturer of questionable morality, or some periodical, bearing the last sensation, appeal to Salem's sympathy and draw on Salem's pocket-books, and Salem no longer pleads "no time," nor buttons her pockets, nor allows the suppliant to go away, empty.

"My country, 'tis of thee," is very easily sung; but there "my country" begins and ends, with nearly every body.

VII.—BOOKS.

1.—NOT RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[We are often favored, by publishers and authors, with copies of works which were published years ago, and which cannot, therefore, be properly noticed under the head of "recent publications." We propose, therefore, to notice them as fully and as carefully as we should notice them, were they of more recent date; but we shall place the notices of them under the head of "NOT RECENT PUBLICATIONS."]

Publishers and others desiring to bring their publications of former years to the notice of our readers, may send copies of them either to us, direct, or to the "Care of Messrs. SCHUBNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., 654 Broadway, New York."

We have recently received the following works, for notice, which belong to the class of "NOT RECENT PUBLICATIONS;" and we have pleasure in inaugurating this department by noticing them in this place.—EDITOR.]

1.—*History of North Carolina*: with Maps and Illustrations. By Francis L. Hawks, D.D., LL.D. In two volumes. Third edition. Fayetteville, N. C.: E. J. Hale & Son. 1868. Octavo, pp. [L.] 254, [LL.] 591.

This work, notwithstanding its importance, is very little known; and those who are interested in the history of the early voyages to America and in that of the colonization of the eastern coast may usefully refer to it.

The learned author needs no introduction to our readers; but the system which he adopted in the preparation of this work is so novel that we must notice it. *First*, he divided the period of

Carolina's history into epochs, as is often done; then, *Second*, he proposed to write not merely the history of the successive Colonial Governors and their doings, but, "beside, something of the 'inner life of the people themselves'—"the "religion, laws and legislation, education, agriculture, industrial and mechanical pursuits, commerce, extent and advance of settlements, wars with native or foreign foes, manners and customs of the people, etc.;" *Third*, he has preceded his narrative with an elaborate collection of the original authorities on which he relies, *printed in full, with occasional Notes of great value, and occupying by far the greater portion of the volumes*. For the thinking few and for the antiquary, of course, these are invaluable, and all may turn to them with usefulness; but to those, scattered over the country, who do not possess first class libraries and cannot reach them, these papers are necessary to all who would judge, for themselves, of the fidelity of the historian. The novelty of this plan will be seen by every one; and we think no one will object to it; and, *Fourth*, after having thus reversed the usual order, by prefixing his documents instead of printing them in an Appendix, Doctor Hawks presents, very briefly, his own "deductions, suggestions, and reflections" on the material thus spread out, *in extenso*, before his readers. It will be seen, therefore, that those who resort to these volumes will drink unfiltered water drawn directly from the well-springs of historical authority; and that the reputed author of the volume is, in fact, only its editor.

The first of these two volumes includes the Letters Patent granted by Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1584, supplemented with an elaborate memoir of Sir Walter, the narratives of Barlowe, Greenville, Ralph Lane, Hariot, and White—all copied from the third volume of Hakluyt—and a very brief narrative, based on those papers, by Doctor Hawks.

It will be seen that the first, thin volume contains that portion of Carolina's history, complete, which extends from 1584 to 1591, and includes the five voyages made under the Charter given to Raleigh and the fruitless attempt to establish a Colony, under his direction. The second embraces the period from 1663 to 1729, and includes a history of Carolina, as a proprietary Colony. Its structure is on the plan of the first—the documents preceding the text—and it includes distinct chapters on the Exploration and Settlement of the country, the Law and its Administration, its Agriculture and Industrial Arts, Navigation and Trade, Religion and Learning, Civil and Military History, and the Manners and Customs of the Colonists, in exact conformity with the plan originally laid down, in the preface of the first volume.

Unfortunately for historical students, Doctor Hawks did not write the two remaining volumes which his plan called for; and the history of Carolina, as a Royal Colony and that of the same community as an independent Republic, unconfederated and confederated, alternately, as he designed to write them, are not yet written. As fragments, however, these volumes are of the highest importance; and we have pleasure in directing the attention of our readers to them.

The volumes are very neatly printed; and both are abundantly embellished with fac-similes of ancient maps of Carolina, from De Bry and other contemporary authorities.

2.—*The Life and Speeches of the Hon. Henry Clay.* Compiled and edited by Daniel Mallory. With valuable additions; embracing an epitome of the Compromise Measures. And a full report of the Obsequies and Funeral Sermon, delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. Also, various important letters, not heretofore published. In two volumes. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1860. Octavo, pp. [I.] 688; [II.] 640. Price \$4.50.

There are some middle aged men, scattered over the country, who have not yet forgotten the great statesman of the West; and the "mill-boy of the Slashes" yet lives in the heartfelt affections of many a grey-headed man, leaning on his staff, and picking his steps along the rugged path on which he is passing to the resting-place of his fathers. There are others, too, who are not unwilling to gather wisdom from the words which fell from the lips of Henry Clay; and more, there are, who will not consent that he shall be overlooked, when the materials for our country's history shall be collected for the use of the workmen, even if they were not his supporters, while he lived, and have no sympathy with his teachings, since he is no longer here to enforce them. All these, at least, will be pleased to be reminded of the publication of these volumes, embracing a memoir of Mr. Clay and an epitome of his principal speeches, with many of his letters; and we have pleasure in calling their attention to them.

Mr. Clay's standing, as one of the three master minds of our country, during the last generation, is recognized by every one, without demurrer; but we are sure that "the West," of to-day, does not reflect his sentiments, nor would it, in its resolute opposition to "protective tariffs," follow his leading, were he now alive. Indeed, he more closely represents the leading sentiment of manufacturing New England than that of the agricultural West; but, both in the West and in the East, his counsels may be usefully noticed, even if they shall not, ultimately, be followed.

The first of these volumes opens with a well-written memoir of Mr. Clay; and this is followed by his leading speeches, from 1810 until 1832; and the second, besides continuing his speeches, from 1832 until 1850, contains several of his letters.

The volumes are very neatly printed and the first has what is intended for a portrait of Mr. Clay; but is not the Mr. Clay whom we so well remember, just as we saw him, in our younger days.

3.—*Bibliographia Catholica Americana*: a list of works written by Catholic authors, and published in the United States. By Rev. Joseph M. Finotti. Part I. From 1784 to 1820 inclusive. New York: The Catholic Publication House. 1872. Octavo, pp. 319. Price \$5.

The man who undertook the task of making a bibliography of Catholic books, published in America, was truly a brave man, if he undertook the task with a clear understanding of the perplexities which would, necessarily, obstruct him and of the labor which would be necessary to complete it; and, undoubtedly, Father Finotti was fully acquainted with all this, before he commenced his work, in the case before us.

It will be perceived that Father Finotti proposes, in his title-page, to confine himself to a description of "works written by Catholic authors;" and of these only such as were "published in the United States"—certainly a limited field; but he has collected a mass of material, outside of the limits of ordinary bibliography, which is, at once, important and interesting. It is, indeed, true that his Notes, in which all that Father Finotti has written necessarily appears, are not always written as an experienced writer would have written them; but, because of that peculiarity of style, the world has saved a great deal of biographical and bibliographical material, in its original form, which, otherwise, would have been, very soon lost, for ever. It is, also, true that Father Finotti sometimes seems to strain his cords in order to include, as those of Catholic writers, the writings of men who were very questionable Catholics if they were really Catholics; but the world of literature has gained, from that error (if it is an error) the publication of well-authenticated facts, in biography and bibliography, which that world cannot but be grateful for.

For these reasons, the volume before us will be found exceedingly useful to others besides mere bibliophiles; and we hope the demand for it will be such as to induce the patient and industrious author to continue it, to the latest date.

As a specimen of typography, with its dark tinted, laid paper and uncut edges, it is well worth a place on any library table.

4.—*Among my Books*. Second Edition. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1871. Duodecimo, pp. 270.

We believe it is no secret that the author of this work is our old and honored friend, Hon. William B. Reed, once our Ambassador to China; and to those who know the intimacy of that gentleman with his books and the ability which he possesses to write with grace and power, the information that this little volume is a choice one will not be a surprise.

It is a series of essays, based on some of Mr. Reed's books, and originally published in *The World*; and we have never opened a volume which is more enticing, in the attractions which are offered in its text, nor one which we have laid down with greater reluctance.

It is neatly, but not extravagantly, printed.

5.—*Creation a recent work of God*. By the Rector of St. Mary's Church, New York. New York: Pott & Amery. 1870. Duodecimo, pp. 238.

We have received through the mail, probably from its author, a copy of this very interesting volume; and both because of its author—who occupies the old pulpit, in the village church which we used to occasionally attend, while a boy—and because of its own peculiar merits, we have pleasure in noticing it.

The author, in this volume, insists that the narrative of the Creation, as set forth in the Bible, is literally true; that the "day" of that narrative is the same as the "day" of our almanacs; that the past six thousand years have witnessed the origin of all earthly things; that a "law of motion in the sea," apart from the law controlling the tides, has prevailed, and still prevails; that water, controlled by that law, was, therefore, the grand dynamic which originally laid the foundation of the earth and overlaid it with successive sedimentary strata; and that the science of the schools is, therefore, entirely false.

All these points are urged with boldness, and yet with entire kindness. The Bible, of course, is the foundation of the arguments presented; but the author sustains those arguments with stern facts, drawn, mostly, from the scientists who have urged the opposite theory; and, as far as our judgment goes, he appears to have done his work well, if not successfully.

We cannot pretend to judge between Mr. Adams and Sir Charles Lyell; but we are perfectly competent to say, as we do, that the former is a bold adversary; that he seems to be well-armed, both with Revelation and Science; that he has battled, manfully, against the veterans whom he has opposed; and that, if he has not come off the field, triumphant—which we do

not pretend to deny—he has not been carried off, either on his shield or a captive.

Our readers who are interested in the subject, whether as scientists or theologians, may profitably turn to this work.

6.—*The Comet*: or, the Earth, in her varied phases, past, present, and future, as deduced from the highest and most reliable authorities. In three parts. By Non quis? Sed Quid? A Comette. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 547. Price \$3.25.

Like the volume last noticed, this, also, relates to the Creation of the World and its subsequent physical changes. It is unlike that, however, in this, it, evidently, has an undercurrent of satire, adroitly turning to ridicule, in those portions of it, those scientists who are advancing theories of the Creation and structure of the earth which are inconsistent with the facts recorded in the Scriptures; and, in other portions of the work, quite as adroitly, it appears to sustain the scriptural theory of the Creation and the Flood—on the basis, however, of the "day" of Genesis having been periods of time vastly beyond that which we call a "day."

We have neither time nor space to follow the author through his extended work: we leave that to those of our readers who are interested in that particular class of studies.

7.—*Life of Henry Dunster, First President of Harvard College*. By Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, D.D. Boston: James E. Osgood & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xx., 315.

It is known to many of our readers that the first President of Harvard-college—a learned, amiable, blameless, and God-fearing man—after having examined the subject from an honest scholar's stand-point, ceased to practice the sprinkling of babies, as an apology for baptism, and insisted that that only was Christian Baptism which was preceded by the personal profession of faith in the Savior, and which was performed, as it could only be done with due respect to the law which established it, by dipping the convert. It is known, too, that, for this cause, he was deposed from office, treated with great personal disrespect, and defrauded of much which was due to him, for monies expended and personal services in behalf of the College; and it is not improbable that, harassed by these abuses, his gentle spirit was broken and his life shortened. But, great as he really was, and worthy of the widest renown, as a scholar, his puritanic persecutors did not consider him worthy of a biography; and, we believe, not until the appearance of

this volume was such a biography before the world.

It was, undoubtedly, a welcome task for Doctor Chaplin to collect the materials for a memoir of this early Baptist martyr, and to arrange them for the press; and the memoir itself, now before us, will form a very welcome addition to the literature of New English history and to the martyrology of the Baptists in America. It is well and, as far as we can see, accurately written; and, if we except a half-way apology for the puritanic persecutions, which disfigures the Preface—a New Englander ceases to be anything else than a New Englander when he begins to discuss the outrages perpetrated by the Established Church of New England, in the name of religion—it is all that we can reasonably expect, on such a subject.

The Appendix contains a very extended *Genealogy of the Dunster family*, from the pen of our respected friend, Professor Edward S. Dunster and his father, and copies of various papers, hitherto unpublished, which serve to illustrate the text and confirm the author's narrative.

Altogether, this volume is a very acceptable addition to the literature of New England and Baptist history; and it will unquestionably take its place beside the standards, in both of those departments.

It is printed with all the neatness which characterizes all the books which bear the imprint of J. R. Osgood & Co.

8.—*The Life of Jesus, the Christ.* By Henry Ward Beecher. Illustrated. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1871. Imperial octavo, pp. xvii., 887. Price \$7.50.

This volume, by the distinguished Pastor of Plymouth-church, Brooklyn, contains "the earlier scenes"—the first half—of a memoir of the Savior's life, which is "scholarly enough to attract scholars; free from controversial temper; and fresh, instructive, and attractive to readers of every class."

It is said that its author has bestowed greater care on this work than on any other; and it is intimated that he desires to be measured, by those who shall follow him, from what shall be found in its pages. It is different, in some of its features, therefore, from his ordinary writings; although, necessarily, it bears a family likeness of all of them—it is eminently loyal to the majesty of Jesus, it sparkles with his sturdy love of nature, it avoids controversy, it is practical rather than speculative, it seeks to present the Savior just as he really was rather than as some would have him appear to have been. It is, therefore, a volume to be read rather than to be merely looked at; and it will be laid down,

even by the greater number of those who do not admire Mr. Beecher's looseness in theology, with increased respect for the great ability of the author and for his bravery in walking in other authorial paths than those which are well-trodden by travellers of other days or other countries.

As a specimen of elegance in book-making, too, it is eminently noteworthy, and reflects the highest credit on the good taste and business liberality of its excellent publishers.

2.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCHENK, ARMSTRONG, & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Address at the dedication of the new Town Hall, Brookline, on the 22d of February, 1872.* By Hon. Esqr. C. Winthrop. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1872. Octavo, pp. 42.

We are indebted to the distinguished author of this address, for this copy of it; and it affords us pleasure to call the attention of our readers to it.

It appears that the ancient town of Brookline has built for itself a second "new Town-hall," and that, last February, it was dedicated to the purposes for which it had been erected. Mr. Winthrop, who is now a Brookline-man, was invited to deliver the dedicatory address; and in doing so, he not only referred to the particular object for which the Town had assembled, but to the Town itself, to its founders, to its earlier and later history, and to some of the causes of its extraordinary prosperity.

After referring to the former "new Town Hall;" to the dedicatory services with which that structure was opened to the service of the town, in October, 1845; and to the venerable Doctor Pierce, by whom those services were conducted, Mr. Winthrop traced the local history of Brookline, from the time when, on the "Muddy River," in 1632, it was the meeting place of "ten Sagamores and many Indians" through the Bay Colony, until our own times. He varied the narrative, it is true, with digressions, here and there; but they were all appropriate to the principal subject, carefully prepared, and admirably told; and what was said of John Eliot, and independent households, and local self-government, and the names for local places, and Samuel Sewall, the Gardners, the Whites, the Stedmans, the Aspinwalls, the Devotions, and the Boylston of old Brookline—to say nothing of his admira-

marks on the "Town System" of Massachusetts and kindred subjects—may be read, with profit, by all who are interested in those subjects. We wish all, in this vicinity, who are unduly anxious to merge their respective towns in the City of New York, would read the lesson, concerning local self-government, which our honored friend, in this Address, so admirably presented to his townsmen of Brookline.

Mr. Winthrop has never produced a paper of greater merit than this; and not only his townsmen, in Brookline, but all who are interested in local self-government, every where, are large to his debtors, for it.

As it was printed by Messrs. Wilson, it will need no other commendation, for its typographical neatness.

—A Sermon delivered at the funeral of the Hon. Thomas Fitch, Esq., late Governor of the Colony of Connecticut, by Moses Dickinson, A.M. New Haven: Thomas Samuel Green. 1774. Octavo, pp. 85.

Governor Thomas Fitch was one of the most distinguished of the colonists, in Connecticut a native of Norwalk; a graduate of Yale College; Judge; Chief-justice; Lieutenant-governor; Governor; and Codifier of the Laws of the Colony—and died, at Norwalk, in July, 1744, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by the venerable Pastor of The First Church in Norwalk; and it was printed by Thomas Green, in the form in which has been re-produced in the first twenty-four pages of the handsome pamphlet before us.

The well-known member of the New York City, Hon. John Fitch, who is a lineal descendant of the Governor, has re-printed that sermon, for private circulation, adding thereto, for the further illustration of the life and character of the Governor, copies of his two Fast-day sermons, 1756 and 1765, and some memoranda concerning the earlier members of the family, both in Europe and America. It is a very graceful tribute to the memory of his deceased kinsman; and we thank him for our copy of it.

—The New York City "Ring:" its origin, maturity, fall, discussed in a reply to The New York Times. By J. Tilden. New York: 1873. Octavo, pp. 52, [Appendix] 31.

There need be no surprise that New York politics are not understood outside of New York. They have always been mysterious in their workings: they always will be so. We are not wholly ignorant of the origin and character of much of that mystery; and we have

learned, in the best of schools, that a professional politician is the same dirty creature, wherever you may see him.

The *New York Times* seems to have turned on its former ally, our old friend Tilden, and charged him with divers badnesses, just as if, were its charges true, a venerable Democrat must necessarily become a modern Republican, for all time, because, for the public good or some other reason, he has temporarily co-operated with Republicans in getting rid of a nuisance, in his own party, which has offended the entire community, Democrats as well as Republicans, and has demanded the services of every honest man in securing its removal. Of course, having completed the good work which he had undertaken, our excellent Barn-burning friend, Tilden, retired from the alliance; but the *Times* demurred and accused him of treachery and what not.

The pamphlet before us is Mr. Tilden's defence; and, inasmuch as it is a family quarrel, the secrets of the family, not unfrequently, are brought out and exposed. Thus, we have a history of the "Ring" of which we have heard so much—not Tom Murphy's "Ring," but Bill Tweed's "Ring"—and its subsequent history, in great detail; and if the Democrats suffer through Tweed, Connelly, Hall, Sweeney, Bradley, Fields, etc., the Republican Legislatures, from 1857 to 1869—who organized the powers, year after year, which Hank Smith, Ben Manierre, and other Republicans controlled, and directed, and received dividends from; which the *Times* then applauded; and which Tweed and his fellows *duly* exercised—will, most certainly, share in the obliquity which attaches to the combination of the two adverse parties, for the purpose of plundering the city, quietly, "according to law."

As a "local," this tract will always be valuable because of its exposures of political combinations of doubtful character and with yet more doubtful objects; and it will be valuable, also, because it *unwittingly exposes the bare-faced usurpation of the chartered authority of the city, by the Legislature of the State, in behalf of political scrapegraces, for corrupt purposes, all the time under the plea of virtue and with the sanction of legislative approval.* The Parliament of England dared not thus have interfered with the Charter which London has, because London's rights would have been protected by English Courts and English respect for vested rights: New York, with a Charter of no less weight, confirmed, over and over again, by the sovereign power, is now made the foot-ball of political gamblers, through a partisan legislature, and a government is thrust upon her, in this "republican" (?) republic, *without her con-*

sent; and, yet, not even our friend has a word to say against the outrage, *per se*, although he says enough against the wrong-doers, in their disputes concerning the distribution of the shame which belongs to them, and their attempt to deprive him of his share of it.

We commend the tract to our readers, or those of them who are interested in New York "locals."

4.—*The early out-posts of Wisconsin. Green Bay for Two hundred years, 1639-1839.* A paper read before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, December 26, 1872. By Daniel S. Durrie, Librarian. *Sine loco, [Madison?] sine anno. [1872?] Octavo, pp. 12.*

The early out-posts of Wisconsin. Annals of Prairie du Chien. A paper read before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, December 26, 1872. By Daniel S. Durrie, Librarian. *Sine loco, [Madison?] sine anno [1872?] Octavo, pp. 15.*

The hard-working and intelligent Librarian of the Wisconsin Historical Society has placed Green-bay and Prairie-du-Chien under the deepest obligations for his careful collection of the fragments of their respective histories, which he has presented to the world, in these tracts; and all who shall become interested in the early history of Wisconsin, will not cease to be thankful that so useful a work was undertaken by so competent a hand and has been executed so successfully.

In these modest tracts, Mr. Durrie has made no attempt to become the historian of either Green-bay or the Prairie-du-Chien: he has simply assumed the part of a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the "coming man," whomsoever he may be, who shall put on airs of scholarship; quietly absorb, without giving any credit, what Mr. Durrie has collected; and become fat and kick, as one of the great men of Wisconsin. As the annalist of the two "out-posts of Wisconsin," however—as the delver in the quarries where only the hidden raw-material for Wisconsin's history may be found—Mr. Durrie is entitled to the highest praise; and we most earnestly hope that not only praise but profit may be his reward.

5.—*Roger Williams and the Massachusetts Charter* A paper read before the Massachusetts Historical Society by Charles Deane Cambridge 1872 Octavo, pp. 19.

It is known that Roger Williams impeached the Charter of Massachusetts Bay, on the ground, *first*, that the King had made false declarations, in the Preamble; *second*, that the King had blasphemed, in the same Preamble; and, *third*, because the land was the Indians' and not the King's; and it is known, too, that

he experienced trouble because of it, from Governor Winthrop and the Colonial authorities. Of the merits of this controversy, we do not propose to take especial notice, in this place—not because Mr. Williams had not some reason on his side; but because we have not room at the time which we can devote to a careful examination of it.

In the tract before us, Mr. Deane has carefully noticed the subject, from the Massachusetts stand-point, introducing a paper from the pen of Governor John Winthrop, hitherto unpublished, in which the latter discussed the questions raised by Mr. Williams, carefully noticing the opinions, on the same subject, of Mr. Cotton and others of the Bay Colony, as well as presenting his own conclusions, thereon.

As we have said, there are two sides to this well-canvassed subject; and, if we do not mistake, Mr. Deane has proved too much, if he has proved anything, against Roger and his doctrines. If the premises were not true, the conclusions drawn therefrom must have been at least, of questionable worth; and if, as Mr. Cotton and Mr. Deane admit, the fee of the soil was really in the Indians, what value as a legal conveyance of it, was there in a Grant of that soil, by the King of Great Britain, and what right to that soil could that Grant convey to the grantees, without the assent thereto, formally expressed, of the legal proprietors? That the Europeans could *legally* occupy and hold what was not actually occupied by the resident proprietors, nor required, by them, for their maintenance, for no other reason than such residence, is very poor law, as Mr. Deane may learn by consulting any Massachusetts lawyer; and if there is no better reason than that to be urged, it seems to us the better way would have been to have acknowledged the truth of Mr. Williams's objections and admitted, squarely, that the settlers seized and occupied land owned by others, only under the warrant of the highwayman—the power of the stronger. Is it any argument against Roger and his doctrines that, subsequently, he experienced trouble, in Providence, from men who had less respect for the right, *per se*, than he; nor does any supposed inconsistency in Roger, at any time, impair the merit of the naked question on other subjects, which he had raised, in this case. They were either true or false, absolutely; and that truth or falsehood could not be changed, a whit, because of the inconsistency in his practice, of him by whom they were urged. Governor Winthrop and Mr. Cotton conceded the absolute truth of the objections raised against the title to lands; and Mr. Deane does not attempt to deny it: of what use, therefore, were the arguments of either, even in a

uation, that Roger was equally a violator of the law of property, recognized by both parties, and of the rights of those who held property under it? But we must go no further.

—*General Meade and the Battle of Gettysburg.* An oration, delivered before the Society of the Army of the Potomac, at its Re-union, at New Haven, Connecticut, July 14th, 1873. By Major-general Charles Devens, Jr. Philadelphia, N. Y.: 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., 80.

Our readers will remember the Oration, published in our July number, which distinguished the last meeting of the Society of the Army of the Potomac beyond the greater number of such meetings, and which was so joyfully received by all who heard it. It was an eloquent exposition of the character of General George G. Meade, as that character was seen in his conduct of the Army, at Gettysburg; and all who heard it will not cease to remember it nor its distinguished author, who, since that time, has been elevated to the Bench of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.

The pamphlet before us contains that Oration, as it was corrected by the Author and printed in the Magazine; and was printed, in a form, for private distribution, among the friends of the Author.

The edition numbered two hundred and fifty copies.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

—*In Memoriam. Matthew Fontaine Maury, LL.D.* University Cambridge, England. Proceedings of the Academic Board of the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va., on the occasion of the Death of Commodore M. Maury, LL.D., Professor of Physics, in the Virginia Military Institute. 1873. Octavo, pp. 82.

We are indebted to Colonel Richard L. Maury, for a copy of this very appropriate memorial of his distinguished father; and we have read it with much interest. It is a record of the action of the Academic Board of the institution in which Commodore Maury was an instructor, on the occasion of his decease, embracing, besides a copy of the general Minutes of the Board, on that occasion, a copy of the special Minute which was then ordered to be read upon the records of the Board—that affectionate testimonial which his associates in life erected, within their own circle, to the memory of the senior and most eminent member of that body.

For Professor Maury, the readers of the Magazine need no reminder. He was a Virginian, by birth; a Virginian, in all his sympathies; a Virginian, in death. Virginia claimed him as her son: he recognized the demand, honored

it, reflected honor on the relationship, and died in her service. He was born in January, 1806; appointed a Midshipman in the Navy, in 1825—making his first cruise in the *Brandywine*, when that vessel bore General La Fayette back to France—by transfers, continued at sea, until 1834, when he returned to the United States; published the first edition of his *Navigation*, which was immediately adopted, as a textbook, by the Navy; was married to Miss Ann Herndon; declined the appointments, respectively, of Astronomer and Hydrographer to the Exploring Expedition to the South Seas, under Lieutenant Wilkes; was promoted to a Lieutenantcy, in 1837; was accidentally crippled, and devoted his energies to literature—especially urging reforms in the Navy, the establishment of a Naval Academy and a Navy-yard at Memphis—investigated the flow of the Mississippi and proposed a system of observations, for the benefit of commerce on that important outlet; urged the propriety of opening a communication between the Mississippi and the Lakes, of a disposition of the drowned lands, belonging to the United States, on the banks of the Mississippi; inaugurated what is known as “The house system;” and, in 1842, was appointed Superintendent of the Depots of Charts and Instruments, at Washington. In his new connection, Lieutenant Maury very soon opened new fields of labor. His depot became an “Observatory;” and the “Naval Observatory” became known, throughout Christendom. Besides these labors, he undertook to unravel the winds and currents of the ocean and to measure its depths. Old log-books were pored over, and studied, and compared, and combined; old ship-masters were consulted and brushed up, in their memories; and old facts were presented, in new dresses and in younger company, to give weight to the later-born offspring of his fertile mind. His first revised chart—*Fairway to Rio*—was so far ahead of the times that those, for whose especial benefit it had been quarried, shook their heads, in doubt, and preferred known difficulties to unknown advantages, until Captain Jackson, of the *W. H. D. C. Wright, of Baltimore*, honored the truth and brought immortality on himself and his ship by daring to be singular and convincing mariners of their ignorance and folly. The Brussels Conference followed; and its action marked the era of international adoption of his system of observation. His system of Deep-sea-soundings, also, is that which established, beyond doubt, the feasibility of ocean-telegraphs; and his *Physical Geography of the Sea* made as clear to the landsman as to the mariner the wonderful mechanism of the sea, with its contents and its atmosphere.

The author of these wonderful works was admitted to the intimacy of the learned of all countries; the Academies of Science in Paris, Berlin, Brussels, St. Petersburg, and Mexico conferred on him the honor of membership; and the sovereigns of France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Denmark, Belgium, Portugal, Sweden, Sardinia, Holland, Bremen, and the Papal States bestowed Orders of Knighthood and other honors on him.

When Virginia seceded from the Union, Lieutenant Maury resigned his distinguished position, at Washington, in order that he might the more completely discharge his duty to her; and he was selected as one of "The Council of Three," which was appointed to assist the Governor; and he continued to occupy that position until the Army and Navy of Virginia were transferred to the new confederacy.

Looking only at the loss which the world would experience by the withdrawal from its service of such a master mind, the Emperors of Russia and France, respectively, hastened to invite Lieutenant Maury to those countries, where, undisturbed by War and sustained by imperial resources, he could continue the great work to which his life had been devoted; but his love of country and his sense of the duty which he owed to Virginia led him to decline both these distinguished honors. He went abroad, however, in the service of the Confederate States, remaining there until the close of the War; and then, disheartened and uncertain of the future, he went to Mexico, where he was cordially received by the Emperor Maximilian, called to a place in his Cabinet, and sent on a special mission to Europe. The overthrow of the Empire, of course, terminated his relations with Mexico; and, in straightened circumstances, he resumed, as a means of support, his scientific and literary labors. In this condition was he when the Emperor of the French invited him, again, to the Superintendency of the Imperial Observatory, at Paris; but he conceived that his first duty was to Virginia and he accepted, instead, the Chair of Physics in the Military Institute of that State. He entered on his new duties, zealously; and he promptly presented the necessity for a physical survey of Virginia, in connection with the establishment of through routes, by rail, and of a great and free water-line, uniting the East and the West. He also urged the establishment of a system of observations and reports on the crops of the world, in order to reduce fluctuations and destroy the falsities of trade, in the staple productions of agriculture. Such, in addition to his daily duties, as an instructor, were the self-imposed labors of this distinguished man, when he was summoned to his rest.

As a memento of one of the most unselfish of American citizens and one of the most illustrious of American scholars—to say nothing of his high character as a man and a Christian—this pamphlet will find an honored place in our collection; and we thank Colonel Maury for remembering us, in his distribution of the copies.

8.—*Society of the Army of the Cumberland Sixth Division* Dayton 1872 Published by Order of the Society Cincinnati Robert Clarke & Co 1873 Octavo, pp. title-page and verso, 208.

We have noticed, from time to time, the published reports of the re-unions of this Society; and we have pleasure in noticing the last-issued of the series.

It contains the Minutes of the proceedings of the Society, at its sixth meeting; the Treasurer's Report; the Oration, by General Wood; a report of the banquet proceedings; memorials of deceased officers; the Society's Constitution; and other papers of interest to its many members, the whole being illustrated with a portrait of General Anderson, by Buttre.

It is uniform in style with those which preceded it; and, as a specimen of book-making, it is, certainly, very beautiful.

9.—*Proceedings, Resolutions, and Communications commemorative of Hon. Edward J. Harden, Attorney for the City of Savannah, and President of the Georgia Historical Society, who died April 19th, 1873.* The Georgia Historical Society: June, 1873. Octavo, pp. 31.

This is a "memorial pamphlet," issued by direction of the Georgia Historical Society, in order to gather into one, the proceedings and Resolutions of various public bodies, etc., commemorative of its late lamented President, Hon. Edward J. Harden; and includes the notices of his death, in the Savannah newspapers; the proceedings of the City Council; the memorial Sermon delivered in the meeting-house of the First Presbyterian Church, by Rev. Dr. Porter; the proceedings of the Session of the Church, of the Savannah Bar, and of the Georgia Historical Society.

The Society has done well in thus preserving, in a single tract, the record of Judge Harden's worth and that of the esteem in which he was held by his neighbors and professional, and literary, and ecclesiastical associates. He was evidently worthy of that respect, both as a man and a scholar; and in honoring such a man the Society secures respect for itself.

The pamphlet is a neat one; but without any pretension to typographical beauty.

10.—*Historical Sermon preached by the Rev. John W. Leek, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass., at the Occasion of its 158th Anniversary, on St. Michael's Day, September 29th, 1872.* Published by request. Leabody: 1873. Octavo, pp. 25.

Marblehead exults, it is said, in "the Oldest Parish Church in New England"—St. Michael's, of which Mr. Leek is the faithful Rector. It is a quaint structure; erected in 1714; and, with slight alterations, is yet in excellent condition.

In September last, on the one hundred and fifty-eighth anniversary of the erection of this old house, the Rector preached a "historical Sermon," in which he noticed the settlement of the town and its rapid growth in population and opulence; the devotion of its inhabitants to the revolutionary party and its consequences on the prosperity of the town; the origin of the Church, in 1707, and the measures adopted to secure a preacher; the successive Missionaries who supplied the church, prior to the War of the Revolution; the outrages to which the Communicants and their pastor were subjected, by the insurgents in Massachusetts—in which portion of his address, Mr. Leek also reviewed the puritanic oppression, in that Colony, of those who, in the earlier period of its existence, had dared to dissent from the principles and practices of the "Standing Order." He noticed the impertinence of the Pastor of the Congregational Church, in interfering with the ordination of a Rector, and the success which attended his effort thus to establish "freedom to worship God," (?) in a sister church, of another denomination. The "sad struggles and sorrowful experiences" to which the parish was subjected, immediately after the close of the War—its small means, difficulty in securing pastoral aid, and its consequent decline in membership. Then followed notices of those who, since the close of the Revolutionary War, have successively served as pastors—Revs. Thomas Fitch Oliver, William Harris, James Bowers, John Prentiss Kewley, Amos Shaw (afterwards Bishop of Rhode Island), Joseph Andrews, Benjamin Bosworth Smith (afterwards Bishop of Kentucky), Lott Jones, Thomas S. W. Mott, Joseph H. Price, George C. Eastman, William H. Lewis, John P. Robinson, Moses P. Stickney, Nicholas Powers, William H. Linghast, our late friend Edward Ballard, John B. Richmond, Edwin B. Chase, William Woodbridge, and John W. Leek—and these were interspersed with notices of the loss of the Rectory, by the illegal action of the church's representatives; of an attempt which was made, subsequently, to swing the Church and its property around into the Unitarian fold, in the same manner in which many other

churches were then swung around, into that communion; and of the resolute and successful opposition to that proposition, which was made by one of the Wardens, sustained by a sturdy old ship-master, who *swore* that "it should not be done." An *Addenda*, devoted to several collateral subjects, closes the tract.

It is seldom that a more complete general review of the past of a congregation has been presented in so small a space; and Mr. Leek has done well in preserving the annals of his parish in so convenient form.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

11.—*Address delivered at the opening of Court in the new Court House in Greenfield, Mass., March 18, 1873, by Hon. Whiting Griswold.* Greenfield, Mass.: E. D. Merriam. 1873. Octavo, pp. 51.

We are indebted to the learned author for a copy of this exceedingly interesting and valuable historical address, delivered at the opening of the first session of the Court, in the new Court-house, in Greenfield; and we have read it with great pleasure.

Commencing with a reference to the organization of Franklin-county, in 1811, Mr. Griswold describes, successively, the opposition which was made to the division of *old* Hampshire, for that purpose and for the subsequent formation of Hampden; the earnest contest for the County-seat, by Greenfield and Cheapside, in which the latter was defeated; the history of the first Court-house; and the organization of the Courts and their place of meeting, before that Court-house was completed. That particular Court-house still stands—the village Post-office and, we suppose, the village "sanctum."

Mr. Griswold then presents the early Bar of Franklin-county—William Coleman, Jonathan Leavitt, Rodolphus Dickinson, Ephraim Williams, George Grennell, etc.—sliding down, gradually, to that of a later period, including Daniel Wells, Benjamin R. Curtis, and Emory Washburn, and remembering, as he passes, Epaphras Hoyt, the historian and Sheriff of the County, and a long line of other faithful servants of the County. Then, the Bar of to-day is introduced—including David Aiken, Almon Brainard, George T. Davis, Charles Allen, Henry L. Dawes, General Charles Devens, Jr., etc.—and, having photographed the Bar, the new Court-house receives his attention, in a most appropriate dedication to justice and the right. An Appendix contains a list of the various County-officers of Franklin-county and of the Franklin Bar, from the earliest day to the present time.

We have seldom seen an address in which there is so much to be approved and so little to be condemned, either in the character of the material or the manner in which it has been employed, as this. The historical portion is evidently the result of careful research and is pleasantly told; the personal sketches of the Bar is a mine of genealogical and biographical information, which time will make more valuable, day by day; and the statistics are welcome additions to the working materials of those who do not possess that greater storehouse of information, a file of the *Annual Register* of Massachusetts, during the past seventy or eighty years.

Mr. Griswold has done well: we hope he will not repose on the laurels which he has already won, but seek new honors in new labors.

13.—*Catalogue of the Michigan State Library, for the years 1873-4*. Prepared by H. A. Tenney, State Librarian. January 1, 1873. By Authority. Lansing: W. S. George & Co., State Printers. 1873. Octavo, pp. viii., 298.

We are indebted to Mrs. Tenney, the excellent State Librarian, for the copy of this work which is before us. As a Catalogue of what Michigan actually possessed, at that time, it is interesting; but it is quite as interesting as indicative of what she had not—of the literature which should have been found in her State Library.

Under the judicious management of Mrs. Tenney, we are sure there will soon be improvements in that collection which will be both useful and ornamental.

12.—*Annual Reports of the Brooklyn Park Commissioners*. 1861-1873. Re-printed by order of the Board, with such Acts of the Legislature, in their amended form, as relate to the Brooklyn Parks and their management. January, 1873. Octavo, pp. 528.

On the seventeenth of April, 1860, an Act was passed, by the Legislature of New York, for laying out a Public Park and a Parade-ground, in the city of Brooklyn, and appointing Commissioners for the purpose of carrying out the project. The Statute required those Commissioners to report, annually; and thirteen annual Reports have been accordingly presented. Some of these annual Reports have become exceedingly rare; and, as it has been next to impossible to make complete files of them, a year or so ago, the Board ordered the first twelve to be re-printed, in a small edition, for the use of the Commissioners and those who were especially interested in the subject.

We are indebted to Hon. John N. Taylor, the Comptroller of the Commission, for a copy

this re-print; and, as a complete record of one of Brooklyn's most notable improvements, it is a choice and valuable volume. Not only are the twelve Reports re-produced, with, we imagine, all their illustrations, but we find, also, the various Statutes bearing on the subject; and, if the Ordinances governing the visitors to the Park had been added, there would, probably, have been very little to be desired which could not have been found therein.

As a specimen of elegant typography, this volume is worthy of high praise; and as the edition is understood to have been a very small one, it has already become rather a scarce one. We hope we shall not be regarded as ungracious, after having been favored with a copy of this scarce volume, if we respectfully suggest that, in such a case as this, wherein so many are likely to be interested, through all time, a larger edition of this work should have been printed than, if report speaks truly, was printed.

14.—*Proceedings of the Laying of the Corner Stone of the New Capitol of Michigan, On the 2d Day of October, 1873, at the City of Lansing*. Compiled by Allen L. Barr, Secretary of State Building Commissioner. Lansing: 1873. Octavo, pp. 145.

The State of Michigan, that "beautiful peninsula," having outgrown the buildings occupied by her public officers, determined to construct a new capitol which should be more worthy of her increased importance and better adapted to the wants of the day.

On the second of October last, the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid with appropriate ceremonies. The Governor of the State delivered the Introductory Address, welcoming the visitors and fitly alluding to the occasion of the gathering. Bishop McCoskry asked the blessing of Almighty God. Hon. William L. Howard delivered the Oration—an admirable paper on Michigan, as she was and is. The Masonic ceremonies followed, under the direction of the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Michigan, by whom, of course, addresses were made, before the stone was laid as well as after. The ceremonies concluded with the Benediction, by Rev. Noah Fassett.

In the handsome volume before us, we have an official record of this important event, in which have been preserved full reports of all that occurred; and it is made more complete than such records generally are, by embracing an elaborate *History of Michigan from its settlement by the French to the Laying of the Corner Stone of the New Capitol, October 2d, 1873*, which was "compiled, under a Resolution

"the Committee of Arrangements," by Mr. Bours, their Secretary, and "the original copy, "enrolled upon parchment, was deposited in "the Corner-stone."

This History occupies eighty-one octavo pages, and embraces, as well as a historical sketch, a pretty complete statistical survey, of Michigan. It has been prepared with evident care and at much cost of labor; and, when the new Capitol shall have become old and the corner-stone be made to give up its treasures, Mr. Bours will be thanked by the inquisitive lookers-on, for the trouble he has taken to tell them what Michigan was, in 1873.

The volume is a very handsome one, considered typographically.

15.—*Papers relating to the Treaty of Washington.*

Volume I.—Geneva Arbitration. Containing the Case of the United States; the Case of Great Britain; the Counter Case of the United States; and a portion of the additional Documents, Correspondence, and Evidence which accompanied the same. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1873. Octavo, pp. 4 (unpaged) 856.

Volume II.—Geneva Arbitration. Containing the remainder of the papers accompanying the Counter Case of the United States; Counter Case of Her Britannic Majesty's Government; Instructions to the Agent and Counsel of the United States, and proceedings at Geneva, in December, 1871, and April, 1872; Correspondence respecting the Geneva Arbitration and the proposed Supplemental Article to the Treaty; and Declaration of Sir Stafford Northcote at Exeter. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1873. Octavo, pp. xvii., 604.

Volume III.—Geneva Arbitration. Containing the Argument of the United States; Argument of Her Britannic Majesty's Government; and Supplementary Statements or Arguments made by the respective Agents or Counsel. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1873. Octavo, pp. xvi., 653.

Volume IV.—Geneva Arbitration. Containing the Report of the Agent of the United States; Protocols of Conferences; Decision and Award of the Tribunal; Opinions of the Arbitrators; Reply of the Secretary of State, acknowledging the receipt of the Report of the Agent of the United States, and commenting upon the Opinion of the Arbitrator appointed by Her Britannic Majesty; Report of the Counsel of the United States; and Opinions of Statesmen, Magazines, and Journals of Great Britain and the Continent on the construction of the Treaty. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1873. Octavo, pp. xi., 578.

Volume V.—Berlin Arbitration. Containing the Memorial of the United States on the Canal de Haro as its boundary-line; Case of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty; Reply of the United States thereto; Second and Definitive Statement of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty; and Correspondences. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1873. Octavo, pp. 371.

These volumes possess great interest to every

one who professes to regard either international law or the political history of the United States with the least possible interest; and to every one, especially, who is interested in the history of the recent Civil War, they are peculiarly important.

The very elaborate title-pages, which we have copied in full, convey to the reader as minute a description of the contents of the several volumes as can be given; and it will be perceived that they are entirely documentary, without note or comment. The first four volumes contain the record of the Geneva Arbitration, including the Cases and Arguments of the two contesting powers: the fifth contains the Cases and Arguments presented to the Emperor William of Germany, in the adjustment of the North-western boundary of the United States.

We have read, very carefully, the Cases of both parties, in the matter of the North-western boundary; and, although Mr. Bancroft did not employ the material which was presented to Congress, some years since, by the heirs of Captain Kendrick—which we re-printed in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for September, 1870—his argument was well-sustained and dignified, while his copies of the various maps were perfectly conclusive. His allusion to the fact that, of the Cabinet of Mr. Polk, who signed the Treaty of 1846, as well as the British Cabinet who prepared it, *all are dead*, except himself and one of the British, is peculiarly touching; and, under those circumstances, there was a fitness in the employment of his pen, in concluding the long-pending controversy.

We have not yet waded through the elaborate papers presented to the Arbitrators at Geneva; but we have glanced over them and measured their contents. We shall have no reason to be otherwise than proud of them, whenever they shall be compared with those presented by the opposing power, if the principles of law which our legal representatives urged there, and which seem to have been established, shall not become a boomerang, and return, hereafter, to torment ourselves. We are not quite sure, indeed, that the ancient doctrine of neutrality, which the Continental Congress insisted on and sustained, has not been abandoned, in the case before us; and we are not quite sure, too, that Great Britain cannot well afford to pay fifteen and a half millions for the authoritative decree which, one of these days, will cripple American "enter-prise" and protect British weakness. It will be well if "our chickens shall not come home to roost," before we shall care to see them.

We are indebted to the honorable Secretary of State for these very important volumes and desire him to accept our thanks for them.

D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

16.—*University Edition. The Federalist*: a collection of Essays, written in favor of the new Constitution, as agreed upon by the Federal Convention, September 17, 1787. Reprinted from the original text, Under the supervision of Henry B. Dawson. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1878. Octavo, pp. lvi., 615.

There are very few who will not profess to know all about *The Federalist*, as the title of this volume is usually written; and yet how few there are who have ever read it, and yet fewer who have ever studied it, while scarcely any yield obedience to it, when such obedience would come in conflict with own or their party's present interests. There are very few who will not insist that the *Constitution for the United States* is as familiar to them—in its history, its meaning, and its effects—as the hats which cover their heads; and yet very few can say, positively, they have ever read the whole of it and yet fewer can tell, accurately, what meaning those who created it, intended to apply to it nor what result *they* intended should be produced by it.

It is a patent fact that the Republic, immediately after the close of the War of the Revolution, opened a career of unexampled prosperity and happiness, with the smallest possible amount of what is called "Government"—indeed, it proved, beyond a doubt, that that People is governed best which is governed least. It is an equally patent fact that, at that time, the United States were afflicted, *as they are now afflicted*, and ever will be afflicted, *immediately after a War*, with a body of men in their midst, who assumed to be of better blood than those who surrounded them—men who considered they were born to command, while all other men were born to obey: men who regarded labor as degrading, if *they* labored, but fit, when *others* toiled: men who were non-producers, aspirants to office, and good-livers on the products of others' labor: tax-collectors rather than tax-payers—whose opportunities for living, *without work*, and for bearing rank and authority among their neighbors, *without their bidding*, found few opportunities where all were equal before the law and when the law was founded on justice and the rights of man. It is a patent fact, too, that, in the face of this general prosperity and happiness, these parasites who had fastened themselves on the communities among whom they lived—drinking wines which they never paid for, and aping a style which they had no means of their own to sustain—preferred a Monarchy, such as England had, rather than a Republic, with the authority in the Peoples of the respective States; and that they determined, by fair means or by foul, to effect such a change in the organic law of the United States as should throw them to the surface, with

the masses, below them, as the sources of their coveted supplies. It is matter of history, that, to secure that end, the clacquiars of this faction assailed the integrity of the Republic, in its most vital part—discrediting its resources and integrity, embarrassing its operations by capricious comments and unfounded falsehoods, and insisting that the result of its malevolence was the consequence of defects in the organic law. At length, by pertinacious badgering of the several State Legislatures, a Convention of the States was secured to recommend to the several States such amendatory clauses to the *Articles of Confederation*, which constituted the organic law of the Republic, as would afford to the aspirants an opportunity to obtain a foot-hold and to enable them to prepare for still further elevation: by a similar course of effrontery, not wholly without admixture of fraud, that Convention was led to assume authority which had not been delegated to it, to nullify the supreme law of the Republic, and to recommend a new fundamental law in open defiance of the Constitution and of the sovereign powers constituting the Confederacy.

There was serious opposition to this movement throughout the entire Confederacy, but especially in New York; and to remove, as far as possible, the arguments of that opposition, which threatened to defeat the scheme and send back the parasites to the daily labor which other folks were engaged in, a series of papers was prepared and published, under the title of *The Federalist*, by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, and addressed, specifically, "To the People of the State of New York."

Those papers were ably written—as they needed to be, in order to effect anything against the antagonism of such writers as Richard Henry Lee and George Bryan, such orators as Mr. Lee, Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, and Luther Martin, and such influential statesmen as John Hancock, George Clinton, Chancellor Lansing, and Edmund Randolph—and they went to the very verge of Federalism, while their real intent was to fasten on the Republic what was the very worst antagonist of a *Federal Constitution*. In particular "People" to whom the papers were addressed, *knowing two of the principal writers of The Federalist, personally, spurned the parasites, rejected their proffered advice, and almost unanimously voted against the "new system"*; but, from that day to this, *The Federalist* has been regarded as the best existing commentary of the Federal Constitution, as it was originally proposed, and before ANY of the various Amendments had been made to it, as the authors of the Constitution were constrained to consider it publicly, and while they were seeking to secure its ratification.

Fourteen years after they were originally published

lished, John Wells, a distinguished "Federalist" of New York, revised the several papers and republished them, but without the approval of either of the original authors; and, occasionally, from that day until 1864, other re-prints of them, always in their corrupted form and, sometimes, yet more corrupt, were issued from various presses. At that time, a new edition of the work, *exactly in its original form*, was prepared by us and printed; and few volumes have proceeded from the American press, during the last quarter of a century, which have enjoyed a heartier welcome, from one portion of the public, or a heartier condemnation, from another. The venerable Josiah Quincy, Chief-justice Chase, Attorney-general Bates, Secretary-of-State Seward, the Faculty of Harvard-college, and others little less distinguished, cheered us by their hearty approvals; while such men as John Jay, John C. Hamilton, and Henry T. Tuckerman made themselves ridiculous by deprecating it. It met with a wider sale than such works usually enjoy; and it passed through several editions, before the demand for it was entirely supplied.

The volume before us is another re-print of that restored version of *The Federalist*—the exact words of the authors, themselves, having been restored—and all who shall incline to read it will read exactly the language employed by the three distinguished authors, in their original communications to the press of New York, without the least alteration, interpolation, or abbreviation, with the additional advantage of a *Synoptical Table of Contents* of the entire work and a *Comparative Exhibit of the Claims to the Authorship* of it.

The typography is that of the Riverside Press, and is neat without claiming to be more than that.

11.—*Woman in Sacred History*: a series of sketches drawn from scriptural, historical, and legendary sources. By Harriet Beecher Stow. Illustrated with sixteen Chromo-Lithographs, after paintings by Raphael, Batoni, Horace Vernet, Goodall, Landelle, Kochler, Portaëla, Vernet-Lecomte, Baader, Merle, and Boulanger: printing by Monroac, from stones executed by Jehenne, Paris. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1874. Imperial octavo, unpagged. Price \$7.50.

Mrs. Stow, like her distinguished father and brother, wields a powerful pen; and we opened this volume with a reasonable hope that she would boldly and honestly meet the issues which faithful notices of the leading "women in sacred history" would necessarily force before her, for notice and judgment. Sarah and her Egyptian maid, Hagar, with Abraham's *adultery*; Leah and Rachel, the *purchased slave-wives* of the *bigamist*, Jacob—to say nothing of

Zilpah and Bilhah, whom he also *adulterously* co-habited with; Sisera, also, the *murderess*, and Delilah, the *courtesan*; Michal, also, with Abigail and Ahinoam, the Jezreelitess, Maacah and Haggith, Abital and Eglah, Bath-sheba (the mother of Solomon) and Abishag, the nine wives of *bigamous* and *adulterous* David—adultery, property in women, bigamy, murder, certainly, we supposed, would have afforded themes for Mrs. Stow's denunciations, such as she hurled at "whom it might concern," in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and in her various other writings. Of course, what is *sinful*, in our day, has always been just as *sinful* as it is now; and Jacob and David must have been as bad as Brigham Young is; Samson's association with Delilah could not have been less blameworthy than similar associations of the "fast" young men, of our time, with similar characters; and the outrageous sacrifice of Uriah, the honorable and patriotic husband of Bath-sheba, by the lascivious King, in order that she might be added to the Royal harem, was, assuredly, not less sinful than the *crimes*, of like character, for which less distinguished men are hung, as *criminals*, now-a-days. Yet, as far as we can see, Mrs. Stow has failed to look the fact in the face that traffic in flesh and blood—the purchase, for a price, of leading "women of sacred history," was not condemned, as sinful, *per se*, nor was bigamy, nor even adultery, discountenanced, as *wicked*, in themselves, if they were condemned at all, by the Almighty law-giver, who, neither now nor then, can look on sin with allowance.

With all due respect to Mrs. Stow, we conceive that she has failed, in the instance before us, to discharge, completely, the duty which she assumed when she undertook to tell of the "women of sacred history," in this that she has failed to tell of Leah's and Rachel's wrongs and of Laban's and Jacob's sinfulness, in selling and buying flesh and blood, and they, in Laban's case, the recognized and legal offspring of himself. What a glorious supplement would such a narrative, bravely stated, in all its horrors, have made to Mrs. Stow's glowing narrative of Eliza and her child Harry, when Haley undertook to carry them into new scenes of captivity. As we have said, Haley must have been only the legitimate successor, in wrong-doing—*sin*, without discount—of Jacob; and as for Laban, his *sin* must have been immeasurably greater than Jacob's. But not a line of censure, as far as we can see, is offered against either the one or the other; and, as far as Mrs. Stow is concerned, the slave-breeder, Laban, and the slave-buyer, Jacob, continue to be classed among the most respectable and respected citizens of the old world—real, genuine "gentlemen of the old school." We might say the same of her reticence concern-

ing Jacob's bigamy and adultery; but we have filled our allotted space.

The narratives, *as far as they go*, are, of course, admirably written; but the great feature of the work is the series of sixteen magnificent chromo-lithographic figures, after recognized masters of art, representing, ideally, as many of the "women of sacred history" concerning whom Mrs. Stow wrote. They are exquisite specimens of color, being closely copied from the originals; and we have seen nothing from the American press, thus illustrated, which can be compared with this volume.

18.—*Pre-Historic Man. Darwinism and Deity. The Mound Builders.* By M. F. Force. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1878. Octavo, pp. 85.

If we do not mistake, the author of this volume is a son of our late friend, General Peter Force, of Washington, D. C., so widely and so justly honored by every student of American history; and the three papers which it contains were prepared for and read before the Cincinnati Literary Club, 1868-78.

The first of these relates to the subject of the primitive inhabitants of western Europe, as that subject has been presented, since the discovery, in Lake Zurich, in 1829, of the remains of those by-gone races; and it is one of the best of the shorter descriptions of them.

The second is a discussion of the Darwinian theory and its relation with Deity, in which the modern philosopher and his propositions appear to be favorably considered.

The third relates to the Mound-builders, their works, when they lived, how they lived, who they were, and what became of them. It is a calm, dispassionate, and unusually careful examination of the general subject; and, under each of the sub-divisions of it, to which we have referred, Mr. Force has carefully presented the evidence which throws light on it and as clearly presented his judgment.

The tract is very neatly printed.

19.—*A Complete Narrative of the Mysteries of New York City. The Dark Side of New York Life and its Criminal Classes from Fifth Avenue down to the Five Points.* Numbers III-IX. New York: Frederick Gerhard. 1878. Octavo, pp. 65-288. Price 10 cents per part.

In our July number, we referred to this work as one of peculiar merit, notwithstanding its sensational title; and a careful examination of this portion of the work confirms that judgment.

In the numbers before us, the "Detectives," the various classes of "Thieves," the "Fences," the "Rogues' Gallery," the "Street-robbers and

"Garotters," and the multitude of "Swindlers," in all their various forms, are carefully described; and both as a narrative of low life, in New York, and a description of the various classes of crime and criminals, it is exceedingly noteworthy. It may very properly find a place in every collection of New York locals and be carefully read by all who live or have occasion to visit the great metropolis.

20.—*Michigan.* Being condensed popular sketches of the Topography, Climate, and Geology of the State. By Alexander Winchell, LL.D. Extracted, by permission, Walling's *Atlas of Michigan*. Printed by the Cleveland Printing Co. 1878. Octavo, pp. 121.

The title-page describes the character of the sketches which are collected into this volume: the name and well-earned reputation of the learned Chancellor of the Syracuse University afford ample guarantees for the accuracy of their statements.

We are not quite sure that they ought to have been called "popular," because they are too precise and deal too minutely in unfamiliar subjects to be acceptable to the populace; and the use of that word may lead some, to whom they will be acceptable, to suppose they are mere wish-washy paragraphs of glittering generalities, meaning nothing. The populace, in Michigan, as well as elsewhere, cares nothing for such excellent reading matter as this work contains; and it is worse than folly to suppose otherwise.

As the title-page indicates, the work is divided into three distinct sections, treating, respectively, of the *Topography and Hydrography*, the *Geology*, and the *Climate* of the State; and we know of no other work which presents so complete a picture of Michigan, in those features of her composition, as this.

The typography of the tract is very neat: it reflects credit on those who printed it.

21.—*History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic.* By William H. Prescott. New and Revised Edition, with the author's latest corrections and additions. Edited by John Foster Kirk. In three volumes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878. Crown 8vo, pp. [I.] xxxv., 504; [II.] xvii., 508; [III.] vii., 508. Price \$7.50.

The writings of Prescott, like those of Irving, are known and admired wherever the English language is spoken or read, the world over: we need not, therefore, attempt to describe them nor to praise their beauties. But it is a subject of congratulation, and one which our readers will feel a deep interest in, that a new edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged by

distinguished author, himself, and carried through the press, by his faithful and learned assistant, John Foster Kirk, is in progress of publication, with three volumes already published; and we have pleasure in presenting that information to our readers.

We are told that, "in the intervals of composition, especially during the last years of his life, Mr. Prescott devoted much time to the revision of his published works. The changes he made included, besides many verbal amendments and some alterations of greater moment, numerous additions, principally to the notes, from the fresh material accumulated in the progress of his researches. Successive English editions, published during his lifetime, profited, to some extent, by this labor; but his purpose to incorporate the whole of its results in a new American edition was, unhappily, frustrated by his death. He had intimated a desire that the task should, in this event, be undertaken by the writer" [*Mr. Kirke*] "who had shared in the previous labor and was cognizant of the details; and to him it has accordingly been intrusted by the publishers, the present proprietors of the copyrights." The duty of the Editor "has consisted, mainly, in collating the editions, errors having crept into the later and otherwise more perfect ones; inserting emendations and additions, from the author's manuscripts; verifying doubtful references; and securing, by a careful supervision of the proofs, that high degree of typographical accuracy which is especially desirable in reprints of standard works. Occasional notes, confined to points of fact, have been appended by the Editor, where statements, in the text, based on insufficient authority or called in question by recent investigators, needed to be substantiated or corrected." We have employed the Editor's own words, in order that our readers may be informed, correctly, of the importance of this new edition, in its literary character; and to those who are acquainted with Mr. Kirk's capabilities to discharge his particular duties with fidelity, no additional praise will be required.

Nor can the publishers be justly forgotten in this place. Always noted for the beauty of their publications, they will be entitled to renewed praise for their liberality in the mechanical execution of this. It is to be printed with great care, from new plates, on toned paper of fine quality; and it is to be appropriately illustrated with beautifully engraved portraits, maps, and similes.

The volumes before us are the earliest of the series, constituting the whole of the history of Ferdinand and Isabella; and these are to be followed, monthly, by other volumes, twelve in

number, which, with these, will constitute the entire published works of their author.

Our readers will need no invitation from us to seek this new version of Prescott's writings, as left by Prescott himself; and we may safely leave the subject with them.

92.—*The Church Hymn Book, with tunes; for the Worship of God.* New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blake-man, Taylor, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 585.

Those who know the capacity for labor of the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly—our esteemed friend, Rev. Edwin F. Hatfield, D.D.—and the entire willingness to labor, which he always manifests, when he has anything to do, will be apt to expect more from him, in whatever he undertakes, than from most others; while his known qualifications, as an accomplished hymnologist, serve to ensure, in a work devoted to that subject, compiled by him, unusual accuracy as well as unusual completeness.

With these facts before us, we reasonably opened this volume with great expectations; and, quite as reasonably, the measure of our expectations was completely filled. It is as complete a "hymn-book" as may reasonably be desired by any one—fourteen hundred and sixty-four of the best hymns in the language, with thirty-two doxologies, thirty chants, and five hundred and thirty-six tunes, selected from the very best authors, being enough, we imagine, to satisfy the most craving of musical Deacons; while those who sit in the back pews and do not catch the number, as it is announced from the distant pulpit, will rejoice over an index of subjects, an index of scripture texts, an alphabetical list of tunes—designating the author of each and when he lived—an index of chants, a metrical index of tunes, an index of authors of hymns—each with the era of the author—an index of authors of tunes—with the era of each—an index to the hymns—each with its author's name—and an index to the chants. We would that some other authors would see this complete apparatus of indices—those blessed comforts which every one must enjoy, sometime—and hide their heads, in shame for their own lazy negligence, in the first ash-barrel they can find in the back streets of a city.

But the completeness, in numbers and indices, is not the only good quality of this book. These fourteen hundred and sixty-four hymns are not thrown together, helter-skelter, nor is one class of them unduly weighted with specimens, at the expense of others. Thirteen different classes, each with its sub-divisions, are DULY represented; and to each of these, relatively, with the ripe experience of a long pastorate to help him, Doctor Hatfield has apportioned its DUE proportion.

In these peculiarities, our readers who are interested in church music will perceive the practical good-sense which has controlled the mechanical part of the compiler's labor; while all, young and old, will rejoice in the historical information, concerning its origin, which quietly accompanies each tune and hymn and is repeated in the indices, together with the abundant completeness of the collection and the critical accuracy with which every hymn and tune is copied.

We congratulate our honored friend on the successful issue of this result of his many years of anxious study and untiring labor; and we congratulate those churches who shall be favored with the use of it, on the accession to their stores of hymns and tunes, of this addition, so eminently worthy of its subject and of their favor.

23.—*Expression: its anatomy and philosophy.* By Sir Charles Bell, K. H. With Original Notes and Illustrations designed by the Author; and with additional Illustrations and notes by the Editor of *The Phrenological Journal*. An entirely new and enlarged edition. New York: Samuel R. Wells. 1878. Octavo, pp. 201.

This volume, the work of one of the most accomplished men in Europe—whose observations of the nervous system led to discoveries therein which have immortalized his name—is one, of which the importance cannot be too highly estimated.

It is not a mere re-hash of well-known facts; nor is it made up of theories having no foundation beyond the mere imagination of an active brain. On the contrary, it is the result of the life-long observations and study of one of the most profound thinkers and accomplished scientists of his times, verified by a careful study of the works of the great masters of ancient and modern art; and it commends itself to all who feel interested in the causes of movements in the countenance and in the frame of the body, under the influence of passion or emotion—and who is not? Especially important is it to those who affect either to study art or to practise it.

The volume is a very handsome one, both in typography and illustrations.

24.—*A Cyclopaedia of the best thoughts of Charles Dickens.* Compiled and alphabetically arranged by F. G. de Fontaine. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1878. Octavo, pp. 564. Price \$5.

This magnificent volume contains the gems of Dickens's works, picked out from their settings and arranged, in order, for the admiration of connoisseurs—those who admired him and those who did not.

The selections appear to have been made with

admirable good judgment and great fidelity; and the arrangement of those extracts is by subjects, in their alphabetical order. As the editor happily remembered the importance of a good index, he closed his work by adding one, leaving nothing more to be desired from the Editor of such a volume.

Typographically considered, the volume is a very beautiful one; and its illuminated cover adds, materially, to its general attractions.

25.—*The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore.* By J. L. Spalding, S.T.L. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1873. Octavo, pp. 468.

The family of Spaldings is said to have originated at Spalding, in Lincolnshire, England—in the ancient market-place of which old market-town our mother was wont, on Tuesdays, to find sale for her butter, eggs, and poultry, while her childish curiosity was attracted to the various shop-windows, in the same locality—and from that town, the first of the Spaldings who emigrated, went to St. Mary's-county, Maryland, prior to 1650. In 1790, Benedict Spalding led a colony of Catholics from that County to Kentucky; and, there, in May, 1810, his grandson, Martin John, was born. A delicate child but "as remarkable for the sweetness of his disposition as for the quickness of his mind," in 1821, when only eleven years of age, he entered St. Mary's College, near Lebanon. When he was fourteen, he was made Professor of Mathematics, in that institution; and, at twenty, when he went to Rome, there was said to have been no better mathematician in Kentucky than he. He entered the Seminary, at Bardonia, in 1826; went to Rome, and entered the Propaganda, in 1830; graduated and returned to Kentucky, in 1834; became Pastor of the Cathedral and Professor in the Seminary, in 1838; was elected to the presidency of St. Joseph's College, was sent to Lexington, Kentucky, as Pastor of St. Peter's Church, in 1840; was called to the office of Vicar-general of the Diocese of Bardonia, in 1844, and to the episcopacy, as Coadjutor of the Bishop of Louisville, in 1845; became the Bishop of the Diocese, on the death of Bishop Flagnet, in 1850, and Archbishop of Baltimore, on the death of Doctor Kendrick, in 1864; and died in February, 1872, our honored friend, Doctor Bayley, succeeding him in the archepiscopacy.

The life of such a man—endowed, as he was with great practical good-sense, gifted with sound and varied learning, of irreproachable moral character, devoted to the best interests of the Church in which he was an overzealous American, and an active participant in some

the most stirring events of American Catholic history—to be properly narrated, would require a pen of unusual and varied ability; and we have pleasure in saying that the demand has been fully met, in the volume before us.

Besides having furnished a very notable addition to the history of the Roman Catholic Church in America and to the local history of Kentucky, Mr. Spalding has placed himself in a very prominent place among the writers of American biography; and we are sadly mistaken if this volume shall not be resorted to, as an authority, on some of the most important subjects connected with the history of the Republic, at the same time that it will serve as a memento of one of the most distinguished of American divines.

The typography of this volume is very superior; and the portrait, which serves as a frontispiece, is an excellent specimen of steel-engraving.

6.—*Theological and Philosophical Library*: a series of Text-books, original and translated, for Colleges and theological Seminaries. Edited by Henry B. Smith, D.D., and Philipp Schaff, D.D. Vols. I. and II. of the Philosophical Division: Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy*. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874.

History of Philosophy. From Thales to the present time. By Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg. Translated from the fourth German Edition, by Geo. S. Morris, A.M. Vol. II. *History of Modern Philosophy*. With Additions by the translator, an Appendix on English and American Philosophy, by Noah Porter, D.D., and an Appendix on Italian Philosophy, by Vincenzo Botta, Ph. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Octavo, pp. viii., 561.

Several months since, we noticed the appearance of the first volume of this elaborate *History of Philosophy* in which that of the ancient school of philosophy was carefully presented; and the second, now before us, embracing the history of modern philosophy, completes the work.

The first volume, as we have said, was devoted to the history of ancient philosophy: this embraces the history of that more modern philosophy which is distinct from theology, and has for its subject the essence and laws of nature and mind. It embraces, therefore, the histories of, successively, what are called "the transitional period," "the epoch of empiricism, dogmatism, and skepticism," and "the epoch of Kantian criticism and the systems" growing out of it; and it ranges, in time, from the revival of Platonism, under the lead of, successively, Pletho, Bessarion, and Ficinus, in the fifteenth century, until the present time.

It is difficult to conceive how, in so compact a form, a more complete history and bibliography of the philosophy of the past five hundred years

could have been given; and, without concurring in all that is presented, in those portions of the subject with which we are acquainted, we are free to say that, to all who are interested in any branch of studies, concerning the essence and laws of nature and mind, this work will be invaluable, both because of its temper, its completeness, and its convenience.

The first article of the Appendix, on English and American Philosophy, by President Porter, forms a very important addition to the original text of Ueberweg; and the second, on Italian Philosophy, by Professor Botta, seems to be equally minute in its description, and is said to be equally important. A very elaborate Index completes the volume.

The neatness of the typography will serve to make the volume more attractive to every reader.

27.—*Silver and Gold*: an account of the Mining and Metallurgical Industry of the United States, with reference chiefly to the precious metals. By Rossiter W. Raymond, Ph. D., Commissioner of Mining Statistics, etc. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 566.

This volume contains the sixth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Mining Statistics to the Secretary of the Treasury, and embraces detailed reports on mines and mining, in California, Nevada, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming, together with a general review of the history of the mining interests, in each of those States and Territories, during the year 1871; their condition and prospects; and various comments and suggestions which seemed likely to be useful to miners, capitalists, legislators, metallurgists, and others.

28.—*Education abroad, and other papers*. By Birdseye Grant Northrop, LL.D., Secretary of Connecticut Board of Education. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. vi., 8-176. Price \$1.50.

A collection of papers by "a Yankee school-master," mainly on Education and kindred subjects.

He resolutely opposes, in the first paper, the habit of sending American boys to Europe, to be educated; and he does well. "For our youth," he says, very correctly, "American schools are better than European;" and he is entitled to the thanks of his countrymen, for his manly defence of his country's institutions.

He wanders from propriety, however, when he pleads for the introduction, into republican America, of the system of compulsory education which is employed in monarchical Germany, as if "the Government" ought not to rest in the People, itself, but in those who are merely the

People's agents; and as if the People is not the best judge of what is most for its own benefit. We rather suspect Americans have not yet so far descended from the grade of manhood which their fathers occupied as to allow "the Yankee school-master" to rule over them, to that extent.

"The Object of the Common School" is also discussed; and it is determined to be, "not to finish the education, but to lay the foundation for future and higher attainments," as if those "future and higher attainments" are accessible to the children of one in ten of those who, as tax-payers, pay for those Common Schools; and as if there is any propriety of taxing the great body of the people for the support of those preparatory schools of which not one in ten can enjoy the full benefits.

He pleads, too, for Mental Philosophy as a branch of Common School education; and he pleads, also, for labor as an educator.

The various papers are well-written; and, whether the reader shall agree with the author or not, in his conclusions, his arguments are entitled to a respectful reading and a careful consideration.

The volume is very handsomely printed.

29.—*I go a-fishing* By W. C. Prime. New York: Harper & Bros. 1878. Octavo, pp. 865.

A readable book, for a summer-day's amusement, by the jolly ex-editor of the *Journal of Commerce*; and we have no doubt it will find a ready welcome from all who, like himself, are inclined to seek a "Rookery" and enjoy the pleasures which generally await those who "go a-fishing."

It is a very neatly printed book; but entirely without illustrations.

30.—*Stigillologia. Being some account of the Great, or Broad Seal of the Confederate States of America. A Monograph. Non omnis moriar. Dedicated to the sacred memory of*

"The gallant cavaliers who died in vain,

"For those who knew not to resign or reign."

By Joannes Didymus Archæologos. Washington, D. C.: Kervand & Towers. 1878. Octavo, pp. 23.

In this tract, we find a history of the Great Seal of the Confederate States of America, in which are introduced various papers, evidently copied from the originals, illustrative of the subject. All this is interesting, as a fragment of the history of that great contest for the supremacy of local self-government—for the right of the People to rule themselves—of which the end is not yet seen; and, as such, it is welcome.

But it is supplemented by nearly an equal quantity of reading matter which has as little to do with the Confederate States' Great Seal as a chapter of *Solomon's Song* would have; and we decidedly object to any such interpolations, in such a work.

31.—*Mission of the North American People, Geographical, Social, and Political.* Illustrated by Six Charts delineating the physical architecture and thermal laws of all the Continents. By William Gilpin, late Governor of Colorado. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871. Octavo, pp. 217.

This very beautiful volume is, certainly, a very singular one, combining, in its contents, very much information concerning the structure of the Continent—especially, that portion of it which is West from the Alleghanies—which, if true, is entitled to careful consideration, with very much more of that slam, bang, spread-eagle literature which has made George Francis Train so notorious, the world over.

Throwing aside the mere buncombe of the work, the author professes to describe, in general terms, but very minutely, what he regards the "mountain foundation of North America"; but he confines his attention to what he calls the Cordilleras—including the Black-hills, the Sierra Madre, or Rocky-mountains, the Sierra Nevada, the Sierra Mimbres, the Sierra Wasatch, the Okennagan-mountains, and others of less importance—without even mentioning the Alleghanies. He next describes, in still greater detail, the peculiarities of the Rocky-mountains with their passes, their cañons, their basins, etc. he then describes the Plateau of the Table-land its formation, its climate, and its soils, and he speculates on its destiny; and these are followed by similar detailed descriptions of, successively, the Sierra San Juan, the South Pass, the Great Basin of the Mississippi, the Great Plains, and the series of parcs, or basins in the Rocky-mountains. Next comes a discussion of the Climate of America; and, finally, "the North American mission," as the author understands it, is spread before the reader, with all the pomp and grandiloquence of a western stump-speaker.

An *Appendix* contains various speeches and orations which the author has pronounced, from time to time; and the end is reached.

We do not know that William Gilpin, the author of this volume, is a descendant of John Gilpin, "of famous London town," of whose adventures the gentle Cowper was the historian; but if we may judge of their respective exploits and compare one with the other, he must be a lineal descendant of that distinguished line draper; have inherited the venerable pony on which his ancestor rode out of town; and

with the same fate, while using that runaway nag, in "the mountain formation of North America." At any rate, like his distinguished namesake, he undoubtedly knows something, on some subjects; but, also like that gentleman, he knows very little on some others. One could undoubtedly talk about the qualities of linen, as the other evidently can about "mountain formations;" but it would have been fortunate for both, before undertaking to display their dexterity, had they been favored with curb-bits, on their respective bridles. They could, then, have held in their horses and avoided, in both cases, the exposure of their own ignorance, on matters which were unconnected with their every-day lives.

Both in its typography and its illustrations, the volume is worthy of the press of the Lippincotts, whence it came.

83.—*The Story of Wandering Willie.* By the author of *Effie's Friends* and *John Hatherton*. With Frontispiece by Sir Noel Paton, R. S. A. Reprinted from the third London Edition. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 104. Price 50 cents.

The third of Messrs. Scribner, Armstrong, & Co's. *Library of Choice Fiction*; and one which is said to be worthy of the place it occupies in this excellent series.

84.—*The Re-union of '78.* The second reception of the Sons and Daughters of Portsmouth, resident abroad, July 4, 1873. Also, an account of the High School Re-union, July 5, and the Great Praise-meeting on Sunday, July 6. Published by Charles W. Gardner, Portsmouth, N.H. Same anno. [1873?] Octavo, pp. 96.

In 1858, the project was broached of gathering the various emigrants from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, then residing in other States, in a pilgrimage to their former homes, in that city; and they went, and the stay-at-homes received them, joyfully, and gave them a hearty welcome.

In 1863, the War occupied the attention of everybody, and Portsmouth was neglected; but, in 1873, the emigrants returned to the charge and, during three days, Portsmouth entertained the modern prodigals who had thus returned to their fathers' tables.

In this beautiful tract, from the press of the Clarendon Manufacturing Company, we find a detailed record of this second re-union, from its inception to its close, including the poems and speeches delivered on the occasion, and a minute description of the private as well as the public arrangements and decorations. It leaves little unsaid, on that subject; and, as a Portsmouth local, it possesses a marked importance.

As we have said, the tract is a very handsome

one, typographically considered; and we beg to call the attention of our readers to it.

84.—*A Journey to the Centre of the Earth.* From the French of Jules Verne. With Fifty-two Illustrations by Roux. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Octavo, pp. vill, 284.

This is, certainly, a very remarkable volume, although it is not such an one as is calculated for a very wide circulation.

Purporting to be the narrative of a young German student, descriptive of a journey from Hamburg to Iceland, and thence, by way of the crater of an extinct volcano, through the center of the earth, to the summit of Stromboli, the well-known volcano of it is full of the wildest adventure, by sea and by land, on the face and under the surface of the earth; and, at the same time, it appears to present, in the most vivid terms, the dry and uninteresting teachings of Palæontology and Geology, concerning the structure of the earth and its pre-historic inhabitants. Such a work, notwithstanding the attractions with which it is surrounded, must, necessarily, find a limited circle of readers; but it is not, for that reason, any less entitled to a careful reading.

Both the typography and the illustrations of the volume are of a very superior class; and the binding is very handsome.

85.—*The Chapel Hymn Book, with tunes; for the Worship of God.* New York and Chicago: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 392.

Our esteemed friend, Rev. Doctor Hatfield, the Stated Clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America, has devoted great labor and care, to say nothing of his excellent judgment, in the compilation of a hymn-book, with tunes, for the use of the churches of the country, of which hymn-book we have had something to say, in another place; and he has also exercised his skill, in hymnology, by abridging that *CHURCH Hymn-book*, and producing this *CHAPEL Hymn-book*, for the use of "missionary and feeble churches which demand a book less expensive than the more comprehensive and complete work."

The hymns and tunes contained in this minor volume are among the choicest in use among the churches; and their classification is similar to that employed in the other and larger volume, permitting them to be used together. But, as we have noticed the larger volume more fully than we can this, which is an abridgement of the other, in bulk, but hardly so in excellence, we must forbear, with the remark that, for the particular purpose for which

it was designed, this volume, as far as we may be allowed to judge, has no superior.

It is very neatly printed.

36.—*Sub-tropical Rambles in the land of the Aphanapteryx*. Personal Experiences, Adventures, and Wanderings in and around the Island of Mauritius. By Nicholas Pike. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873. Octavo, pp. xviii., 511.

The author of this beautiful volume having been appointed Consul of the United States for the island of Mauritius, he carefully observed the strange things which, both on his passage and after he had reached his destination, which were constantly presented to his notice; and from his notes, taken at the time, and from his own experience and recollections, this very interesting volume has been written.

Two chapters are occupied with descriptions of the author's outward voyage; and the remainder of the volume is devoted to Mauritius, in all her varied characters. Her towns are minutely described, as, also, are her history, geography, geology, climate, commerce, agriculture—especially her sugar-growing feature—the manners and customs of her inhabitants, the diseases which prevail there, the cyclones which scourge her, her government, her educational institutions, etc.; and there appears to have been nothing, worth notice, which the author has not noticed and illustrated.

In every respect, this volume is a valuable addition to the literature of eastern geography, geology, climatology, agriculture, commerce, and history; while, in its vivid descriptions of scenery, manners and customs, etc., it is as attractive as a novel.

As a specimen of typography, both in its text and its many beautiful illustrations, it is very handsome and worthy a place on any table.

37.—*Library of Choice Fiction. The Burgomaster's Family: or, Weal and Woe in a little World*. By Christine Muller. Translated from the Dutch, by Sir John Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B., F.R.S. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Octavo, pp. 195. Price \$1.

The fourth volume of the series of choice fiction, published by Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., which was referred to in our number for . . . It is the work of Mrs. E. C. W. van Walrée, of Brummen, in Gelderland, an authoress hitherto unknown, in America. It was received with great favor, on its first appearance, in Holland, and she was eulogized by the Press of the Netherlands, for her flowing narrative; the simplicity, clearness, and grace of her style; the reality and nationality of her heroes and heroines; and

the faithful delineation of Dutch character and family life.

Such a work must find many admirers among those, in this country, who boast of their Dutch descent.

38.—*The Atlantic Almanac*, 1874. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co. [1873?] Quarto, pp. 80. Price 50 cents.

A very beautiful yearly, containing the usual Calendars and Tables, together with a variety of literary articles, by well-known writers, and a greater variety of excellent wood-cuts, many of them full-page specimens.

With its beautiful, illuminated cover and profusion of illustrations, it is, certainly, a very attractive affair.

39.—*The Poems of Henry Timrod*. Edited, with a sketch of the poet's life, by Paul H. Hayne. New revised edition. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 232. Price \$1.50.

Henry Timrod was one of Carolina's most devoted sons and one of her sweetest songsters.

The son of a verse-writing mechanic at Charleston, he evidently inherited the spirit of poesy without the determination to labor with his hands which had secured for his father, at once, both respect and respectability; and his life, as portrayed by his friend, Mr. Hayne, was therefore, a constant struggle for life, as a purely literary man. He seemed, very often, to want the necessaries of life; yet he seldom seemed to look beyond *his pen* for the means of supporting them, although, all around him, there were calls for labor, in various departments, where he could have honorably and usefully responded to. He lived, therefore, in constant discontent with his lot; and, it is probable, his life was shortened by the effects of his disappointment.

But it is at his works rather than himself that we are invited to look; and we have examined this beautiful little volume with pleasure. There is nothing in it which has particularly startled us; but his love of country, his love of family, and his love of nature have been sung in such tones of delicate sweetness that we can excuse the want of vigor which generally prevails throughout the work.

The remains of such a man should not be wholly buried, to be soon forgotten, for even if it is well, therefore, that this portion of his life has been thus preserved; and it will be better if they shall find a permanent lodgment in the memory and affections of the Carolinians for whom they were originally written.

40.—*The Parents' Guide: or, Human Developmente through inherited tendencies.* By Hester Pendleton. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. New York: S. R. Wells. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. 303. Price \$1.50.

The author of this volume insists that there are laws of hereditary transmission in the moral, as well as in the physical, constitution; and, while she does not pretend to state just what these laws are, she insists, too, that their teachings, as far as known, shall be honestly and earnestly regarded.

§ She is evidently a sensible woman and entitled to the respectful attention of parents, everywhere; and her subject is one which neither parents nor those who are not parents can disregard with impunity.

41.—*The Bath: its history and uses, in health and disease.* Illustrated. By R. T. Trall, M.D. New York: S. R. Wells. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 70.

A very excellent work, whether considered in a sanitary or an economical sense; and one which may usefully find a place on every family book-shelf, as well as in the trunks of those who have no book-shelves.

42.—*Sea-gift.* A novel. By Edwin W. Fuller. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 403.

A novel founded on Southern life and Southern incidents, and, as far as it is political, with Southern tendencies.

It is well-written; the plot is well sustained; and its moral teachings are worthy of all praise. Its pictures are exceedingly graphic; and we have rarely seen descriptions of persons and incidents which have been written with such minute precision, in their little details, as in this volume.

It is very neatly printed.

43.—*A Compendium of the History of the United States from the earliest settlements to 1873.* Designed to answer the purpose of a text book in Schools and Colleges as well as to meet the wants of general readers. By Alexander H. Stephens. New Edition—Revised. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. 518.

It is singular, but not less true, that a general impression prevails that there is nothing in the history of our own country which is not known to every intelligent person; and that it requires neither special study nor special means to write accurately—and without accuracy, history becomes fiction and is valueless—on any particular part of it or on the subject generally.

In that spirit, Mr. Stephens, among others, has written what he presumes to call *A Compendium of the History of the United States,*

from the earliest settlements to 1873; although no one ever heard of Mr. Stephens as a historical student and who ever heard of him visiting a Historical Society, for purposes of research? A "history" can no more be written accurately without the latest results of research than can a work on chemistry; and yet, comfortably seated in his back-country home, Mr. Stephens has given the weight of his name to what, in this case, he calls "history," or a "compendium" of that article. Let us see what the result is.

Mr. Stephens professes to write of the *United States*, which did not exist, either in law or fact, until the first of March, 1781—indeed, the constituent *States* of which that confederation is composed had no existence prior to the fourth of July, 1776—and yet Mr. Stephens goes back to "the discovery of America" and occupies one hundred and eighty-five pages of his four hundred and eighty in telling what forms no part of the history of the *United States*, which is the specific subject of his work. That portion would have been appropriate had Mr. Stephens been writing a history of Colonial Great Britain or the histories of the American Colonies; but it was out of place in this volume, from his pen, especially.

Mr. Stephens is equally at fault in his details. He repeats the exploded story of "Pocahontas rescuing Captain Smith;" and the old story of her alliance with Rolfe, her voyage to England, and her death, there, are repeated in the same old form, and in utter defiance of the undoubted fact of her early lasciviousness and marriage to an Indian, her subsequent adultery with John Rolfe, who was another woman's husband, and her ultimate death while the wife, so-called, of one Thomas Wrothe—both her former husbands, so-called, being yet living. He makes Henry Hudson the discoverer of the Hudson-river, instead of Estevan Gomez; and Colonel Nicholas is made the conquerer of New York, instead of Colonel Nichols. He makes the Colony of Plymouth a settlement of the Puritans, in well-known defiance of the fact and of well-established history; and he makes the Puritans "dissenters from the Church of England," also without any warrant. He entirely misrepresents the opinions of Anne Hutchinson, for which she was banished from Massachusetts; and he unwarrantably assumes that the Colonists, in New York and New Jersey, had the political rights of citizens—"the rights of the people," he says—as early as 1673. He is silent concerning the open day tea-party, in New York; and makes the Boston tea-party operate "in open day," instead of late at night, and in the dark. The "Boston [Massacre," so-called, is

made the first conflict between the Colonists and the Royal troops, regardless of the "Battle of Golden-hill," so-called, two months earlier; and his narrative of the "Battle of Lexington," so-called, is simply ridiculous. He leaves out one-half of the story of Bunker's-hill; he entirely misrepresents the vote on the Declaration of Independence, which did not receive "the unanimous vote, not only of all the Colonies, but of all the Delegates in Congress," as stated on page 184; "all the Delegates from all the Colonies" did not sign "the Declaration thus made," nor did any of them, except John Hancock; and "the Declaration thus made" was not entitled, as Mr. Stephens supposes, *The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America*. It is very doubtful if the vote was taken in Independence-hall, as stated; and, if Doctor Rush—one of those who signed it and who was a lifelong resident of the city wherein it was signed—is to be believed, it certainly was not. Although Mr. Stephens does not say so, the untutored reader would conclude from what he does say, that the Confederation was concluded and the confederated States *legally* united, on the twelfth of July, 1776; although they were not, either in fact or in law, for nearly five years after. Mr. Stephens has evidently heard nothing of the treason of General Charles Lee, while a prisoner within the British lines; he seems to be without information, also, concerning the commerce of the Republic, 1783–1788; and he evidently forgets there were not twelve "States" present, in the Convention of 1787, when the proposed Constitution was approved by that body.

Had Mr. Stephens written with the precision and intelligence which should mark the real historian, he would not have said of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, "they wrote a series of very able articles explaining its" [*the proposed Constitution's*] "provisions, over the signature of 'Federalist,' etc., since the only signature employed was "Publius," and the general title of the series only, was *The Federalist*. Mr. Stephens, with strange oversight, overlooks those portions of the *Articles of Confederation* which had not been superseded by "the new system," and so remained in force; and, quite as singularly, he appears to overlook the effect of that retention of those Articles, on the States and the Confederacy. Mr. Stephens misunderstands the action of M. Genet, the French Ambassador, and his authority for what he really did do; and he mistakes when he supposes that gentleman was recalled—he was superceded by another; but he was not recalled. Very evidently, Mr. Stephens has not fully informed himself concerning the relations of the United

States with France, in the era of Washington and Adams; and if there were any fortifications on Queenstown-heights, when Captain Wool captured those heights, he did not see them. Mr. Stephens surely knows that the "Free-Soilers," of 1848, were entirely different from "anti-slavery" in their "elements;" and knowing it, he ought not to have written of that party as he wrote on page 393. He ought to have read the exact words of the *Constitution for the United States*, concerning the rendition of those from whom labor is due, before writing on them or on the subject; and as close a constructionist as he should have hesitated before making the catching of runaways a Federal duty. We cannot comprehend why he should regard and style the Convention of the People of South Carolina as a "Sovereign Convention," since no merely delegated body can be sovereign while it is subordinate to those who created it and whose mere representative it is; and the People of that State—South Carolina, as such—was, in the case referred to, the only existing Sovereign. But we must stop.

The tone of this history is dignified; the view taken of the character of the Constitution is generally accurate; the relations of the States and the Confederacy are generally stated in terms which the Fathers of the Republic would have approved. Had greater attention been paid to the details of the narrative it would have been one of the very best small histories of the Republic; and, with the advantages afforded by his position, as Vice-President of the Confederate States, to aid him, we imagine his narrative of the events of the Civil War is entitled to unusual respect.

The volume is very neatly printed.

44.—*Digestion and Dyspepsia*: a complete explanation of the physiology of the digestive processes, with the symptoms and treatment of dyspepsia and other diseases of the digestive organs. Illustrated. By R. T. M.D. New York: S. R. Wells. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 128.

An exceedingly useful little volume to all in this fast age, who are too reckless to think what they shall eat and how they shall eat, without inflicting misery and premature decay, on themselves and their posterity.

45.—*Tacitus* by William Bodham Donne. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. vi. Price \$1.

We have hitherto referred, with approbation, to the series of *Ancient Classics for English Readers*, edited by the Rev. W. Lucas Collins, M.A., of which sixteen handy volumes have been

published; and we have before us, now, the eventeenth, containing an admirable epitome of the great Roman historian, preceded by a sketch of his life.

It will not be expected, of course, in so small volume as this, that more than a general description can be given of the various works of Tacitus, with here and there an extract; but it contains vastly more than the greater number of readers can communicate, on this subject, and quite as much as the greater number of readers are to know. Indeed, if we except rare cases, this volume will serve instead of the complete text; and in family and school libraries, it will be more generally useful.

46.—*The Christian Trumpet; or, predictions and prophecies about impending general calamities, the universal triumph of the Church, the coming of Anti-christ, the last judgment, and the end of the world.* Divided into three parts. Compiled by Pelligrino. Boston: Patrick Donahoe. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xvi., 272.

A collection of warnings and predictions, made, from time to time, by Catholics, concerning the future of the Catholic Church and of Catholic communities, and concerning matters which are interesting to Catholics, generally.

47.—*Instructions in Madame Herman's method of making Wax Flowers.* New York: Madame Herman. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 36. Price, "with an entire sett of Moulds," \$1.50.

48.—*Instructions in Foliage.* In two Parts. By Madame Herman. New York: The Author. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 34. Price \$3.

There are few accomplishments, in a lady, which are more generally attractive than a practical knowledge of the art of making wax-flowers; and it is surprising that so few have acquired it. There are different systems, as there are different teachers, for making these beautiful ornaments, all tending, however, to the same elegant result.

Among those who have mastered the art, with greater success than usual, it is said, is Madame Herman, of New York City; and the two little volumes before us, with their accompanying models, contain her instructions for making both flowers and foliage. They are plain enough, in their directions, to be understood by any one who will read them attentively; and, with the necessary practice we are told, by one of our family who has carefully examined them, the art may be acquired by any one who will faithfully follow those directions.

As we have said, wax-flower-making is an exceedingly attractive accomplishment, when it is well understood; and, with these volumes before

us and the approval of our daughter, we desire to commend, as a teacher of it, the enterprising author of those volumes, Madame Herman, 113 West Forty-first-street, New York City.

48.—*The Pastoral Office: its duties, difficulties, privileges, and prospects.* By the Right Rev. Ashton Oxenden, D.D., Metropolitan of Canada. New York: Thomas Whitaker. Same anno. Duodecimo, pp. xl., 302.

This excellent little volume is devoted, chiefly, to a plain, common-sense exposition of the peculiar duties which belong to the pastoral office—its nature and importance, the preparation for it, ordination, the ministerial character, preparation for the pulpit, the object and subject of preaching, the manner of preaching, parochial work, etc.; and, as far as we can perceive, it may be used as profitably by those who are not Episcopalians as by those who are.

We have never examined a volume on this important subject which was written with greater simplicity of language or with greater prospect of wide-spread usefulness.

49.—*The New Magdalen.* A Novel. By Wilkie Collins. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 325. Price \$1.50.

Another volume of the elegant series of the writings of this popular author, which the Harper are presenting to the American public, at so low a price that all may buy it, and yet in so handsome a form and so well illustrated that no one need be ashamed to lay it on his center-table.

50.—*American Pioneers and Patriots. Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor of New Amsterdam.* By John S. C. Abbott. Illustrated. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 862. Price \$1.50.

This volume appears to be one of a series; but we have seen only this, and are unacquainted with the others and their subjects. A series of biographies, well-written and attractive in appearance, would be very useful and, we imagine, remunerative; but, with the exception of Sparks's *American Biography*, we know of none.

In the volume before us, Mr. Abbott has undertaken to narrate the early history of the Colony which, in its maturity, is now known as New York; and, with O'Callaghan and Brodhead before him, it would have been inexcusable, had he not, generally, told the story of that Dutch community with accuracy and tolerable completeness. But, we regret to say, Mr. Abbott is too careless, as a writer, to do good service as a historian; and those who read his work must, necessarily, do so with little confi-

dence in his fidelity and greater dread of being ill-directed through his misstatements of facts. We have space for notices of only two or three examples of that carelessness, although there are others.

What would Mr. Abbott say of an annalist of New York, as it is in our day, were the latter to style Governor Dix the Governor of *Albany*, the capital of the State, instead of Governor of *New York*, the State itself, of which he is truly and only the "Governor?" We need not wait for the indignant reply; and yet Mr. Abbott is not less ridiculous when he styles Peter Stuyvesant the "Governor of *New Amsterdam*," which was only the principal city in the Colony, instead of Governor of *New Netherland*, the Colony itself.

Again, he must have known that Henry Hudson, when he made his celebrated voyage to America, was neither a *Baronet* nor a *Knight*, and so had no title to be regarded as a nobleman, of any degree; and when he calls that simple shipmaster, "*Sir Henry Hudson*," he writes what should not be written, as history.

Again, it is not reasonable to suppose that Mr. Abbott is unacquainted with the fact that Estevan Gomez visited and described the country, hereabouts, before Henry Hudson came here; and we cannot understand why, with that fact before us, he has regarded Hudson as the *discoverer* of Hudson's-river.

Again, and the least pardonable of Mr. Abbott's blunders, in view of his own eastern origin, is his constant mis-description of the settlers of Plymouth, Massachusetts, as "Puritans," instead of "Pilgrims"—churchmen instead of dissenters, persecutors instead of tolerant. "In the 'year 1620,'" he says, "*the Puritans* founded 'their world-renowned Colony at Plymouth;'" and he repeats the phrase, whenever he has occasion to refer to the "Old Colony" of the *Pilgrim Fathers*. The "Pilgrims," as Mr. Abbott must know, if he knows anything of Massachusetts history, were *neither Puritans nor persecutors*—those characteristics belonged only to the founders of "the Bay Colony" and its offshoots.

Once more. Mr. Abbott must have known that Albany is not far from, although less than, one hundred and fifty miles from the City-hall of New York and something less than one hundred and thirty-four from Spuyten-duyvel-creek, the northern extremity of "Manhattan-island;" and yet, on pages 59–60, he says, "another fortified post, called Fort Orange, was established 'upon the western banks of the Hudson-river, 'about thirty-six miles from the island of Manhattan;'" on page 63, he says this fort was "about thirty-six *Dutch* miles above the island 'of Manhattan;" and on page 70, he says a "Dutch mile" equals four English miles—that

is, if Mr. Abbott is to be believed, Albany is either *thirty-six* or a *hundred and forty-four* miles "above Manhattan-island," as the reader may determine, unless he shall know, from other sources, that it is *neither the one nor the other*.

But we have overran the space which we had allotted to our notice of this volume, and must conclude with a hope that Mr. Abbott will go over the work; carefully correct the blemishes which he has carelessly allowed to appear in it; and bearing in mind how great a responsibility rests on him, as a writer of *history*, make it as perfectly trustworthy, in the narrative, and perfectly honest, in its teachings, as a careful research and his duty, as a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, can possibly secure for it. *Without these, it cannot be regarded as history.*

Both in its typography and binding, this volume is a very neat one.

51.—*Hans Brinker: or the Silver Skates*. A Story of life in Holland. By Mary Mapes Dodge. Illustrated by F. O. C. Darley, Thomas Nast, and others. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. 347.

A re-print of this excellent work, originally published in 1865, which has retained its hold on the popular favor, notwithstanding the attractions of more recent publications.

Its descriptions of Dutch localities, customs, and general characteristics are said to be perfectly accurate; and all who desire to acquire "a just idea of Holland and its resources," "present true pictures of its inhabitants and their every-day life, or free them from certain current prejudices concerning that noble and enterprising people," will find pleasure in reading it. Besides, it appeals to the favor of old New Yorkers, by the additional fact that the author is a daughter of that well-known New Yorker of a quarter of a century since, Professor James J. Mapes, whose varied accomplishments as a practical man of science, is well remembered by those who were then New Yorkers.

The illustrations are appropriate and well executed.

52.—*What Can She Do?* [By Rev. E. P. Roe.] New York: Dodd & Mead. [1873.] Duodecimo, pp. 128. Price \$1.75.

An excellent story, by the author of *Brownie burned away*, illustrative of the evils of idleness, as it is now, in the United States, teaching the great truth that *labor* is not only useful, but honorable; with incidental lessons on collateral subjects. The heroine of the story, Edith Allen, who disarms adversity by her resolution *to work*, rather than either to beg, or to be degraded, or to starve; and by a judicious

the facts of recent events and their teachings—the Phelps, Dodge, & Co. Custom-house matter and the recent panic, for instance—the author very adroitly, and yet with perfect propriety and good taste, brings his lessons home, not only to the heads but the hearts of his readers, with a power which no mere fancy-sketch can possibly produce.

It is an admirable story, well told; and the lessons which it teaches may be studied, usefully, by every one, whether already stricken by adversity or, like Edith Allen, in her younger days, only liable to feel the weight of the blow, hereafter.

The volume is neatly printed and bound tastily.

53.—*An Elementary Algebra*. By D. B. Hagar, Ph. D. Philadelphia: Cowperthwaite & Co. Since anno. Duodecimo, pp. 263. Price \$1.25.

One of a "Mathematical Series" of textbooks, by the Principal of the State Normal School, at Salem, Massachusetts; and a competent scholar, to whom we handed it, for careful examination and report concerning its merits, authorizes us to say it is a work of a very superior character, and admirably adapted for the elementary purposes for which it was prepared.

54.—*An Outline Study of Man; or, the Body and Mind as one System*. With illustrative diagrams and a method of blackboard teaching. By Mark Hopkins, D.D., LL.D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. viii., 308.

The substance of a series of lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, by the distinguished head of Williams-college, on Man—his place in creation, relatively to other beings; his body, considered in all its various parts and systems; and his mind and faculties.

Such a volume appeals, of course, to only a small class of readers; and to all such, President Hopkins is already well known, as one of the few thinkers of our country. To all such, among our readers, we respectfully commend this volume.

55.—*Old Rome and New Italy*. (*Recuerdos de Italia*.) By Emilio Castelar. Translated by Mrs. Arthur Arnold. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 301.

This is not a book of travels, but what the author calls a "record of the lively emotions awakened in my soul by the marvelous spectacles of Italy." It is a series of pen-pictures, each perfectly independent of the others; and yet graphic pictures they are, of Italy and those who live there. There is no sympathy with the Pope, nor, particularly, any animosity;

and, consequently, while the author seems to respect the Pope, personally, he evidently regards his surroundings with disgust and Italy, generally, with contempt. He criticises Michael Angelo, spits on the Papacy, explores and describes the catacombs, and analyses characters with great severity. He has no respect for "new Italy," as such; but for Rome, "old Rome," he entertains due regard.

Altogether, it is an exceedingly interesting volume to all who care about knowing Italy and the Italians, as those subjects are seen from a Castilian standpoint; and one which may be read usefully by all who desire to learn of that interesting country and its present inhabitants.

56.—*A Manual of American Literature*. Designed for the use of Schools of advanced grades. By N. K. Royce. Philadelphia: Cowperthwaite & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 360.

This is, certainly, a very excellent hand-book, although the "General View," which precedes the principal text of the work, is not always written with due regard to the facts. Who, for instance, ever heard of John Jay as an orator? In its historical "view," why was Sullivan singled out at the expense of Williamson, or Hutchinson entirely overlooked, or Smith's *History of New Jersey* and Proud's *History of Pennsylvania* disregarded? Were not McSherry and Bozman, Beverly and Kercheval, Martin and Lawson, Simms and McCall quite as worthy of notice as Minott, Gayerre, and Young? So, too, of "warfare," anywhere, why should Winthrop, Cheever, and Upham have been noted among the most notable of "annalists" at the expense of Gordon, or Thacher, or Henry Lee; Charles J. Ingersoll, A. L. La Tour, or Thomas O'Conor; George W. Kendall, or R. S. Ripley; John T. Sprague, or E. A. Pollard; or Jubal A. Early, Orville J. Victor, or Frank Moore? Why, too, were Weems, Tudor, or Wirt regarded as among the chief of biographers, while Allen, Drake, Sparks, and Irving were omitted, altogether? It is rather amusing, too, to find Story and Chancellor Kent among the prominent orators, as such, and John S. C. Abbott, Jacob Abbott, Horace Greeley, and John T. Headley among the later prominent historians, while Ogden Hoffman, John Whipple, and David Paul Brown, among the former, and Samuel G. Drake and William Willis, J. Russell Bartlett, Charles J. Hoadley and J. Hammond Trumbull, E. B. O'Callaghan, J. Gilmary Shea, and Joseph W. Moulton, William A. Whitehead, Bishop Stevens and Ebenczer Hazard, Brantz Mayer, Thomas H. Wynne and President Swain, William Gilmore Simms, Hugh McCall, and Buckingham Smith, Charles Whittlesey, N. B. Craig, and William

Darlington, Lyman C. Draper and Henry R. Schoolcraft were not even mentioned. So, too, with George Ticknor, the distinguished historian of Spanish Literature—what has he done that his honored name should be forgotten, except as the biographer of Prescott?

The names selected as especial exponents of American literature—Longfellow, Bryant, Whittier, Holmes, Poe, Halleck, Willis, Saxe, Lowell, Cary, Cooper, Hawthorne, Stowe, Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, Motley, Taylor, Webster, Clay, Everett, Calhoun, Emerson, and Whipple—are unexceptionable; the specimens of their writings have been selected judiciously, although favor is sometimes displayed in the *extent* of those specimens; and, generally, this portion of the work has been done well.

We earnestly hope that those portions of the preliminary Chapter which are really obnoxious to propriety and the truth of history will be so far corrected that the volume may be used with that real benefit to its readers which such a work is so well calculated to secure and which, with that amendment, this work would unquestionably secure.

57.—*The Liberal Education of Women: the demand and the method.* Current thoughts in America and England. Edited by James Orton, A.M. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1878. Duodecimo, pp. x., 2-328. Price \$1.50.

This volume contains a collection of articles, by European and American writers, concerning the collegiate education of woman; and that subject is discussed, in all its varied phases, by writers and thinkers of the very highest class.

Teachers, and parents, and the country at large are interested in this grave question; and it is well that it has been presented, in its most favorable form, by those are most competent to support it, in order that it may be duly considered and properly determined.

58.—*Yale Lectures on Preaching.* By Henry Ward Beecher. Delivered before the Theological Department of Yale-college, New Haven, Conn., as the first series in the regular course of the "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching." From phonographic reports. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xii., 262. Price \$1.25.

Second Series. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. viii., 330. Price \$1.50.

In 1871, Mr. Henry W. Sage, of Brooklyn, established a Lectureship on Preaching, in the Divinity School at Yale-college; and, in honor of the father of his Pastor, it was called "The Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching." To this new-constituted Chair, Henry Ward Beecher

was called, as the Lecturer; and, in the first of these volumes, we have the first year's Lectures, which are devoted, chiefly, to a discussion of the personal elements which bear an important relation to preaching, while the second is devoted to a "consideration of social and religious machinery, as connected with preaching."

The peculiarity of Mr. Beecher's style is seen of course, in every line of these volumes; and the display of practical good-sense which is manifested, throughout, is really surprising. In the second volume, especially, the Lecturer appears to have exhibited and minutely described the varied machinery of the Plymouth-church and, as far as that machinery was concerned, the secret of much of his own attractiveness, as a preacher; and we can easily understand how important the teachings of such a preceptor, on such a subject, are to every student in divinity, as well as to every Pastor.

If we understand the matter correctly, these volumes form portions of an uniform series of Mr. Beecher's Works; and we may add, the style in which they are issued is a very neat one.

59.—*The Fair God; or, the last of the Aztecs.* A tale of the Conquest of Mexico. By Lew. Wallace. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. xiv., 28.

This is a work of fiction, based on the received narratives of the Conquest of Mexico; but we freely confess it puzzles us. We really cannot get the run of the story; and a reader of this class of literature, to whom it is subsequently consigned, having been no more successful, we "give it up."

The volume is a very handsome one.

60.—*The Story of the Earth and Moon.* By J. W. Dawson, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. xv., 408. Price \$1.50.

As the author justly remarks, "the science of the earth, as illustrated by geological research, is one of the noblest outgrowths of modern intellectual life;" but just what these researches have illustrated, seems to be an open question, which very few, in the aggregate, can possibly understand and yet fewer even pretend to answer, intelligently.

In the volume before us, Principal Dawson presents the entire story of that science, from "the Genesis of the Earth" to the introduction of man, as that story is understood by the Darwinian school of scientists—those who regard man as created rather than evolved, those, in short, who favor the biblical theory that man's bodily form is a product of mediate creation and his spiritual nature a direct emanation of his Creator. Of course, the range, of the

quiry extends from the primary condition of the primitive world, through those epochs, or ages, which are known, among geologists, as, respectively, "the Eozoic," "the Primordial," "the Silurian," "the Devonian," "the Carboniferous," "the Permian," "the Mesozoic," "the Neozoic," and "the Post-Pliocene;" and the reader is led, quietly, through those periods of earth's life, if we may call it such, which, if rounded by the technicalities of mere science, would puzzle all except the veriest devotee.

We have not space, nor would it be useful, to follow the author through all his argument; but we are pleased to add our testimony to that of others, better informed on the subject than we are, concerning the attractiveness of the narrative and its great usefulness, as a popular textbook, on the great subject to which it relates. Both in its letter-press and its illustrations, the work is very attractive.

62.—*The Ancient Hebrews: with an Introductory Essay concerning The World before the Flood.* By Abraham H. A.M. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 443. Price \$1.75.

The author of this volume, with unusual modesty, pretends only to have aimed, "after drawing a general sketch of the history of the world, from the Creation to the Call of Abraham, to give a simple and unambitious narrative of all that transpired in connection with the history of the Hebrews, from the latter event to the final destruction of Jerusalem, by the Romans;" and he candidly admits that, as far as it goes, the Bible has been his principal authority.

We have examined the work, carefully, and are pleased to say that the author has evidently done all that he promised and has done it well. His narrative is clear and well arranged; style is simple, but effective; and his work well calculated for the general purpose for which it appears to have been intended.

63.—*Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Marjorie Daw and other tales.* Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 272. Price \$1.50.

These fine short sketches, by this well-known author—probably contributions to some periodical—gathered into this sheaf and, in a new form, presented, again, to the reading world. We are inclined to the belief, also, that this is one of an fine series of volumes, embracing all the works by the same author; but of this we can only "guess."

The style of Mr. Aldrich's writings is so well known that it were useless to attempt to describe it: we content ourselves, therefore, with

this simple description of the volume before us, for the information of such of our readers as incline to that class of literature.

The typography of the volume is very neat.

63.—*Irish Emigration to the United States: what it has been, and what it is.* Facts and Reflections especially addressed to Irish People intending to emigrate from their native land; and to those living in the large cities of Great Britain and the United States. By the Rev. Stephen Byrne, O.S.D. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 165.

The title-page, of which we have given a complete copy, will indicate to the reader just what kind of a book this is—a hand-book for the Irish emigrant, or him who thinks of becoming one.

The first portion of the volume is occupied with information and directions, of a general character, respecting the prospects, duties, dangers, and mistakes of emigrants; the second furnishes information to enable those emigrants, on their arrival in America, to select new homes, discreetly and intelligently.

This work must become a very useful guide to every new-comer, *if he will only read and be guided by it*; but we fear the cities of the Eastern and Northern States have more attractions for poor Pat than the untilled acres of the Western country.

64.—*Church and State in the United States; with an Appendix, on the German Population.* By Joseph P. Thompson. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1873. Duodecimo, pp. 166. Price \$1.50.

This essay is the response of an American divine—the former Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York—to inquiries made in Germany, where he now resides, by Germans, concerning the relations of Church and State in the United States; and we are astonished and regret that so ripe a scholar and so unequivocally an American as Doctor Thompson professes to be, has considered it his duty to answer so grave a question in so slovenly a manner.

Opening with a quotation of Section 3, Article VI. of the Federal Constitution and one of the First Amendment of that instrument, Doctor Thompson continues by asserting, with perfect looseness, "These two Articles embody all that is contained in the *National Constitution* upon the subject of religion; but, brief as they are, *they proclaim religious liberty*, in the broadest sense, *as a fundamental right of citizens of the United States*;" notwithstanding he must have known, *First*, that there is not, nor can there be, such a thing, in the United

States, as a "*National Constitution*"—that having been a subject formally determined against, by the Federal Convention which framed that Constitution; *Second*, that those Articles established nothing beyond the prohibition of *the United States*, either through the President, the Congress, or the Judiciary, from making a test of religious faith, in the selection of their public officers and, through the *Congress*, from making any law establishing a Federal Religion or prohibiting the free exercise of all religions—the Chinese or the Mormon not excluded; *Third*, that the several *States*, each for itself, are not thereby prohibited doing either the one or the other, whenever and however they shall, each for itself, be pleased to do so; and, *Fourth*, that, as a New Englander and a Congregationalist, Doctor Thompson were vastly more ignorant of the history of the greater number of the New England States and of the history of Congregationalism in those States than we think he is, if he does not know that "an establishment of religion" *did* exist, both *de jure* and *de facto*, within at least two of those States, within the memory of living men; and that neither the President, nor the Congress, nor the Supreme Court, nor the Federal Constitution, nor all combined, nor any other power on earth, *except the respective States referred to*, each for itself, within its own boundaries, possessed competent authority, in law, either to repeal the laws which authorized it, or to modify them, or otherwise to rescue the victims of oppression from the clutches of the persecuting "Standing Order," his rhetorical flourish of "religious liberty, in the broadest sense, as a fundamental right of citizens of the United States" to the contrary notwithstanding.

Again, Doctor Thompson says "Liberty of opinion, liberty of worship, liberty in all matters pertaining to religion, is not a privilege created or conceded by *the State*, but is a right inherent in the personality of the individual conscience; and *the State* is pledged not to interfere with that right. *Such is the theory of the National Constitution.*" Now all this is very fine, but it is very meaningless, since, *First*, the United States, as such, are the only power referred to, in that portion of the Constitution; and only a reckless man or a very slovenly one, among Americans, would presume to call the United States, which are nothing more nor less than a confederation of several independent States, "*THE State*"; *Second*, that if the Federal power was not referred to, by him, he must have known that no "State" of that confederation was limited in its authority over those subjects, a single iota, by the provisions referred to; and, *Third*, that neither

the Federal Constitution nor the Federal officers—executive, judicial, or legislative—possesses the least earthly authority to prevent either of the States from establishing, by Statute, at any moment, *any* creed, religious or irreligious, as the Established Religion of that particular State, and of enforcing obedience to that Statute, on all who shall pass into her territory.

Again, England and Scotland are confederated—"united," they called it, as we do—just as New York and Massachusetts are confederated; yet Doctor Thompson recognizes one kind of an "Established church of the nation" in England and another in Scotland. Does not his idea of what constitutes a nationality in the United States meet with a sudden collapse when he reaches England or Scotland? If two or more independent States, united as States, in America, become, in the aggregate, "*a Nation*;" we should like to know what, in Doctor Thompson's vocabulary, England and Scotland, united, are not, also, "*a Nation*" instead of two distinct nations; and why, in such case, there can be one kind of "national religion" on the southern bank of the Tweed and a radically different and radically antagonistic "national religion" on the northern bank of the same paltry stream? We detest that kind of religion which impels a man—more so when that man is a D.D.—to have one set of principles for Europe and another for his own country—which tells a different story to different men, when different purposes prompt him to tell any story—and it might be well were Doctor Thompson to ascertain just what constitutes a "nation" and then stick to that definition in America as well as in Scotland or Germany.

On page 13, after all his talk about "the mental rights of citizens of the United States" and provisions of the "National Constitution," Doctor Thompson is constrained to write of "*Laws of Particular States upon Religion*," but he has sadly neglected to tell of the Established Churches, in Maine, Massachusetts and Connecticut, and of the persecutions by these Churches, long since the establishment of the Federal Constitution.

There are various other points on which Doctor Thompson has too loosely recited the facts of his country's history or too completely failed to recite them at all; but we have neither the time nor the space to devote to a more extended notice of them, at this time. Suffice it to say that, as he has responded, his paper is less of an exposition of the relation of Church and State, in the United States, than an apology for the outrages committed in New England by the Puritanic element of our earlier countrymen, in the name of religion.

for the outrages against freedom of conscience, the authorized persecution of the Roman Catholics, in modern Germany, which is now in progress, in that country—indeed, there is an undercurrent, running through the entire work, inviting, and justifying, in advance, a federal onslaught on the Mormons, the Chinese, and the Roman Catholics, in the United States, and an emphatic endorsement of the Emperor of Germany and his modern persecutions, for conscience sake.

It is very evident that Doctor Thompson has failed to be a republican, *per se*, if he ever was one; and that he has not sought a home under the shadow of an Emperor, a moment too soon. We trust he will find the change an agreeable one.

65.—*The Illustrated Catholic Family Almanac for the United States, for the year of our Lord 1874.* Calculated for different parallels of Latitude, and adapted for use throughout the country. New York: Catholic Publication Society. [1873?] Duodecimo, pp. 144.

A very neatly printed and very well illustrated annual adapted to the use of Roman Catholics throughout the United States.

66.—*School History of South Carolina.* By Jas. Woodruff, A. M. Columbia, S. C.: Duffie & Chapman. New York: E. J. Hale & Son. Sine anno. Duodecimo, 1885.

A neat little history of South Carolina, very well adapted, in form and style, to the purpose which it is intended; but it is marred, in many cases, by inaccuracies of statement, which in what otherwise would have been *history* is what is worse than fiction. Thus: the leading cause of the Revolutionary War is said to have been the "heavy taxes" inflicted on the colonists; while the fact is those taxes were mere trifles when compared with many inflicted since that day. It was the principle of *taxation without representation* which was urged; but the leading cause was something far less creditable to many of the leaders. Again, while Paine, Otis and Christopher Gadsden are entitled to high praise, there were others who led on, in opposition to the King's measures, and are worthy of a passing notice, where any are needed. Again: the "Sons of Liberty" existed and led the opposition, long before the tea-party was enacted; and it is wrong to say otherwise. Again: "the first actual fighting between the Colonists and the regular British military authorities," occurred in January, 1770, on Golden Hill, in New York City; not at Alamance, as stated. Again: the Declaration of Independence was *not* voted for, by

"every Colony," on the fourth of July—New York never voted for it, *in the Congress*; on the contrary, she declared her own independence, by her local Provincial Convention, at White Plains, in this County, on the *ninth* of July, 1776. But we have room for only another instance of its inaccuracy; and we mention that only because every Carolinian ought to know what the truth is, concerning it. The garrison of Charleston harbor did not occupy Fort Sumter "on the night of the 29th of December, 1860," as stated on page 245, but on the *evening*—it was all over before eight o'clock—of the *twenty-sixth* of that month.

67.—*Saxe Holm's Stories.* New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. iv., 350.

A series of short stories, gathered from *Scribner's Monthly*, by a well-known author, who, for this purpose, is *incog*.

They are well-written, teaching excellent lessons, and eminently worthy of a wide circulation. The story of *Draxy Miller's Dowry* and the supplement to it, *The Elder's Daughter*, may be usefully read and applied by other men's daughters than Reuben Miller's, the country over.

It is beautifully printed, on tinted, laid paper; and will not discredit any centre-table.

68.—*Old-time Pictures and Sheaves of Rhyme.* By Benj. F. Taylor. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1874. Duodecimo, pp. 194.

A volume of poems, probably by a western poet, as it was introduced to the reading public by a distinguished western publisher.

The leading piece, *An old time picture, July 4, 1776—July 4, 1873*, occupies the first twenty-five pages; but, while we have felt anxious to find the author's meaning, and have carefully looked for it, we confess that we have not yet discovered it, so elaborate are his sentences and so overburdened with ornaments. Indeed, we do not remember that we have ever seen a poem which has presented such a profusion of rhetorical decoration; and the same overgrowth of imagery is seen, wherever we open the volume. It would be remarkable, in such a case, if some of these figures, thus employed, were not appropriately selected and gracefully worded; and we are free to say that there are enough of that character, scattered throughout the work, to satisfy the reasonable demands of the author, for three such volumes as this, were he to cast aside, as surplusage, all the rest, of which we have so poor an opinion.

If our advice is worth anything to a poet,

we respectfully suggest that he shall use a *curb-bit*, whenever he shall, hereafter, attempt to mount his Pegasus; and if he will keep his steed well in hand, without allowing him to prance so unreasonably, he may enjoy his ride better, while those who shall see him, in his flights of fancy, will take more comfort than they can now take, and feel no anxiety concerning the safety of the poet's neck.

The typography of the volume is very fine—indeed, with its fine, clear text and neatly rubricated borders, we have seldom seen a more beautifully printed volume, either from the English or the American press.

69.—*Hester Morley's Promise*. By Hester Stretton. New York: Dodd & Mead. Sine anno. Duodecimo, pp. 526. Price \$1.75.

An elaborate story of filial affection, adultery, self-righteousness, revenge, contrition, forgiveness, love. It is too elaborate to be life-like; but Hester Morley and her father are characters which, apart from the remainder of the story, are worthy of study.

The volume is a very neat one.

70.—*Our Western Home*. A story from life. By the author of *Twenty-five cents*, *Fernwood*, etc. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. N. d. 16mo., pp. 175.

One of those attractive little volumes which capture the young reader and, while they amuse him with their pleasing narratives, impress lessons of virtue on his young mind.

Our dear little daughter has carefully read every line of it; and we have enjoyed the pleasure of seeing her enjoy herself, greatly, as she read the narrative and was taught the moral which it inculcated.

Both in the letter-press and the illustrations, the volume is a very neat one.

71.—*Stories of a Grandfather—about American History*. By N. S. Dodge. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1874. 16mo., pp. 176.

A series of stories "about American history," if those stories related *facts*, would be exceedingly useful and heartily welcomed; but those stories which repeat *fictions*, over and over again exploded, cannot properly be said to be "about American" nor any other "*history*."

The series of "stories," before us has a cut of *The Baptism of Pocahontas*, in an arched church-edifice, by a surpliced priest, before a Gothic font, all of which is simply absurd. The third Chapter relates to "Captain John Smith, who founded Virginia;" repeats the old yarn of Pocahontas rescuing that adventurer

from impending death; makes her the *married wife*, instead of the *concubine*, of Rolfe; and makes her last days joyful and happy instead of just the opposite—all of which, as every one who pretends to historical knowledge could have told the writer of these stories, is mere fiction. There are other fictions, scattered throughout the volume, which should not have been allowed to find places there; but we have not the space nor time to devote to them.

We deeply regret that the excellent publishers of this work have been misled, in this instance, and induced to expend so much care and taste on a volume which, because it will tend to the inculcation of falsehood in the minds of the young people who will read it concerning the history of their own country, is not honestly entitled to a tithe of the money which it has cost.

But typographically considered and concerning its beautiful covers, this little volume is a little gem.

72.—*How to Paint*. A complete Compendium of Art. Designed for the use of the Tradesman, Mechanic, Merchant, and Farmer, and to guide the professional Painter. Containing a plain, common-sense statement of the methods employed by painters to produce satisfactory results in plain and fancy painting of every description, including Gilding, Bronzing, Staining, Graining, Marbling, Varnishing, Polishing, Kalsomining, Paper-hanging, Striping, Lettering, Copying, and Ornamenting. Also formulas for mixing paint in oil or water; descriptions of the various pigments used, their average cost, and the use required. By F. B. Gardner. New York: S. R. Wells. 1873. 16mo., pp. 126.

The title-page sufficiently describes the varied contents of this little volume; and, as far as we are capable of judging, the contents fully sustain the promise of the title-page.

It appears to be a very perfect hand-book for the art; and, if we do not mistake, both professional painters and would-be amateurs may use it, profitably.

73.—*Points of History*. *The Inquisition*. *The Waldenses*. *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew*. *The Fifth of November; or, Gunpowder Plot*. *Galileo and the Inquisition*. *Religious Toleration: a question of first principles*. Boston: Patrick Donohue. Sine anno. 16mo., pp. 260.

A series of lectures, on the "points of history" described in the title-page.

We do not know by whom these lectures were written nor when nor where delivered—they are, probably, of English origin—but they are written with evident care, in a tone which is creditable to the author's manhood, and with a seeming desire to meet the questions discus-

, with frankness and entire fairness. They relate to "points of history," in Catholic administrations, which are often referred to and discussed, but seldom in kindness, on either side; and they tell of "the other side," with remarkable good temper, unusual candor, and amount of intelligence which seems to have exhausted the Catholic history of the stories. Truly, "one side is good until the other shall have been told."

1.—*Jessie's Work; or, Faithfulness in Little Things.* Story for Girls. By Mary E. Shipley. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. Since anno. Duodecimo, pp. 232. Price 90 cents.

Brother's Ladder. By the author of *Burden Bearing, Story of Jenny Ellis.* Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union. Since anno. Duodecimo, pp. 252. Price \$1.

Two excellent little stories, well told, and admirably adapted to the understanding and needs of little people.

The first is a story of a lame child, and the work which she accomplished, with a little time-assistance and a good temper, not only to help herself but to assist her widowed mother: the second is one of a little orphan, who, by truthfulness and fidelity to her trusts, not only overcame the envy and bad temper of those who were with her, but secured for her the respect and confidence of those whom she served.

Both are religious in their tendencies: the latter, in addition, is sprinkled with plain lessons in Botany, adding to its attractions. Both are very neatly printed and illustrated; and they form very acceptable additions to the library of our little daughter.

2.—*The New Hampshire Register, Farmers' Almanac and Business Directory, for 1874.* Claremont: Claremont Manufacturing Company. 1874. 16mo., pp. 258. Price 50 cents.

The New England States, with the exception of Rhode Island, are each supplied with a yearly publication, embracing, respectively, an almanac, together with the statistics of the several towns and counties, their several officers, churches, pastors, hotels, etc., and, not infrequently, a complete business-directory of those who reside there. It is an old fashion, but our files of the *Massachusetts* and *Connecticut Registers* extend back almost to the Revolutionary War, and that of New Hampshire into the last century—and it is one which, because of its extreme usefulness, might be beneficently extended, outside of New England.

The little volume before us is the New Hampshire volume for 1874; and both to those living

within that State and to those who have business relations therewith, it is an indispensable necessity.

OUR EXCHANGES.—The late date at which this number of the Magazine is issued enables us to notice, in this place, the few Magazines which we have retained under the new system inaugurated by the new postal Act.

—*The Bibliotheca Sacra, and Theological Eclectic* published by Warren F. Draper, Andover, Mass., at Four dollars per annum, has just commenced its thirty-first annual volume, in style uniform with the volumes which have recently preceded it. It is widely known as a quarterly of the very highest class, devoted to the discussion of questions in Theology, Biblical Literature, Church History, Philology, Biblical Geography, Mental and Moral Philosophy, and Classical Learning. Although an exponent of Protestantism and of the orthodoxy which is taught at Andover and Yale; it is not sectarian, in a minor sense; and not only clergymen but intelligent laymen, of all denominations, may find matter in it which will serve to make them more useful, both within their respective churches and in every-day life.

—*The Catholic World, A Monthly Magazine of General Literature and Science*, published by the Catholic Publication House, New York, at Five dollars per year, is in its eighteenth volume. It is entirely without pictorial illustrations and depends, wholly, on its literary merits for the success which it ought to enjoy. The name it bears will indicate, of course, the stand-point occupied by its Editor; but no one, Catholic or Protestant, will dispute the great ability and bravery, as well as the courtesy and general fairness, with which it is conducted. It is one of the most scholarly of American monthlies; and without assenting to all its teachings, we always welcome it to our table.

☞ *The remainder of our exchanges will be noticed in our next number.*

VIII.—"LIKE CAUSES" WHICH DO NOT "PRODUCE LIKE EFFECTS."

GENTILITY. RUFFIANISM.

The great end and purpose of every Editor and Publisher is to retain the readers he has already secured for his publication and to add to his subscription-lists and transient purchasers, from those who are not already his supporters, as many as he can secure. For this, his every effort is made, whether in his literary or his business labors; and his "enterprise," in

all its phases, is altogether directed to that all-important end. This has been, and still is, the object of our earnest toil; and we have not hesitated, nor shall we, to profit by any suggestions, from others, which seem to promise any assistance, in our work.

While our honored friend, General Jefferson C. Davis, of the Army of the United States, was stationed in New York, at the head of the Recruiting Service, he was alive to the importance, to us and to our family, of securing a more extended support to THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, which he honored with his earnest approval and rendered more interesting by his invaluable communications on the subjects to which it is devoted; and, among other suggestions, he advised us to send specimen numbers to officers of the Army as well as to those who, after having served as such, had returned to the occupations of civil life—he especially suggested that commandants of posts would be glad to receive and read such a work and to add it to their Post Libraries; and, with his usual zeal, in well-doing, he assisted us, at Head-quarters, in acquiring a knowledge of the localities of those officers to whom we have referred. His suggestions were made for our benefit; and he neither pretended nor desired to do more than this.

Profiting by this advice, we sent to each of several hundreds of officers, within and without the Army, a copy of the first number of Volume I., *postage pre-paid*, and accompanied with a letter, *also pre-paid*, in which we informed him by whom and at whose suggestion the number had been sent, and that it was “for your examination only;” at the same time expressing our “full confidence that you would so far approve the work and its historical importance as to order its continuance, on the terms of the enclosed prospectus,” and continued, that, for reasons assigned, “if, from any cause whatever, you shall not desire it to be thus continued, I shall esteem it a favor if you will inform me thereof, at your early convenience; and, in such case, if you will also return the specimen number and accompanying Extra, through the mail, I will refund the expense incurred in doing so.”

We saw no objection in thus inviting attention to the Magazine, inasmuch as we neither desired nor expected to expose any one to the smallest possible expense, in any case—we considered all to whom we sent them as gentlemen, and, as far as we know how, treated them with that courtesy which gentlemen are entitled to.

Many replied, as gentlemen naturally would reply, and returned our number, as desired—we, as far as we know, returning stamps for

the postage expended in doing so, except in cases wherein there was no sign to enable us to judge by whom the numbers were returned. In every case, where we were enabled to do so, we erased the name of him by whom the number was returned, from our lists; and there the experiment, as far as he was concerned, ended.

To those who did not return the number, we sent the February number, *also pre-paid*, with an exactly similar letter, *also pre-paid*, with a request to return the numbers, *at our expense*, if not desired; and many who had neglected to return the first number, when thus reminded, promptly returned both, with the same result.

Reasonably supposing that those who had not returned the numbers, at our expense, as requested, were retaining them, as subscribers—as many did—but desiring to guard against mis-carriages or other contingencies, we subsequently sent the March number, *also pre-paid*, and accompanied with a letter similar in character to the other two, and referring to them; and, again, some who had previously neglected to do so, returned the three numbers and were dropped from the lists.

To all who retained the three numbers, we subsequently sent the April number, without letters; and, still later, to all who had retained the other four, we sent the subsequent issues mostly to August inclusive.

We had made no pretensions of forcing the Magazine on any one, as a subscriber. We sent it “for examination only.” We hoped the work would tell its own story, and so far win the confidence of those who saw it, that they would authorize us to add their names to our list of subscribers. We were not deceived, in the aggregate; and some of the most distinguished of our fellow-citizens, soldiers and civilians, therefore became our willing supporters and among our warmest friends.

Some two months since, in order to ascertain who among our readers desired to be regarded as subscribers, and yet without, ourselves, regarding them as under any pecuniary obligation to us, if we had “mistaken their intention,” we, “for any reason,” they did not, themselves, “to be regarded as yearly subscribers to the Magazine,” we addressed each of those readers, as follows:

“HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OFFICE
“MORRISANIA, NEW YORK CITY

“DEAR SIR:

“Some months since, at the instance of [General Jefferson C. Davis] “and with the postage pre-paid, I sent to your address “your examination only,” the first number “the current series of the Magazine, with a separate letter, in which I informed you “whom and for what purpose the number was

been sent, expressing my 'full confidence that you would so far approve the objects of the work and its historical importance as to order its continuance, on the terms of the enclosed prospectus,' at the same time respectfully requesting, for reasons assigned, that if, from any cause whatever, you shall not desire it to be thus continued, I shall esteem it a favor if you will inform me thereof, at your early convenience; and, in such case, if you will also return the specimen number and accompanying Extra, through the mail, I will refund the expense incurred in doing so.'

As you retained the number thus sent, I reasonably supposed you desired to be regarded as a subscriber; but, to guard against mis-carriages of letters and numbers, I subsequently sent the second number of the series, also pre-paid, with a similar letter and request for its return, at my expense, if not desired. That second number was also retained; but, to put the matter beyond doubt, I sent the third number, also pre-paid and accompanied with a letter, similar in character to the other two, and referring to them.

As the third, as well as the other two, was retained, I considered that you, thereby, signified your desire to receive the Magazine regularly, as a subscriber thereto, and have it "four" other numbers, which you have received, without dissent, and, now, in full confidence that you have retained the numbers only as a yearly subscriber to the Magazine, I enclose the bill therefor, and will feel much obliged if you will transmit the amount, at an early day. If any of the numbers have been mis-carried, I will very cheerfully send duplicates, as far as I can do so without making my files.

As the Magazine is not stereotyped, and as circumstances in life require the exercise of economy in the conduct of my business, if you have mistaken your intention, and, for any reason, you shall not desire to be regarded as a yearly subscriber to the work, I beg you will advise me, by postal card, and return the numbers of the Magazine which I have sent to you, by mail.

"Very Truly, Yours,

"HENRY B. DAWSON.

P. S.—As the least writing, beyond the address, on the wrapper of the Magazines will subject me to *letter postage* thereon, be so kind as to do no more than *direct the numbers to my address, and advise me thereof, by postal card.* D."

In this letter, sometimes, we received uncivil letters, which were afterwards apologized for,

when the writer's attention was called to their oversight of some portions of it: a *very few* were neither courteous nor decent: by far the greater number answered, as they had been addressed, with courtesy and kindness. *We had made no pretence of any claim, if the person addressed, "for any reason," did not, for himself, assent to it; and, we had afforded no reason for either ill temper or ill manners.*

From a mass of letters, *courteously* ordering or declining to order the Magazine, each of which was received and acted on, as therein requested, with perfect good feeling, we select one which we received from that venerable Christian gentleman, the Right Reverend W. R. Whitingham, D.D., Bishop of Maryland, from which, as a specimen of others, may be seen how our letters were read and understood by those who were really what they professed to be:

"BALT. 17 Dec 73

"HENRY B. DAWSON Esq

"DEAR SIR

"I had fully intended, long ago, to have declined subscribing to the HIST MAG (with thanks for the compliment paid in sending the Proposals)—not for want of interest in the work, but, to be frank, because my means would not justify me in the self-indulgence, under the pressure of other and higher claims.

"But I have so long delayed execution of my intention, that the expenditure will now be one of justice to you rather than indulgence of myself; and I am not loath to take refuge in that pretext.

"Your very handsome offer to take back the numbers sent, would shame one into a refusal to allow myself to be so advantaged at your cost, were I not already determined on other grounds

"I am

"with great respect

"your friend & servant

"W R WHITINGHAM "

We need not offer any comments on this letter nor on the distinguished Prelate who wrote it—it tells its own story; and it tells, too, how little occasion we had given for any one to treat us with rudeness or to accuse us of wrong-doing.

Among the *very few* who were neither courteous nor decent—exactly the opposite of the Christian gentleman whose letter we have just copied—we regret to say, were some officers of the Army of the United States, all of whom *profess to be, AND OUGHT TO BE, gentlemen*; and as a specimen of the literature of one portion of that expensive public luxury, and in order to enable our readers to understand just what kind of stuff is required for an "Aid-de-camp to the

"Lieutenant-general" of the Army of the United States, we copy the following, received by us, in response to the courteous letter which we have copied above :

"HEADQUARTERS MIL. DIV. OF THE MISSOURI,
"CHICAGO, ILLINOIS,———137—
"HENRY B. DAWSON
"MORRISANIA N. Y.
"SIR :

"For cool downright impudence I think you can 'take the rag off the bush.' Your circular and bill making me your debtor in the sum of \$5 00 reached me this morning and any one who reads it will readily believe you have attained the front rank amongst 'confidence men.' You are particular to state that you have sent me your book—and that you have done so at the instance of Genl Davis, which I don't believe. If however you have sent it at his instance I have no doubt he will pay for it. At all events I won't and don't intend to remit—nor do I intend to return your book—nor do anything else you desire of me. You can in fact go to the d—l. The only thing I might be persuaded to do for you would be to give you the benefit of a little shoe leather should you ever come in my way. Hoping and believing your effort at swindling will not meet with any better success in other cases I subscribe myself

"M. V. SHERIDAN
"Lt. Col. & A. D. C."

[Addressed:]

"MR. HENRY B. DAWSON
"MORRISANIA
"NEW YORK"

[Postmarked:]

"CHICAGO ILL.
"Jan. 20
"3 P. M."

The annals of Ohio, the State which he claims as his birth-place and whence he was appointed to office, are entirely silent concerning the ruffianly writer of this letter; and those of the United States, whose bread he eats, were equally so, until February, 1866, when, under that system of nepotism which, of late, has scandalized the Republic and demoralized every branch of the public service, he was saddled on the over-burdened tax-payers of the country as a Second Lieutenant of Cavalry, with a fixed pay of fifteen hundred dollars and such extras as the law allowed.

There was no pretence, as far as we can learn, that he was entitled to this pre-eminence from any personal or professional merit which he possessed; but he bore the name of a distinguished Major-general of the Army, and that, in the days in which we live, was warrant enough for

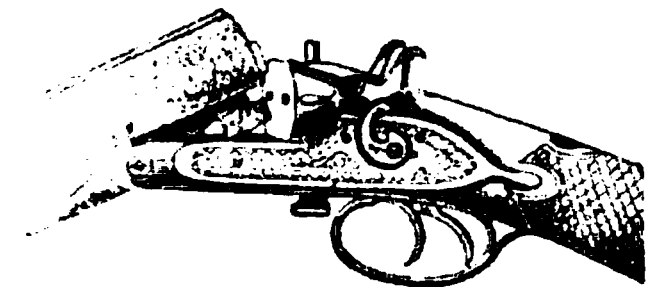
disregarding the claims for honorable promotion of an entire class of young Brevet Second Lieutenants who had honorably earned their Brevet at West Point, to say nothing of dozens of non-commissioned officers and privates who had earned a similar right to consideration by years of honorable service, in the garrison or on the field.

Five months after the acrobatic leap, over the heads of his betters, to which we have referred, the entire list of senior Second Lieutenants and all the First Lieutenants of the Army were insulted by his promotion, over all their heads and, without any reasonable reason, to a Captain's command, with a pay of two thousand dollars per year, besides pickings; and in March, 1867—only a few days over a year after he had emerged from his normal obscurity, in Ohio—he was further honored, *on the same day*, with commissions of Brevet Major and Brevet Lieutenant-colonel. Soon after, he was again favored with promotion, over the heads of other and more deserving officers, to the position of "Aid-de-camp to the Lieutenant-general," the commission of a Lieutenant-colonel and the pay of three thousand dollars, a yearly "allowance in addition to the pay of his rank," to support the dignity of his staff appointment, and, *day after day*, having served five years, the tax-payers are further saddled with an extra ten per cent on his pay—he is an "Aid-de-camp to the Lieutenant-general," no matter what his demerit may be, either as a gentleman or a soldier.

Concerning the matter which aroused the peculiar indignation of this favored son of Ohio, we need say no more than that we sent the same numbers and letters to him, as the officer in command of Company L of the Second Cavalry, as we sent it to other officers of the same rank; and we made no other representations to and asked no more of him than we of all the others. It is a well-known rule, however, that "like produces like;" and it is no sooth-sayer to determine, from this specimen of his gentility, just what kind of a man "Lieutenant-colonel Michael V. Sheridan, U. S. A." is; just what kind of stuff is required to make an Aid-de-camp; and just what reason there is while such creatures as this are in command, for that reasonable discontent which is found among those officers of the Army who honestly discharge their duties and rely on their merits for promotion, and for that similar discontent among the rank and file which prompts so many to seek relief from indignities and insults, by becoming deserters.

We dismiss the subject, however, as the subject of whom we have heard dismissed the subject when he was kicked by a jack-ass—"we remember where the offence came from: the beast knew no better."

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THE

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AND

NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

AMERICA.

Oct., 1873.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The numbers for November and December are in the hands of the printers—the former in those of the Protectors; the latter in our son's—and we expect to receive them, complete, before the first of May. As soon as these numbers shall have been completed, the former will proceed with the numbers for 1874, and the latter with the four delinquent numbers for 1871; and we hope that those who honestly owe us for Magazines ordered and received, will not cripple us in our anxious labors, by longer withholding from us the means which are necessary to keep the workmen in motion.

☞ THERE ARE DELINQUENTS ENOUGH AMONG OUR SUBSCRIBERS TO MAKE US HAPPY, IF THEY WILL DO NO MORE THAN PAY WHAT THEY NOW OWE TO US: BY NOT DOING SO, THEY WILL, PROBABLY, CONTINUE TO MAKE US MISERABLE, AS THEY HAVE HERETOFORE DONE, AND, NOT IMPROBABLY, DEFEAT US, IN OUR STRUGGLE TO BRING THE MAGAZINE INTO LINE WITH ITS CONTEMPORARIES.

THE
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. II. THIRD SERIES.]

OCTOBER, 1873.

[No. 4.]

—THE PIONEER SETTLERS OF CENTRAL INDIANA.

FOURTH RE-UNION OF THE SETTLERS OF MORGAN-COUNTY.

ORATION OF GENERAL JOHN COBURN, OF INDIANAPOLIS.*

The old pioneer settlers of Morgan-county, associated with the oldest settlers from Marion, Johnson, and Hendricks-counties, held their fourth re-union, on the thirtieth of August last, at Mooresville. The meeting took place in the Fair Grounds, which, large as they are, were remarkably crowded, there being, at least, eight thousand persons present, if not more. Nearly the whole of Morgan-county came, besides hundreds from other Counties; the meeting was the largest one of the sort, by all accounts, that has ever been held in the State.

After placing the oldest people present upon the stand, the officers, orator, etc., the Silver Cornet Band of Mooresville played a hymn, and the meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Doctor Hurd, of Indianapolis. The *March of the Pioneers* was then sung by the audience. The leading officer, Samuel Moore, then introduced General John Coburn, the Orator of the day, who spoke as follows:

[HON. JOHN COBURN'S SPEECH.]

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It has been the custom of men, from the remotest times, both in savage and civilized nations, to gather together and listen to their old men; to drink in their tales of former times; to ponder at their recitals of adventure, whether of peace or war; and to frame their projects and to live their lives in conformity with their suggestions. Even the newest countries have their old settlers, who are picked out and honored, as to be a man of 1849, in California, is already almost a badge of nobility, there. Men of middle life are the old heroes of that region; men of the ancient days, who have laid the foundations of an Empire, and put in mo-

The distinguished author of this Oration, has spared enough from his duties as one of the Representatives of Indiana, in the Federal Congress, to correct the proofs of this paper; and it is our privilege to present it to the reading public in the form which he desires it to bear.—

HIST. MAG. VOL. II. 14.

tion the mighty machinery of Government that must run for ages on ages.

We have assembled, to-day, from four of the richest Counties of Central Indiana, to listen to our fathers; to take them by the hand of friendship; to receive, once more, their benedictions. These venerable men and women came, in their youth, from many lands—the four winds of Heaven seem to have wafted them here. Some from frosty New England; some from the green valleys of New York; some from the mountains of Pennsylvania and Virginia; some from the Carolinas. Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee also have their children here; and others still came from the Shannon and the Rhine, the hills of Scotland, and the banks of the Thames. They are, no difference from what clime or what was their native tongue, now ours, all ours, and we are theirs. Year after year, their ranks are growing thinner; and the pleasant land they redeemed from a state of nature will soon have gathered the last one to her friendly bosom. Let us honor them while they are with us; and let us preserve perpetual memorials of their labors and their virtues.

When the great law-giver of the Jews had been warned that he was about to sleep with his fathers and that his work was done, he composed a sublime song for his people: "Give ear, O ye Heavens, and I will speak; and hear, O earth, the words of my mouth." * * * "Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations; ask thy father, and he will shew thee, thy elders, and they will tell thee." His dying words were coupled with injunctions to listen to old men and to learn wisdom from them.

Edmund Burke, the grandest British statesman, says, "People will not look forward to posterity who never look back to their ancestors." * * * "Always acting as if in the presence of canonized fore-fathers, the spirit of freedom, leading, in itself, to mis-rule and excess, is tempered with awful gravity. This idea of a liberal descent inspires us with a sense of native dignity, which prevents that upstart insolence almost inevitably adhering to

"and disgracing those who are the first acquirers of any distinction. By this means our liberty becomes a noble freedom. It carries an imposing and majestic aspect. It has a pedigree and illustrating ancestors."

Here we find the true philosophy of such great gatherings of the people as have assembled here, to-day, animated by a lofty self-respect, proud of their ancestry and their deeds, and bound by the strongest ties of patriotism to their country. And yet what has been done, by us, to give perpetuity to the names and fame of those who have conferred so many lasting benefits upon us?

In other States and lands, Historical Societies, Antiquarian Associations, and Clubs of liberal-minded men have organized to collect and preserve all relics, memorials, and documents bearing upon matters of general interest. In our State, we have a Historical Society which was founded in the year 1831, and had a feeble existence till about the beginning of the War of the Rebellion. Since then it has lain dormant. Several thousand books, pamphlets, newspapers, and documents have been collected; and a portion of them is now on deposit in the State Library. This Society ought to be revived and put upon a permanent basis. Let us hope that twelve months will not roll round until this desirable work is done.

There is much in our early history worth preserving; and to be an old settler, in such a land, is a badge of honor. In some places, this is not so; for what is it to be an old settler among the Pottawatamies or the Kickapoos, the Modocs or the Mexicans? What is there to be proud of? The older the more contemptible. What is there in the life of a savage worth remembering but something linked with terror or danger?

What are best worthy of remembrance with us are good deeds, kind acts, and devotion to principle. Like the miraculous approaches of morning, like the breaking forth of Spring, they are full of blessing. How much more memorable is a single day when earth is awaking from Winter than an earthquake or a hurricane in all its results. We have the material and the conditions for development. Other peoples have not. To be an old settler, in hot regions, or icy regions, or barren lands, is no matter of pride or pleasure—it is to be like an old crocodile, or an old reindeer, or an old camel, a kind of non-descript, or curiosity, or laughing-stock; but here, it is to have power, dignity, and honor added to one; it is to be a corner-stone of great structure, a leader in a great company, a patriarch in a vast tribe.

What do the struggles and toils of men placed in Norway, or Lapland, or Arabia, or Guinea, or Central America amount to? All of life is consumed in the efforts to overcome nature, and is

full of failures. What is there in the greatest achievements of the Sioux Indian, worthy of boast or remembrance? His bravery, his heroic conduct, his devoted death, all go for nothing—all are spent and no gain comes from them. So with the Arab, the Persian, the African, the Malay, the Polynesian. To be an old settler with them is to be but an older and more worthless savage than the rest, to be nearer a brute, to be nearer doghood than manhood.

● But to be an old settler in an enlightened land means to approach to St. Paul's claim: "I have fought the good fight; I have kept the faith; I have finished my work; henceforth there is reserved for me a crown." Here, labor, patience, suffering, self-sacrifice, courage, integrity bear fruit and bring a reward. Is this civilization? Is it its result, or its cause?

Here, in this beautiful, free, progressive land, to be a beginner, to be a forerunner, to be a founder, is, indeed, glorious as the light of dawn, welcome as the breath of Spring, delightful as the days of youth. Whatever there is in nature that breathes of growth and progress clusters around the name of an old settler, in a land like ours. It was something to have been an old settler near the brook Kedron and to have scraped away the earth for the foundation of Jerusalem. It was something to have settled on the banks of the Tiber and to have laid the masonry of Rome. It was no small thing to have been an old settler in England and to have helped to organize society there. But it is a greater thing to be the forerunner in the grand line of progress marked out for our people. A beginning not made with the arms of conquest and pillage, but by the peaceable and reasonable exertions of honest, quiet, conscientious men. Men well satisfied to gain their livings by honest toil and willing that any other one should have equal rights and privileges. Willing to live and let live. Well convinced that life has an earnest purpose in it and that, in the homely language of another, "Whosoever is not hammer must be anvil." A community so large as ours, without any marked or memorable event in its local history and without any remarkable men to give it distinction, may, at first glance, seem vain in treasuring up the records of the past. But what is lost in striking events or characters is more than supplied by the high average of successful and happy life found in every quarter. Here is our distinction—here is our boast. Here, the old settler can step forward not to show his scars or his laurels, but to point to ten thousand happy homes as the trophies earned in the field of his labors.

Other places are famous for romantic adventures and exploits, or wars, crimes, storms, and

accidents: ours can only boast of peaceful growth and rapid development.

Let us, for a little while, look at the results of the settlement of this region and ponder upon what has been done.

The census tables indicate what has been the progress of the communities of which this pleasant town of Mooresville forms almost the centre, in a manner most gratifying. Take the Counties of Marion, Hendricks, Morgan, and Johnson, being a territory almost exactly forty miles square, in the center of Indiana, and a fair sample of the best farming land of the State, comprising timber, water, soil, situation, and railroad facilities. Taking this district of country, outside of Indianapolis, which has had an extraordinary growth, and it represents a good average of improvement and progress in the best parts of our State. In 1820, there were no white people in these Counties worth enumerating—the census-takers found nobody. In 1830, they found in Hendricks-county, three thousand, nine hundred, and seventy-five; in Johnson, four thousand and nineteen; in Marion, seven thousand, one hundred, and ninety-two; and in Morgan, five thousand, five hundred, and ninety-three, making, in all, twenty thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-nine people. In 1840, they found in Hendricks-county, eleven thousand, two hundred, and sixty-four; in Johnson, one thousand, three hundred, and fifty-two; in Marion, sixteen thousand and eighty; and in Morgan, ten thousand, seven hundred, and forty-five people, making, in all, forty-six thousand, four hundred, and thirty-seven. In 1850, they found in Hendricks-county, fourteen thousand and eighty-three; in Johnson, twelve thousand, one hundred; in Marion, twenty-four thousand, one hundred, and three; and in Morgan, four thousand, five hundred, and seventy-six, making, in all, sixty-four thousand, eight hundred, and sixty-three people. In 1860, they found in Hendricks-county, sixteen thousand, one hundred, and fifty-three; in Johnson, four thousand, eight hundred, and fifty-four; in Marion, thirty-nine thousand, eight hundred, and fifty-five; and in Morgan, sixteen thousand, one hundred, and ten, making, in all, eighty-seven thousand, seven hundred, and seventy-two people. They found, in 1870, in Hendricks-county, twenty thousand, two hundred, and eighty-eight; in Johnson, eighteen thousand, one hundred, and sixty-six; in Marion, seven thousand, nine hundred, and thirty; and in Morgan, seventeen thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, making, in all, one hundred and eighty-eight thousand, one hundred, and ten people.

Take out the fifty thousand people who are to

be justly considered as the extraordinary growth of Indianapolis and vicinity, and there is left seventy-eight thousand as the regular growth of these four Counties, since their settlement, in 1821. This is a rural population, with the ordinary town inhabitants. This class of population has steadily increased at the rate of a little under twenty thousand for each ten years, four times in succession. The first census taken, found, on an average, about twelve people to the square mile, and now they find about forty-eight to the square mile, twelve for every quarter section, three for every forty acre tract, if population was evenly distributed through the four Counties. But this is not the case; there are large tracts, in large numbers, not occupied or improved in any manner. The people are nowhere crowded, and nowhere cultivating the land to its full capacity. For many a ten-year period to come can the quota of twenty thousand be added and only increase the comfort and prosperity of all. People are learning rapidly that very respectable farmers' homes and farmers' livings can be made on eighty acres, and even forty acres of land. That good thrifty husbandry, bringing a variety of production of grass, fruit, and live-stock, yields a reward to labor as certainly and advantageously as the cultivation of much more extensive grounds for grain, or grass, or stock, alone. In other words, that high-priced lands are not the best investment for large farmers. A finer, neater, more careful, more judicious cultivation is the only true one for a rich central region like ours. We cannot compete with Texas in cattle-raising, for they grow almost spontaneously, there, by the thousand. We cannot compete with the great Missouri and Mississippi bottoms in corn-raising, nor with the great plains of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Nebraska in wheat-raising. Their production of these staples is, and is more and more to be, positively enormous, and must bring the prices down here. Nothing but a lack of transportation keeps off the flood now. But it is rising and will overflow us. They are screaming for help, for an outlet, for a market, and gradually the way will be opened. Our farmers will feel it, in the falling standard of prices, as the vast production pours itself over all our land, and even beyond the sea.

Hereafter, the tillers of the soil will find this tremendous competition in the way of all their profits derived in the old-fashioned modes of farming. Cheap cattle, cheap hogs, cheap horses, cheap grain, must pour in from the West, unless we cut off all railroad communication with that region, and keep our own outlets to the East wide open. Perhaps our Western neighbors would complain of this as being selfish, while we might retort upon their rapaci-

ty in flooding us with their surplus, and thus breaking down our prices.

I find, on looking at the census reports of 1870, that the four Counties I have named as specimens, have practically adopted the policy of small farms. For instance, Hendricks contained two thousand and ninety-three farms; of these nine hundred and fifty-four had less than fifty acres each, and sixteen hundred and eighty-six had less than one hundred acres each, leaving only four hundred and seven having more than one hundred acres each. Johnson-county contained seventeen hundred and six farms; of these six hundred and ninety had less than fifty acres each, and thirteen hundred and twenty-six less than one hundred acres each, leaving only three hundred and eighty farms having over one hundred acres each. Marion-county contained twenty-three hundred and eighteen farms; of these ten hundred and sixty-five had less than fifty acres each, and eighteen hundred and ninety-three less than one hundred acres each, leaving but four hundred and twenty-five having over one hundred acres each. Morgan-county contained seventeen hundred and sixty-one farms; of these eight hundred and four had less than fifty acres each, and thirteen hundred and fifty-three had less than one hundred acres each, leaving but four hundred and eight having over one hundred acres. This shows that almost half the number of farms in these Counties have less than fifty acres each, and more than three-fourths have less than a hundred acres each. The small farmers are vastly in the majority, and have reason to be proud of their labors; their improvements shine everywhere—the well-graveled roads, the neat school-houses, the handsome churches, and better than all, the thousands of very comfortable homes, surrounded by good fences, with barns, orchards, gardens, fields, and pastures, all telling a tale of happy thrift. These small farmers find their land has risen one and two hundred per cent., in the last ten years; and that a title-deed finds as ready a market as live-stock, grain, merchandise, or manufactures. Land has not yet reached its maximum value; that which is now worth from fifty to one hundred dollars an acre must soon rise to three hundred and five hundred dollars an acre. The best lands in the Old World command more money than this; and the best lands in the Eastern States do likewise. For our young men, there is no greater folly than to emigrate. "Go West, and grow up with the country," will do for the sons of those who live on the barren and rocky soil of the older States; that is good gospel, in New England and the poorest part of the Atlantic States, but not here. Our gospel is, "*Stay at home and build up your own country.*" Develop its uncounted

wealth, whether of agricultural, mechanical, or mineral production. Here is a field full of golden profits, certain in its rewards, and surrounded by all that is delightful in life. I have no fault to find with the young man who leaves a country so abundant in stones that it can be fenced in with what can be picked off the soil; but I do question the policy of forsaking the richest lands in a salubrious climate, settled by a progressive people, going to the wilderness, and courting its severe toils and hardships. This is, indeed, a glorious land; and but for the eager and restless nature of our young men, might almost at once take the foremost position on the Continent. The untiring and indomitable energy of our young men, expended judiciously upon our State, would give it the continuous and marvelous growth of the new West. We see this growth, every day, in and about Indianapolis. There, a large number of our young men of Indiana have concentrated, and are working with high hope, with great vigor, and keen sagacity. And what is done there can be done all over the region. Imagine, for instance, that every farmer on any public road would regularly bend his energies to beautifying his place, and that his sons would join him in this effort; that all would engage in the planting of trees, shrubs, flowers, vines, and orchards, the removal of unsightly objects, the tasteful arrangements of the house, lawns, pastures, and meadows; and that this was continued, regularly, does any one hesitate to say that this would greatly increase values: that the very name of such a highway, like Euclid-street, in Cleveland, would become famous? Good taste, industry, persevering effort, and sound judgment will work greater wonders here, than in Kansas or Texas. The desire to spread out thin, to expand, to cut a wide swath prevails too much: ours is the theatre for concentrated effort. To make more beautiful, more productive, more attractive, more agreeable, more perfect, is our task; and our young folk ought to look to that; and the natural result of their combined efforts, each in his or her sphere, is to exalt all values, all interests, all enjoyment, all life, in this region.

While we are bound to take an interest in national affairs, it is not particularly our business to worry about the Indians, or the Territories, reconstruction, or Western railroads, or foreign commerce. But our special and pressing business is to take care of home and this goodly State of Indiana, laid down so carefully between the Lakes and the Ohio, and across the great highways of travel, from East to West. When we have done that work, faithfully, all else will be added unto us. Somebody else may fight the Modocs, or wrangle with the Mormons, or make raids across the Mexican border, or dig gold

silver in the mountains, or make ditches for irrigating Western deserts, or squat on homestead lands, or make railroads through the wilderness, or raise vines and oranges on the shores of the Sunset Sea; but we have other work, and that is to make Indiana a happy home for millions of people. We need not hunt for the resources, they are already explored. It is for us to look about us, carefully, to see what we have at hand, and to work it up diligently, making the best use of our material. Now what are our peculiar advantages, and what can we do better than others? We occupy a central position in the nation. We are a center of population, a center of business, a center of railroad travel, a center of the best agricultural country on the Continent, in fact, a center of centers. Business, wealth, production, values must aggregate enormously around us. They cannot get away. They must drift in, just as waters run into the valleys, just as they fill them up to the brim, making great lakes. He who looks ahead must see this. Then, again, I repeat it, why should our young men leave this goodly land?

Can anything be more gratifying to the heart of a good man than to see such grand fruits as the results of the life's labors of himself and friends? In view of them, how few of the rewards of ambitious exertion are worthy of even a moment's notice?

A great work has been done; and we are here to recount some of the scenes and live over some of the hours of the past. We are here to bring out mementoes of by-gone days, to make enduring records of what is fading from the recollections of men, to give form and substance to what otherwise will soon be as if it had never been.

We should hasten carefully to preserve every evidence of the early life of our people. They were busy with the stern duties of life, in a new world, and had little time to make records; it is left for us to do that work. There are many peculiar and interesting events which have never been faithfully depicted; and could a narration of such actual occurrences as have transpired within view of our older men be made, they would be prized, by posterity, as the scenes described by Homer were the delight of Greece, aside from their poetic excellence. A corn-husking, a shooting-match, a coon-hunt, a horse-race, a gander-pulling, a militia-muster, a quilting, a house-raising, a log-rolling, a mover's family and outfit—these, and many other characteristic scenes, fit for the pencil of the artist and the pen of genius, ought all to be fixed in such a style as never to be forgotten. The real incidents, with name, place, and time, are worth a thousand fictitious scenes gotten up by pretenders who know nothing of the actual facts.

There is frescoed on the grand western staircase of the House-wing of the Capitol, at Washington, a picture of emigrants moving over the mountains to the West, painted by a celebrated artist. The coloring is fine, the faces and figures are expressive, the landscape is grand; but such a ridiculous jumble of men, horses, children, wagons, rocks, trees, and cliffs, mortal man never saw. The painter drew upon his imagination for his facts, and got what might be expected—a mere travesty upon a real emigrants' scene.

Let us, before it is too late, have the facts recorded and, if possible, put upon the canvass. What better subject for a painter than such occurrences as I have alluded to, as characteristic of our early settlement. Wirt's description of the blind preacher, in the back-woods, is immortal; but who that has attended the great revival-meetings of an early day, has not witnessed scenes as striking as the one described? At the great camp-meetings, it was not unusual that some powerful orator, like Armstrong, or Havens, or, in a later day, Simpson, or Ames, would sway thousands of people, as the storm rocks the forest, and, with magic power, would melt the vast throng to tears or lift them to ecstasy. Can not some one but pause in the race of life, and put down, in enduring words, the description of a camp-meeting, as it was forty or fifty years ago? Held amid the grand old trees that had ruled the forest for hundreds of years, the assembling multitudes of plainly-dressed, weather-beaten, stalwart people, the rude tents and seats, the temporary pulpit and altar, the sweet and solemn sounds of the hymns penetrating far into the vast silence of the woods, the stern and lofty eloquence of the preachers, the loud and strong shouts of approval by the audience, the rising, at the sound of the horn, at day-break, the assembling, during the day, the routine of exercises—various—awakening and inspiring, the lighting up, at evening, of the dim and lofty archways of a forest, and the fiery and thrilling appeals from the pulpit—these, combined, furnish the highest themes for historic art. The leaders and the actors in these scenes have vanished, like the gigantic trees that sheltered them; and the very tales of their great toils and triumphs are, as the whisperings of their leaves, heard no more. Shall the giants who battled the spirit of evil, at the threshold, and drove him out, go down to the darkness of forgetfulness? Shall their memories perish forever?

Our history is in a great measure unwritten; and, unless the materials are soon collected, it never will be done accurately. The legislative history is recorded in Journals and Acts; but how small a part does the legislation of the country play in the life of any one man or any

community. The spirit that animates the people, their efforts toward progress, their plans for advancement, their excitements in local affairs, in politics, in religion, in business, cut a small figure in legislation. More than half the time, in the battle of contending opinions and projects, nothing is done, there, when the need of action is very great. A war of words, a struggle of measures and men, ends in the passage of nothing. It will not do to look to legislative action even as an index of political history. It is not. Who that remembers the tremendous excitement of the people, in the year 1840, can point to any result upon the Statute-book indicative of it? Public sentiment went through a revolution; but it assumed no body and form upon the Statute-book. The historian will, if he is faithful, record that political campaign as a very remarkable event in the life of our nation. But its tale is told in ten thousand perishing newspapers and by the tongues of hundreds of thousands of men who are forgetting the facts or going rapidly to that land where men tell no tales, true or false. The great Conventions, the enthusiasm, the paraphernalia of banners, flags, music, and emblems of all kinds: coon-skins, cider, cabins, poles, and many other devices to attract attention or express a sentiment, yet fill the memories of men as presaging events of tremendous moment. We look in vain for them on the Statute-book. Counter-currents, counter-projects, division of sentiment, treachery, jealousy, arrogance, and subserviency to leaders destroyed the great undeveloped tendencies of the people; and the mighty harvest, which had ripened for the hands of the statesman, found no reapers in the field, and wasted and rotted upon the fruitful soil into which it was trampled, through the folly of those whom the people had trusted, for the time, with power. This is but a sample of many of the great occurrences making the life of our nation.

The religious history of our State is unwritten. The number of members, the number of preachers, the location of the churches, are of small moment compared with the movements in public sentiment and convictions, upon the subject of religion. The direction given to society by the prevalence of religious beliefs has been marked, but who has taken note of it? Who has taken memoranda of the patient and quiet labors of the Society of Friends, now numbering many thousands and controlling great communities? Who has written an account of the toils and struggles of the Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and other great religious denominations, whose influence reaches every household in the land, and modifies the character of every member of society?

Take, for instance, the great periods of revival

in the churches, when the preachers seemed gifted with supernatural eloquence and power, and the people roused and animated by a burning spirit of devotion. These scenes are not portrayed, anywhere; their great and enduring results are not marked; the truly great men who were leaders in these movements are almost forgotten; and the very dates of events that indicated the transition of our society from rowdyism—from the clutch of the gamester, the bully, and the boaster—have been forgotten. We know that we began, in many communities, about where Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, and Texas began; we know that we find ourselves in a very different social atmosphere now. At one time, horse-racing, gander-pulling, cock-fighting, wrestling, and sprees occupied much of the attention of our young men. Now they do not. Why is it so? Who wrought the change? What mighty sorcery was used to transmute the very essence of society from rowdyism to religious order? The work has been done; but the names of its authors have been forgotten and will only be revealed in a future world.

The history of the great political meetings of such a campaign as 1840, already mentioned with reminiscences of the powerful speeches made, would be a most interesting chapter. Perhaps no State so young has produced so many great orators as our own. That great campaign alone brought out, on the Whig side, men whose capacity, in this respect, has been unequalled since. There were Joseph G. Marshall, Oliver H. Smith, George H. Dunn, Samuel W. Parker, Joseph L. White, George G. Dunn, George E. Proffit, Caleb B. Smith, David Wallace, Jonathan McCarty—all departed; Richard W. Thompson, Charles H. Test, Henry S. Lane, and others living and dead, whom I might name, who, on this day, have no superiors, anywhere, as public orators. I heard them, and I have heard the prominent men of this day: my verdict is in their favor. For elegance, force, enthusiasm, point, wit, magnetic power, they were in the front rank of human nature. But their speeches were not reported; no record is made: that stormy and fiery eloquence has perished, forever the great questions, as they were presented, have faded from view; and the agitations of society, like the tempestuous seas, have now, in the distant hour of calmness, not even a dimple left to tell of the struggles and dangers of the past.

But the campaign of 1840 is only one of many great seasons of public excitement left unrecorded. In 1836-7-8, the question of internal improvements—the making of turnpikes, canals and railroads throughout the State—roused the greatest attention. The projects for these great works which were to enrich the whole State were numerous, and most of them were feasible.

so many were begun at once; the credit and spirit of the people failed together; the works, begun at all points, were abandoned; and the ruins, like the relics of the Mound-builders, will soon have no one left to point out their protectors.

I venture now to say that not one man in a thousand in our State can tell who it was that projected the Wabash and Erie Canal, and got the first Grants of public lands for it, through Congress, and which, by the way, is the beginning of our nation system of land-grants. That man died in a vacant room, in the old market-house, Vincennes, a few years ago, without a friend near him to minister to his wants, and in great poverty. He had long been in public life, in our Legislature and Congress; and was an eccentric man of considerable learning and genius. His name was John Ewing. He rests, as I am informed, without even a stone to mark his grave. Such is the fate of him who marked out the true water-line from the lakes to the Mississippi.

When the canal had been completed and boats were running upon it, from Toledo to Terre Haute, John Ewing visited Lafayette; and coming suddenly, in his walk, upon the bank of the canal, observed the names of many prominent men younger than himself upon the boats. He looked carefully at the names of all, and, distressed at not finding his own, broke out in bitter complaints at the forgetfulness and ingratitude of the people who could not even name a canal-boat after the man who had originated the work and secured the construction.

Another pioneer in internal improvements, who looked with prophetic certainty into the future and, had he been aided, would have embezzled all of his considerable fortune in the work, was John Fischli, of Jeffersonville. When other men hooted at the idea of making railroads, he insisted that it was practicable, and that such enterprises ought to be begun at once. He then projected a road from Jeffersonville to Indianapolis, by way of Rockford, almost upon the present route. Men listened and laughed at him; and he died, long before a foot of railroad was made in the State. He, and Seth and Milton Leavenworth, of Leavenworth, in Crawford-county, did much to awaken our people to public improvements.

Looking to our financial experience, who has written the history of legislation upon the establishment of our State Bank, in 1832? That was the Bank whose credit was always good, everywhere, and which did more for the credit of our State, in financial circles, than all things else. The very authors and originators are almost forgotten. A few old men remember that Daniel Merrill, James F. D. Lanier, James M.

Ray, Calvin Fletcher, and George H. Dunn were prominent in securing its charter, and largely instrumental, afterward, in maintaining its credit. But the history of the management of the Bank, which began its career in the great season of speculation and continued through a long period of depression and bankruptcy, regularly paying from twelve to fourteen per cent. dividends, in a new State, where temptation to reckless management is great, has not been written. What was proposed, what was rejected, what was not done, is as much a part of history as what was done. In 1837, when Mr. Lanier, one of the Directors of our State Bank, took eighty thousand dollars in gold from Indiana to Washington, and deposited it with the Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, he told Mr. Lanier that ours was the only Bank in the nation that had offered to pay any portion of its indebtedness in specie. This was at a time of general suspension of the Banks, East and West. We look back with pride to these events, and would be glad to know the true secrets of management that held and maintained such a credit and reaped such profits.

But, better than all, our State having borrowed almost the entire capital on her five per cent. bonds, three million dollars, paid that all back and had four million dollars of profits left for a school-fund. I venture to say, again, that not one man in a hundred in our State knows the name of him who proposed that the surplus of the proceeds of the stock of the State, in the State Bank, should be appropriated as a school-fund. He is one of our greatest public benefactors, a venerable, simple-hearted, clean-handed, sound-minded old gentleman, living in Montgomery-county, named John Beard. His name ought to be precious in the heart of every boy and girl who enjoys the benefit of free-schools. When he proposed the measure, it was hardly treated seriously. Nobody thought anything would be left as a surplus: he himself doubtless did not realize its importance. But so it was: he put the net just where it caught the golden fish; and we thank him for it, ten thousand times; and we thank those steady, straightforward, strictly upright, financiers who husbanded these funds for us.

We have a discreditable as well as a creditable page to our financial history; and, before it is too late, some one should collect the facts from the disastrous failure of the Bank of Vincennes, in 1821, down through all the shinplasters and wildcat currency that haunted our people, for forty long years from that date. The most extraordinary efforts to make something out of nothing, to make paper valuable by putting engraved pictures on it, were constantly repeated, and constantly found dupes, spreading bank-

ruptcy, breeding dishonesty, and polluting the fair fame of all our business-men. That history ought to be written, as a warning to the experimenters and speculators of all future times.

The history of our internal improvements, their development, their progress, the benefits conferred, the values created, the business done and helped, would be a volume of itself. First turnpikes, then canals, then railroads, each followed the other, in the public conceit, like new toys—the older one being thrown away as worthless. At last, we have found out that all are very valuable; and, acting upon this knowledge, some body or some corporation will go to work and repair our great and foolishly abandoned water-lines. The day may even come when the routes of the old flat-boatmen will be slack-watered, and many streams again send down their freight to the Father of Waters. A little judicious damming, no doubt, as in other cases, may do good.

It is not creditable to us to be clamoring for cheap transportation, when we sit, with folded arms, all along the dry beds of our deserted canals, whose lines reach directly to the lakes and the Mississippi-river, and could compete with all carriers of our surplus produce and our imports. Can anything be more ludicrous than the sight of a Hoosier sitting down upon the ruins of the Wabash and Erie, the Central, or the White Water Canal, and groaning over the enormous freights and fares he has to pay the railroad companies? In New York, they know the value of their canals: so, too, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, old Virginia, and even in Canada. The old settlers here knew this secret also; but we cannot see it. Some future historian will record the almost incredible fact that the people of Indiana, scared by a little debt and taxation, abandoned the best lines of cheap, central, water communication on the Continent; let the work, hundreds of miles long, costing millions of dollars, go to ruin. The water-power alone created by these works was worth their cost, saying nothing of their absolutely enormous advantages of transportation to our people and neighboring States. The stampede of public men from our internal improvement system and from all friendliness to any part of it, or to the completion of it in any degree, the panic that prevailed among them when the prosecution of any work or the preservation of what had been completed was proposed, has hardly had a parallel in the history of public cowardice. The State should have held on to every one of her public works; should have kept in repair those completed; and, as soon as possible, should have gone on and finished the more important ones. No one can estimate the values of the Great Central and Wabash and Erie Canal-lines to our

people, were they in good running order, to-day.

The true history of the measures and the events which brought about the disastrous loss of our public works is, in a large measure, forgotten and will soon be lost. The failure of the credit of the State was the first catastrophe, and a very great one; but the abandonment and giving away of the public works was a greater calamity, and a worse piece of management.

While I am speaking of Water-lines, let me say that we have, in Indiana, one of the grandest opportunities for a cheap and valuable one on the Continent. It is from Lake Michigan to the Wabash-river, at the mouth of the Tippecanoe, the water in the Wabash being there, forty-three feet lower than in the Lake. I find this in an old Survey, made by the Army Engineers, in 1833, when General Cass was Secretary of War. The country is low and level, and the waters of the Lake, poured across the plain, would make the Wabash navigable, forever. To load and unload the boats of the Lakes and the Rivers, from Cairo to the mouth of the Calumet, is what this means. Let us rekindle the light that has slumbered forty years!

The history of education in our State will be a valuable addition to public knowledge. The legislation upon the subject is but a meagre index of the facts as they occurred. At an early day, the poverty of the people, the lack of school-houses, the scarcity of teachers, the necessity that children should labor instead of attending school, held back the successful operation of a school-system. The lands given by the Government, for the encouragement of schools, would bring no funds, and had to be leased; the lessees must clear ten acres on each quarter Section and set out twenty-five apple and twenty-five peach trees, each year, for four years; the sugar-trees must not be cut down and the timber wasted; this was law. But who fought the good fight, and saved the lands, and secured the funds, we do not know; who called public meetings; who led them, who took charge of this subject in society, in the various communities, no one knows. The very names of these public benefactors are forgotten. Their struggles, year after year, for the preservation of the sacred school-fund have no chronicler, for it was not without great labor, watchfulness, and enlightened action, that schools were established upon a permanent basis. Much of that prejudice against them existed, within my recollection, expressed by one of the British Governors of Virginia, when he said: "I thank God there are no free-schools or printing in this Colony; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them."

I have heard it said that John Badollett, of Vincennes, a Swiss by birth, who came to America with Albert Gallatin, when they were youths, and who maintained a life-long friendship, through his own exertions and the great influence of Mr. Gallatin, obtained two townships of land for a University for our State. One was located in Gibson-county and one in Monroe. This gave a great impetus to the cause of education, in an early day; gave us a college in the wilderness; and was a foundation on which might have been built a greater institution than that one at Ann Arbor, Michigan, much younger, but now numbering its students by thousands. No page of the history of Indiana more sorrowful than that one which records the jealousy, the bigotry, the want of sagacity, which has held back our State University. If it could have been located in fifty Counties, at the same time, it would have secured some decent appropriations: if it could have been spread out in and fed one Professor, or one Tutor, or one tutor's brother-in-law in a County, it would have redressed well; but, unfortunately, it must be in one place and be of some little local advantage and not an injury to that place, and that has doomed it to starvation. Thanks be to somebody, whose name is also not recorded, a better spirit is being shed abroad; and our old University has had a few crumbs doled out to her in late years.

The military history of our people must not be omitted. The record is made of the Companies, the Regiments and their campaigns, marches, battles, and general conduct. But that which was in the public mind—that which was nearest to begin and continue the war, the part the people took and just how they took it—has not been regularly recorded. What the Governor did and what prominent officers did, is well known; but each neighborhood has a military story; and it ought to be written. If it is not done, the next generation will believe that the whole thing was done by one or two men and their assistants. In the name of truth and honor, let the facts be recorded. In the name of the two hundred thousand brave men, many of whom sleep in the graves of patriotism, let their names be recorded, to be forgotten nevermore.

Away back in the early years of our Territory there was a struggle on the question of slavery among our people. The grand Ordinance of 1807 was to be practically overthrown and, by the system of apprenticeship, slavery was to be introduced. The Virginia and Kentucky influence was for slavery: the free State men prevailed. Who were the champions of freedom, who cried out against this disgrace and degradation and beat back the advocates of wrong, only a few now can tell. Their names are not re-

corded; and that which would entitle them to everlasting honor is gradually being obliterated from the memories of our aged men. The contest raged for years before the people, in every County and in the Legislature; the most intense excitement was roused; the very spirit afterward so notably exhibited in the settlement of Kansas, appeared here, half a century before. We have now but the report of a single public meeting called to remonstrate against the admission of slavery into the Territory of Indiana, held at Springville, in Clarke-county, on the tenth of October, 1807. The struggle began in 1802, and continued for several years. Thanks to the opponents of slavery and to an enlightened Congress, the Ordinance of 1787 was left in full force, and freedom prevailed.

But our efforts to preserve history should not be confined to merely public affairs. The private life of a good man, well-recorded, may be of incalculable value.

When the good man dies, Affection comes and plants flowers on his grave, and Sorrow bedews them with tears, Gratitude carves the stone and writes his epitaph, and he goes down to forgetfulness. But when History comes and, with fearless accents and trumpet-loud tongue, standing upon his grave, proclaims the truth concerning him, then the remotest times and the most distant nations would catch the sound; Youth rouses from his dreams, and rushes forth to labor; Age takes courage to do well his latest tasks; the Slave hears it, and breaks his chain; Vice hears it, and flees away; Virtue, burning with unwonted zeal, girds up his loins for fresh struggles; and every son of sorrow takes new hope. Such is the power of the true story of a good life.

But time forbids a further exposition of this subject. The suggestions here thrown out might be multiplied, largely; but what I have said indicates, in some measure, the direction we should pursue. We have around us and in our possession the elements of history which will be invaluable, in after times. We are throwing them away, never to be supplied. Strange as it may seem, there is scarcely to be found a single set of the Journals of our Legislatures, or a single set of the Laws of the Territory and State. This seems almost incredible. Some of the lineal descendants of the Goths and Vandals have occasionally held State-offices and destroyed, with the ruthless stupidity of Attila himself, the most precious public records. It was said of old that, in a moment of senseless sport, the hammer of a fool may destroy the life's labor of a Phidias or Praxiteles; the immortal forms of beauty, carved in marble and almost endowed with life and intelligence, sink, in an hour, into fragments beneath the blows of savages. They are not all

dead. Some careful and pious hands must needs be collecting, and classing, and putting away, the jewels of history. Everything should be preserved that will tell a tale to posterity.

The preservation of newspapers, as they are published, and the collection of old ones, cost but little pains and exertion, and, hereafter, will furnish evidence of facts to be found no where else. Letters should be filed away and preserved—they often give a key to the most important events, which can be found no where else. Documents, pamphlets, and circulars which seem to have no place or use, in a few years, rise in value and supply information not to be found elsewhere. Portraits, daguerreotypes, and photographs will supply gaps in history, which otherwise must remain forever blank. All of these things are constantly in our possession and constantly thrown away.

Among the many objects of interest worthy to be preserved, would it not be well to secure biographies of prominent early settlers? These written personal sketches would soon cover a large part of the history of the period referred to. An account of the mode of life, manner of settlement, and the habits of the settlers would furnish another topic. The great political events of the Counties and the State would well furnish another subject. The judicial history of the State would be another. The literary, the medical, the agricultural, the commercial, the manufacturing history of our people would each be another, of itself; while the history of Education, in private and public methods, would be another. The history of churches, of religious denominations and Sabbath Schools, would be an extensive subject, worthy of much care and study. Social life, public and private amusements should be noted. Railroads and railroad-men should be sketched; agriculturalists, professional men, public benefactors, and men of business, of note, might have their proper mention. At each annual re-union of the old settlers' meetings, committees might have one or more of these subjects allotted to them, upon which to furnish a report, or sketch, or address, at the next meeting; a half dozen of these papers, abounding in facts, might be furnished at each meeting; and soon the history of the entire State made manifest. Yearly, might thus be published a record unique in its character and invaluable to posterity.

Old settlers of Central Indiana, the work is with you. Shall the true history of the founding of civilized society here be written, or shall it be patchwork, and guesswork, and falsehood? However this may be, one thing is assured to us who follow you, which can never fade away; and that is the solid structure of civil and social life. Your personal history and all of your

achievements may be blotted from memory, and your very names be forgotten, but the great results will accumulate and multiply, incalculably, in extent and value.

II. *DIARY OF A VIRGINIAN CAVALRY MAN, 1863-4.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.*

1863

april 20 to mac dowl 21 to kitmen 22 to green brier river 23 marched threw rain & snow camped on tigers valley on the morning of the 24 took up the Line of march for Beverly 2 o'clock we opened our artillery on 1200 ya. & marched in to bevelery we Lost 1. & 3 w. and was kindly received by the ladies &c 25 ft marche across richmont and camped for the night on the morning 26 we marched for buck hannon finding the starr up co bridge burned across b h r we went a marth^d to another bridge a^d one part of h m went in ^d for the u & as we went on 4 there were two ga came meeting us we too one of them the other made h. a LC the Ladies received us kindly some sayed they was more than happy 27 fell back to c. richmount 28 marched back to forsaide bridge & c for the night 29 marched to buckhannon the enemy having fell back to darksburg 8 thousand 1 thous sitersons went with them and reaching buckhannon we found it evacuated we camped there for the night 30 on a road to french creek may 1 returned to b'k with 4th of c & was way laid by bushwhackers but not fiered on 2 went out 8 miles on the western road & camped) 3 marched down hachers creek to fane Liew & l. Liewes co) 4 marched to weston & carry 5 to fane Liew & back on a picket fire & perraided in weston whilst the ladies presented a nice flagg after which mager monros addressed the audience followed by co Dail then marched 8 miles on the western & brackston road & camp 7 remained in camp) Lewis co. 8 marched 14 miles & camped on West fork) 9 marched 4 miles & camped on crab valey) Sunday the 10 marched to bull town on Little caynoy Brackston co. & fed & marched 8 miles & camped) 11 marched threw suttan on big elk r continued our Journey South ward 25 miles to big Burch. R. nickles co. & camped & burnt the yankeys fort) 12 marche

* This Diary was written by a member of "Company B," Fifth Squadron, XVIIIth Virginia Cavalry, Lee's Brigade; but there is no entry which shows precisely, who wrote it, although it is probable that First Sergeant HENRY CORBIN was the writer.

It was found on the battle-field, at Fisher's Hill, Va., on the twenty-second of September, 1864; and belongs to our esteemed friend, Captain C. W. Elwell, New York City.

19 miles & charged in summervill nicholas co & found it Evacuated we learned that the enemy was about two miles a head with their trains we continued the charge & capturd 158 mules 27 wagons 27 priancers with a variety of forage & baggage 18 remained in summer vill the infentry & artillery came up this evening 14 started East travailed 4 miles & camped) 15 marched 12 miles crossed gawley & crambery river about sun set with much difficulty & camped on gawley mountain 16 marched south west corse to churry river & refresh our horses & marched to the top of chury mountain & camped Green brier co.

S. W. continued

17 marched to camp greenbrier 18 marched Eastward down the beverly pike to mill point & camped Pacekonte co 19 marche 9 miles to mirima bottom & refreshed & marched up knop creek threw hunters vill 15 miles & camped came threw hunters vill

20 marched 20 miles & camped at back creek gap Hiland co. 21 travailed 5 miles & camped on High town valley continued at said camp 22 & 23 & 24 & 25 26 27.

28 to mc Dowel) 29 to buffalo gap) 30 to sriblings 31 remained at Striblin)

June 1st remained) 2 marchd to spin hill & camped 3 moved 2 miles & camped 4 R) 5 march to mocy creek) 6 to mt Solin 7 marched to church vill) & R. 9 marched moscow 10 dry river 11 to coontes store) 12 to Lost river) 13 to south fork 14 to old fields) 15 to Romey 16 marched threw spring f & from Bford & to P.s depoe & on to comler 17 land about sunrise we commenst shelling Cumberland we Sent in a fig. & went in & was kindly receivied & returned to Spring field & camped) 18 marched to green Spring & onto the Pa to & camped on the mu si 19 marched by the cross roads & on to bloomery gap & camped 20 to Sharrards store) 21 Remained 22 to bath) 23 Remained) 24 started at midnight travailed 5 miles & crossed the potomick at hancock travailed all day in Pencilyaney Captured 60 horses & returned to hancock) 25 camped 7 miles below here on Sleepy creek) 26 Remained. 27 cross the river & went in to Pencylva. & camped at little cove) 28 marched north & camped at charleston P. a) 29 Remained in camp & sent a scouts out to enc conelsburg & thare had a fite & lost two men kiled 30 takin P.) 30 Camp 2 miles S. E. up fore said camp 2 ocloc Started keepin the same dir & cross threw mercers borrow crossed the conochegig through up town & camp at frankling co Pa.

July 1st mooved off the same direction to green castle changed direction north on the chainbersburg R march 8 miles & camped) & thare over took our force 2 marched through chainbersburg chainging our corse E marched through

faysvill & on to gren road to pad untill evening the Enemy 150 yankeys came in to faysvill & had a picket fite wounded Capt ginavin. at dark started & travailed 2 miles. thence direction S.) on the 3 at day light we heard a hevvy canonading in front at a distance marched on with in sight of the smoke of the artillery adam co Pa at gittiaBurg the fight was kep up untill after dark we learnt that the right & left wing of the enemy sufer a heavy loss the center of the E.s line we charged 3 times but could not hold the position our loss was grate thiers graitier after dark we took our squadren & 2 Pieces of artillery & fell back 5 miles on Picket all night) in the morning of the) 4 we still heard artillery firing in the direction of gittesburg about 4 oc. the trains came to us we fell back to green wood on Picket the train was passing all night on the morning of the 5 untill 12 oc with the wounded Jeneral lee still ingagued in the fight we was reerguard that day we went a bout 8 miles that day travailed all night 150 yankeys captuered 1/2 mile of our trains kiled 8 men captuered mager lock wee recaptured them all back the waggens they cut down) 6 reached at wiliames port about 4 oc thare was a hot engagement tuck place at wliames port it was keep up untill after dark we held the field that night the E. fell back we looked for an attack again. we was reenforced by Jeneral Leigh & Stuart & they wouldnt try us again our Loes was write Smart theirs graitier 7 remained hre on the B. f. in readdy ness) & we sent out 18 wagons after forage with a guard of 30 men they was a. t. by the E. 60.s they took 12 priancers 48 mules we pursuid them 5 miles & returnd 9 went out agan & returned to wliamespd on Picket) 10 back to camp on the handcock road) 11 on a scout towards fair view) 12 Remained & Scout 13 a heavy ingaguement comenst between hagers town & wilems port it turned out to bee nothin but skrimishing 4 oclock we crossed thes river & marched to Dr hammonds farm near heges vill & camped) 14 marched threw hegs vill & camped Berkley co) 15 on a to backcock & back to camp) 16 marched 8 miles & camped) 17 Remained) 18 moved 1 mile) Sunday 19 marchd 5 miles to Jarriets town & campd 20 on a Scout to Shanghai & Back 21 marched threw Shanghai and back to heges vill and camped 22 marche to white hall & c. 23 marchd to Winchester) 24 threw winchester after destroying two large ordenance departments marchd 10 miles on the back rode & camp 25 to Straws Burg) 26 moved 1 mile to camp & Back to Straws burg on Picket) 27 back to camp fishers hill 28. 2 miles to mount heabrin church 29 Mt olive 30. Remained. 31 Remaid Aug 1 moved 3 miles) 2 Remain 3 marche threw woodstock and Camped 2 mil.s of Eden Burg) 4 Remained) 5 marched 2 N. w. and c) 6 remained

untill 12 am oe &) on the morning of the 7 marched our squadren to the top of the mountain devils hole) 8 remained) 9 march Eden burg) 10 three miles above Pnew market) 11 moved 1 mile 12 marched threw harrisburg & dayton onto bridge water & campd 13 Remained) 14 Left the begade at Bridgewater & took 20 men on a scout & camped on s. fork 15 marched to the top of mountain & Remained untill eavning & marched down to the river & camped 1 mile above frankling. Penelton co. 16 Sunday marched threw franklin & crossed 2 miles below over) to s. fork for breakfast & went down with in 2 miles of dashers mill Learnt thare the E having crossed over towards brocks gap 2 hundred strong we fell back 4 miles & camped untill 2 oclock & crossed the mountain on the morning of the 17 stoped in bracks gap) 18 remained 19 remained 20 Left for camp marched to Mr Wines & camped) 21 to Camp neer Bomans mill 22 Started at midnight & marched threw harrison Burg & Mt. Crofferd & Naked creek Mt cydney & with in 4½ miles of stanton & camped) 23 Remained 24 started by sunrise went to staunton stayed all day Looking for the enemy & returned to camp) 25 one mile neerer town 26 Remained) 27 Remained) 28 marchd threw Staunton & West view & on to colf pauster & fed and Sleep untill midnight & Started on the morning of the 29 got to Mc dowl for breakfast & marched by montaroy & on to high town valley on the head of Jacksons river where we camped last may & camped for the night thare was a considerable frost here) 30 sunday is fair & warm we have Preaching in camp to day 31 marched down below the fork of the water & camped tuesday Sept 1th marched down south branch to mc coyces mill &c. w. 2 marched threw franklin crossed over to South fork & camped at Buckhorn mill 3 marched to dashers mill & c. untill 9 oc & marched under the commad of capt Scott over to the gap below Pettrsburg & lay in ambush all day friday 4th: we have about 100 men in our command Jeneral J. D went Down S. fork with the balance of our command & the 62 Ridgment he retreated to the top of the mount to wards honards licks; we held our Position un till the enemy came with 2 Pieces of artilery & Cavelry we opend fire on them & keep them back untill they Shelled us we then went & Camped with the 62 top of the mountain 5 marched across to Lanst River 6. started on furlow & got to timothy s) 7 went home) 8. R) 9 started to moore field) 10 got within ½ mile of the tole gate & heard the yankees was in town & I went back 11 went back with in ½ mile of the toll gate & waited untill 4 oc got information from town & went back to the Settlement) 12 went home) 13 Sunday) 14) 15 to moore field Sunday Oct 25. Nov. Sunday 22 Started to camp reached camp the 24. 25 R.

remained untill the 2 of december and moved 3 miles to camp crotz.s spring & Remained untill the 11 & march all day by the way of harrison burg & marched all night & camped at the foot of Shanadoah mountain 12 Remained all day in the rain spent a miserabel night of rain 13 marched to the top of the mountain & took our position stayed all day at evening we learnt from a dispatch from our scouts that avrel was advancing on us with 3 thousand strong we took our position for the night Spent a night of rain & hail 14 Remained & Spent a miserabel night 15 went down to camp & the bgade moved of in the directon of buffalo gap & 13 of our co Stayed to picket on the fore Said mountain 16 Relieved & went to Camp 6 miles 17 marched: Buffalo gap & fed and marchd 22 miles threw rain & Sleet to moffits creek Rockbridge & camped 18 threw crofferd town & on to Lexington & fed & marched thence west 8 miles Swopes town & camp 19 marched 24 miles & 20 mrched in cross James'es river at Buck: & marched 15 miles to fincastel Baughtytot & fed & march 14 miles crossed creggs creek & 21 at one oclock marched threw creggs with much difficulty thence west cross Jackson R. over to the county Seet covington Allegany co. then down Jacksons river 8 miles & camped the enemy left the day before we got to the burnt the bridg & went to wards Louis bury 22 marched 40 miles down by the hot Springs & by the warm Springs & on to gation Staunton & marched within 5 miles of staunton then we found our wageons & bagage 24 Remained until the 26 marched threw staunton down the valley within 4 miles mt crofferd & camped 27 marchd threw harrison Burg 8 miles below & c. 28 mount Jackson 29 R 30 marched down to Staunton hill 31 to winchester

January 1. 1864 marched 7 miles up the road) 2 moved down 2 miles) 3 back to fishers hill) 4 to cedar creek on Pickers & Relieved & camped 2 miles west) 6. 2 miles North & c. 7 marched to middle town thence west 4 miles & c. 8th mrched back to cedar creek & c) 9 within 2½ miles of wood stock & c. staunton) 10) marched to mt Jackson) 11 to timberline 12 to cross keys & camped untill the 17th marched threw mt crofferd & camped 12 miles from Bridge water Sunday the 17 Sunday 26th & marched down between Pnew market & timbervill & camped) 27 to wood staulk on Picket Remained untill) 31

Back to mt Jackson Remained to february 1st marched down neer winchester 5 went in to the Brook 6 march 4 miles to Pnew market 7 back to the old camp near crofferd Remained untill the 10 marched to Harkins gap & Camped 11 to Woods Lost River Home Remained untill March the 3 started

up found the Ridgement near Bridgewater on 7 Remained untill the 15 & moved neer mt fferd & remained untill the 24 marched to the of the mountain finent Harrison Burg & ped 25 travailed 20 miles & camp 26 marched amp neer the burnt Bridge in Page valley 27 led on Picket & got over in the fort valley ed with Mr. Coverstone 28 got to the X Rods burnor springs Remained untill april the 2 t to camp Rem in camp untill the 20 to reny on a Scout 21 Over the ridge in rhaps- c to Sparysvill & Woodvill back to camp the remained untill May 1th marched to Pnew (et) & on to Round hill & c. 2 down 2 miles 3 Remained 4 to mt Jackson & waited for ankeys untill the 6 marched to wood Stouck 7 2 miles & stoped to graze & back to Camp marched out 2 miles & c. 9 started & crossed in to trout run valy & fed & marched to t River 10 mounted our horses & the Pick- comenst firing on 6 hundred E. we got them stampaid & run them all day took 14 P. & he train & retretd back to Loust R. 11 hed back up to mathiases & c 12 marchd ay of orkney & on to Pnew market 13 Red in the Even thare was 800 yak. under and of Col. Boyd came across the mountain Page v. we charged them & got 75 P. run in the mountain & got about 200 horses) engaged with Jeneral Segal in a heavy skrim- artily fighting kept up till 11 oclock at we fell back 4 miles on the morn of the) rmed our Lines & comenst scrimishing & ry fighting about 12 oc. our force begin to on towards the Enemy we drove them all about 4 oc 62nd Redgement charged their ys the 18 cavelry commanded the Right our artily Played furiously in the charge rove them from their Pieces & the Retreit enst fighting at intervills to Rudes hill the crossed the Bridge at mt Jackson & fired it umped for the night with a grait victory 5 of artily a large amount Killed & ed & Prisoners our Loss was considrable much graiter.

Remained. I Rode over the battel field. the ys lay dead & wond & dying in abund- 17 Remained 18 Remained) 19 Remained) 21 R 22. 23 went to Eden Burge on Picket remained 25) 26 Back to camp 27 R 28 ed to the stone hous above Lacy Spring 29 ined) 30 marched 5 miles & Staid untill g & moved within 2 miles of harrison burg mained. Wednesday June 1th Remained 2 down below 4 miles & comenst scrim- ing the E Prest on us Rrapidly & we fell above mt. crofford our Redgement went the Kesaltown Rode on Picket thursday) 8^r we lay at the ford in the Brestwork ng the approach of the Enemy at Rock-

lands mills Saturday 4 In the same Position about 1 oc. marched with in 1 mile of wia's cave and found the E. crossing the river we fell back 2 miles 5 marched down 2 miles & com- menst scrimishing with 7 thousand Cavalry we charged them & repulsted them back to their line of infrentry they charged us & we fell back to Piedemont on our artily & Infrantry & about 10 oc the fight comenst & lasted 5 hours they break our line and we fell back to fishers vill on the central R. R. 6 moveing to wards Wains borrow in the evening formed a line of B. the Enemy then in Staunton morning of the 7 still Remaining watching the E) 8 in camp 1 mile of wains burg with some reinforcements & looking for more 1 oc. Perraided 8th and the E. came up & Skrimished with us and fell back we Remained in line of B untill night lay down & Slep) morn of the 9 all quiet about Wayns Burg we are still waiting for the E.) 10 the Enemy advand & a hevy skrimishing commened the E fell back with 5 or 6 killed & several wonded we had 6 won^d 4 oc. we started up South River with 5 thousand cavelry & 3 Pieces of artily the E 5 thousand cav. strong we marched all night & expected to find the E. at Mount Zory furnace on the morning of the 11 but reachig thare we found the E had burnt the furnace & marched in the direction of Linch Burg we then chainged direction crossed the Blew Ridg below the E. & marched in the direction of Linch Burg to Lexington Nelson Co. the E. had bin gon some 9 houers. Burning stations & Bridges orrong R. Sunday June 12 Pursuid them Some 10 miles & campee 13 chainged direction south East to Bent creek on James'es River 25 miles from Linch- burg marching in the direction of Linch Burg camped 5 miles below town the E. withe araid- ing Party of 250 men Passd between us and our train & artily about 1 oc at night Burnt concord station We Pursuid them on the 14 all day at evening we charged a small bddy of them in Bedford Co withe Little affect the 18 R is still Pursuing them in the direction of Bedford cort hous Mager monroe is in command of the Broak- in down horses) 15 miles from Lynch Burg & on his way to fore said Place this 15 day of June ———the Ridgment came up this Evenig morn- ing of the 16 Started at 1 oc went up the dan- vill Rail R. 10 miles 4 oc Mc coselin was driven to Rnew London our force Joind him & heavy skiriminishing & artily duell comenst some few wouded $\frac{1}{2}$ Past 8 we fell back with in $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile of Lynch Burg) 17 all quiet in camp at 10 oc about 12 oc we sent a scout out I was sent on the Danvill Road with 3 men & Soon a heavy Skriming Comenst & artily duell I found my self & Party cut off the Enemy on the road cov- ering my Ret I then flanked around by the right & by Lynch burg thare I found our fources

graitly increased & in fine spirits we lay down & slept fine 18 Early in the morning the fight commenced we whipped them back the results I havent learnt yet the Enemy has gon in the direction of forest vill our troops are after them) 19 marched to sangers mills) 20 marching toward the Blew Ridge in direction of forestvill on ariving at forest vill saw 80 dead yankeys lay in about there they had a fight the Evening before we fed and marche on to Peatown) 21 starte at 2 oc for salem on reaching big Lick. Roanoach co we found the ahole force had Just Passed the flang of our depees and R. R Bridges was still burnin the siterzons Rescived us gladly & urged us on before reaching Salem we Commenst skirmishing Jeneral Erley was 8 miles in the rear mc causlin was fighting in front or right wing Earley took across on the right in time to cut of a Portion of the train & 6 Pieces of artilery we then Pushed up & saw the destruction of wageons horses & men tore in Pieces by shel I saw a mans arm Lying 100 yards from his manged Boddy the E. Rested in to a gap we camped for the night it was a magnificent sight to Behold our troops with gradure marchin in to Camp after a hard chais Pursuieng an Enemy of 2000 22 marched to fincastel Baughtytaugh Co 23 marched with in 12 miles of covington) 24 marched in the direction of Lexington Passed threw Swopes town & camped 7 miles from Lexington) 25 marched to Browns Burg 28 miles above staunton) 26 moved 4 miles 27 Remained 28 to valley mill 29 Between Bridgewater & dayton) 30 to the head of Laust R. July 1st got home 2 to John Corbins.) 3 went down to Plesint Dale & heard there was 75 yankeys went up in the Direction of hooks we went up tear coat $\frac{1}{2}$ mile & heard our command had attacked the E. at Pnew Port they had a fight & killed & capturd nearly all of the E. & Returned to Pleasant Dail we Returned back, and fell in with them & moved in Direction of X Roads morning of the 4 Reached the R R & commenst scrimishing the yanks got in their Block hay we cannonaded them with out affect & marched by the X Rd. & on to B. G & camped 5 marched within 6 miles of Bath B. Co & graised & lay down un) till morning 6 at 12 oc start & marched to Hedgesvill 4 to Wiliams Port wher we had a hard fight one year & a day ago we found abundant of corn & oats we fed and marched all night morning of the 8 we marched in direction of Boons Borrow Crossed antedom & on to Boons Borrow & on to middle town 9 marched to Fredricgt & Stayed all day in sight of the artilery fireing 4 miles on the ma noccoy a heavy ingagement took Place we Drove them Back our cav started after night & Passed over the Battle ground I saw sevril dead yankeys along the Road the Infantry was camped on the B. ground I learnt from them we

lost 75 they lost 400 we camped beyant the B. ground Sunday the 10 marched on the washington Road with in 4 miles of Rock vill 11 marched to fore said Place) heard artilery in front & the citey marched with in 3 miles of the fortification & 3 miles of the citey at which Place we heard heavy fireing of small arms about the Brest works which Lasted fore one hour & then seemed to be falling back from us; we held our horses all night morning of the 12 still heard artilery & at 12 o'clock no noos from the front: at dark heavy musketry was heard we was orderd to march in diriction of Rockvill we travelled all night 13 still South west to Barrasvill on Picket 14 had a little skirmish & moved on to the River & crossed & camped 15 Perraided & watched all day & Camped near the Same Place 16 marched threw Lees Burg & hamelton) London co fighting on the Retreait mean while a boddy of yankeys crossed by way of Point of Rocks with artilery & shelld our train killed our drive took between 30 & 40 wegans we killed yankeys. & camped at sniggars gap) 17 crossed shanadoh R at sniggars ferry the E still following us our infantry fired on them & our artilery open on them the results I haveent learnt we went up the River to Berry's ferry & c. 18 moved down $\frac{1}{2}$ way between the two Places Remained all day & night. In the Evening there was a hard fight 2 mile below snigers ferry we lost a grait many men it is reported 400 killed the E. loss we doant know But it is considerable we 19 our squadron moved down 3 miles to garders crossing & while we lay awaitin the E.s approach we heare heavy canonadeing at Berry's ferry above I heard the 62 R charged 700 yankeys killed a grait many & drove them back with the Loss of 2 men killed & a few wounded 20 we moved back 3 miles & heard heavy fireing in the direction of Wincheste continued our march with in 5 miles of Front Royl 21 marched in direction of straws Burg & c. 22 Remained 23 Remained 24 Sunday march to winchester Drove 20 thousand yonkeys out charged them 19 miles caused them to burn all their train stuff abundance of Provison & amunition we had a few killed and wounded their loss moderate to 25 continued the charge to Martains Burg shelld each other all day marched by Smith field & c. 26 marched by smith field again & on to the Railroad & with in $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile of Sheperds town) cam 27 Remained untill dark the 18 went out on a scout & o. q staid in camp with the 62 & 33 Ridgem^{nt} 28 to flee town 29 to chais town formed a line of B. & Remained untill Evening & Returned to fore said Camp 30 to specter camped 31 5 miles above smith field & camped at Head Springs August 1st Remained 2 to specter field on Picket 3 Returned to camp 4 to chais town & chaised the yankeys back & Camped

mile above town 5 marched 6 miles in direction of shepards town & c. 6 marched 4 miles & back on Picket 1½ mile of the E. heard their drums & band Playing at Harpers ferry sunday 7 still on P. lad for the E.

12 oc. Left Dufield Depot & marched to see town 8 Remained 9 Remained 10 marched to winches & held our horses all night & in the morning 11 commenst scrimishing fired artillery a few rounds & marched the X Rods above mill Bur & had a hard scrimish fight & marched to this River below Straws Burg) 12 marched 8 miles above front Royal & C. 13 back to front Royal on P. Sunday 14th Reinforced by fitzuel Lee by a larg force 15 Returned to Camp 16 moved with in 4 miles of F Royal & C. fitzuel Lee had a fight with Sabours & killed & wounded 80 of the E. 17 marched 4 miles below front Royel & was orderd back marchd 10 miles & C. 18 marched threw Lieuray & on to Pnew marke & camped 19 Remained 20 Started hom 21 got home Remained until the 25 Started to camp got to Samuel Snars 26 to Broos town met a variety of wonde soldiers on their way to winchester from a fight they had the night before at Lee town 27 found the command below Lee town & moved above & c 28 moved up to Smith field & grazed by the bridel untill 1 oc. the Pick ware drawn in to Smith field & a heavy Skrimishing & artillery duel kept up untill night, morning of the 29 very Earley in the mornin the E Pursued us in the Direc of Binkers hill we took a Stan & drove them Back 30 all quiet weare on Picket awaiting to heare the orders of the day 10 oc. we ware orderd down to a Pecken & Remained all day Saw some yankeys & was Releived by the 62 & fell Back 1 mile morning 31 quite Early heard firing on the martings Burg Rode it turned out to be a small scouting Party 12 oc. Started up the valey got 5 miles a bove Bunkes Hill & about faced & back to fore said camp thurs day Sept 1th to Stephensons Depoe 2 marched 1 s. 6 & grazed & back to camp there was a considerable Cavelry site below Bunker hill Ourmes fell back) 8 marched down to the Jarits town Rode on reaching the fore Said Rode we found a heavy cavelry schrimishing going on our squading was sent out on the Jarrits town Rode on Picket soon we was orderd to fall Back Rhapsidly to Bunkers hill & as we got thar we found the valey over spread with troops & in a heavy ingagement a fighting we Pitched in & helped them & the infantry & artillery came up and the fight silenced here we went in the direction of Smith field on Picket & about 5 oc thar was a heavy ingagement commenst about Bery vill & laste untill some time after night we Remained all night) morning of the 4 Sunday Still heard cannon in the direction) or left of Bery vill & some Skrimish Below Bunker hill 9 oc. we ware

orderd to fall back. the yankeys pushed us hard for 6 miles skrimishing all the way we took a stan 6 miles below Winchester & held our Position all night morning of 5th commenst sk. by day Light & heard small armes in the direction of Bery vill about 4 oc the E advanced on us Rhapsidly we stood them a hard fight I got shot threw the Pants several slightly wounded 1 Private & conel kiled & sevrul horses killed & wounded we drove them back 5 miles kill 7 & went on Picket) 6 skrimished a little all day & camped on the same ground 7 about 4 oc the E advanced a small skrimish line & drove our Pickets in we advanced on them & drove them back to Bunkers hill & fell back to fore Said Camp & Remained all night we got 2 horses wounded & killed 1 for them thursday morning sep 8th still skrimishing in the Evening went on P. 9 moved down 2 miles the E. has fell back. 10 marched down below Bunkers hill the Infantry fowling coommenst skrimishing & drove the E below martains Burg driving the E all the way & fell back to Bunker hill or East of thare & camp 11 marched 2 miles above B. H. & grazed & went on P. 12 Relieved & back to fore said Camp abov B.s H. 13 Heard heavy Cannonddding to the right of Smith field 2 oc mounted & went down to wards B.s h & had a hard skrimish fight with 8 hun yankeys drove them back kill a few we got one w. & back to camp

wednesday sep 14th went on P on the Smith field Road 15 all quiet at 8 oc Relieved & Back to camp 16 Remained 17 went on P. sunday 18th the yankey Drum & Rebel Drum is sonding around what the move is I cannot tell Monday morning 19th by day Ligt I heard a heavy engagement commense to the left of winchest 10 oc skrimishing commenst at Bunkers hill we fell back fighting at intervals all the way to winchester some times the E. charging us & some times we chargeing them back we lost 2 men kill 1 Lieut wounded in Co B the Balance suferd in like manner) we assended the hights at winchester & looked over the wide extended Plains of winchester & as far as my eyes could see I beheld a mighty concorse of yankeys & Rebels ingagued in the most heart Rending conflict which was to hard for us we fell Back to cedar creek & fed & lay in the road untill morning of the 20 then moved to fishers hill & thar took a Position & whilst hearing the Bands Play I was mad to inquire whare are the many dead & wounded that Listend at this sweet music a few evenings ago the E. is in hearing distance now how soon we will have to meet them again I cant tell about midnight we marchd out on the Left of our line & fortified & at day light of the 21 skrimishing commeng all a long our lines We are Lying awaiting to Be attacktd * *

III.—REMINISCENCES OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1814, ON THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.—CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 142.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE DAVID B. DOUGLASS, LL.D., FORMERLY CAPTAIN OF ENGINEERS, U. S. A.; COMMUNICATED BY HIS CHILDREN, FOR PUBLICATION IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

1.—DESCRIPTION OF FORT ERIE.

[From a letter written by Lieutenant Douglass to Andrew Ellicot, August, 1814.*]

The small Battery (marked A) on the extreme right was called the Douglass Battery. It was situated on a ridge of ground, about nine feet higher than the water of the lake, and immediately in rear of an excavation which had been made for the purpose of quarrying the lime-stone. Its parapet was sixteen feet thick, at top; between eight and nine feet high, on the outside; and very much sloped. Its platform was *en barbette*, and estimated at about seventeen feet square.†

The space between the Douglass Battery and the lake was undefended by any work. A six-pounder, however, (marked a) belonging to my command, was commonly placed in a situation to defend the approach to it; and, on the morning of the fifteenth of August, it was further defended by a detachment of General Porter's Volunteers (marked b). The epaulment (marked B) on the left of the Douglass Battery, was that which covered the Ninth Regiment. It was

* Some of the references—mainly those in *small* letters—cannot be found on the map which faces this page. The small scale on which it was necessarily drawn, compelled the engraver to omit some of the references which appear on the large map—which is many times larger than this—in order to prevent the whole from being unintelligible by being too much crowded.—EDITOR.

† The following remarks and observations may prove useful to the unmilitary reader: "A permanent fortification, in its most simple form, consists of a mound of earth, termed the *Rampart*, which encloses the space fortified; a *Parapet*, surrounding the Rampart and covering the men and guns from the enemy's projectiles; a *Scarp-wall*, which sustains the pressure of the earth of the Rampart and Parapet, and presents an insurmountable obstacle to an assault by storm; a wide and deep *Ditch*, which prevents the enemy from approaching near the body of the place; a *Counter Scarp-wall*, which sustains the earth on the exterior of the Ditch; and a mound of earth, called a *Glacis*, thrown up a few yards in front of the Ditch, for the purpose of covering the Scarp of the main work."—Halleck's *Military Art and Science*.

Openings cut in the Parapet, and through which the guns are pointed, are called *Embrasures*. The mass of

about eighteen feet in thickness, and from six and a half to seven feet in height, with both faces nearly perpendicular. Its ditch was of different dimensions, at different parts, but generally of small account. The space between the left of this epaulment and the nearest part of Fort Erie, was closed only by a slight abattis.

Immediately to the left of the Douglass Battery, the ground descended a few feet; but, towards the extremity of the line described, it rose again; forming, a little further on, an elevation of about seventeen or eighteen feet above the level of the lake. Upon this elevation stood old *Fort Erie*. The out-line of Fort Erie, as it was originally projected, is denoted by the line a. d. e. f. g. h. i. j. k.; but of this no part had been wrought upon, to any extent, except the two Bastions (L and M), the mess-houses (N and O), and the curtain (k and e). These, with the other works which go to enclose the areas C and D, constituted, on the fifteenth of August, the whole of what was properly called Fort Erie.

The extreme faces of the salient Bastion I were constructed partly of stone and partly of earth. That on the South, was a simple scarp-wall, about three feet thick. The other had an escarpe of stone, surmounted by an earthen parapet. The height of the former was not more than ten or eleven feet; but the latter, dated as it was, and surmounted with earth, had a height of at least twenty-two or twenty-three feet, including merlons of four feet. The counter-scarpe of the ditch was steep but regularly formed. The number of embrasures and shape of the platform was as represented in the drawing—the height of the latter being about five feet above the level of the Fort.

The other Bastion (L) was nearly the same as the one just described, except in the number of its embrasures and shape of its platform.

The Mess-houses (N and O), were built in the prolongation of the South faces of the Bastions (L and M). They were ninety three feet long and two stories high, built of stone forming one wall with the revetments to which they were joined. In the second story, they had each a line of loop-holes, on their water-fronts, and a

earth between the Embrasures is called a *Merlon*, and protects the men from the enemy's fire. When the Fort is not pierced with Embrasures, the guns are pointed over it; and are then said to be *en-barbette*. In this position, though more exposed, they command a much wider field than when in *embrasure*. The Epaulment is an earthen breastwork.

The works at Fort Erie, being partly temporary and partly permanent fortifications, and for the most part hastily thrown up, the Rampart and Parapet are designated indifferently, "the Parapet," in this description.

short flanks at k and c. The one marked n is entirely dismantled, as represented in the drawing; and the other had been somewhat injured, at the Northwest end, by the enemy's shot. The position of these Block-houses, the gorges of their respective Bastions were reduced to not seven feet in width. The Curtain (k. and l.) was, by estimation, fifteen feet high and six feet thick, having the gateway in the center.

The works, thus far described, were made into a complete enclosure by means of the temporary salient Curtain (q. r. p.), both branches of which consisted of a series of banquettes, and a parapet equal in height to those of the Bastions (V and W). On the fifteenth of August, however, they were imperfectly joined to the little Battery (r), particularly on the South-west side. The Battery (r) was very small, having a platform scarcely twelve feet square. I am unable to say whether it may not have been en-barbette on the fifteenth of August. Its height was the same as the branches just described, and, like them, it had a ditch, three or four feet deep and not eight feet in breadth. While Fort Erie was yet in the hands of the enemy, the purposes of this curtain had been answered by a line of block-houses (S.R.T.), most of which were still standing, on the fifteenth of August—they were about seven feet high. The work inclosing the area marked D) was an out-work of earth, constructed for the security of the gateway of the Fort. Its parapet is estimated to have been six feet high at the top and about six and a half feet high from the berm; and its ditch five feet deep and six feet wide. Its entrance was near the front of the Fort, on the North-east side, and in the salient angle (marked u,) was a platform for a gun, en-barbette. A considerable quantity of earth had been thrown up at the Bastions (V and W)—the latter of which had an escarpe of thirty feet. The little Battery (E), on the glacis of the Bastion (L), was the one which was occupied, on the fifteenth, by Captain Fanning. I think it had merlons at the time; but I cannot say with certainty. From the left of Fanning's Battery, the line of defence extended, as in the drawing, 100 yards to the salient angle (F). From thence it ran in a direction nearly South (100 yards) to the recentering angle (H); thence (100 yards) and lastly (100 yards) to Towson's Battery, K. It consisted of a Breastwork; banquettes and a ditch; but as it was built in haste, by the Regiments who respectively occupied it, no particular care was taken to have it of any uniform dimensions. The height of the Breastwork was generally about six and a half or seven feet; that in thickness it varied from five to sixteen feet. The Ditch was from ten feet wide and, generally, about three feet deep.

or four feet deep. The interior of the Breastwork was defiladed by Traverses (X. X. X.), at right angles. The position of Captain Biddle's Company of Artillery is marked G. The attention of the Engineers being, of course, principally directed to the flanks, I am unable to say whether the whole of the line, just described, was completed by the fifteenth of August or not. The first part, as far as the salient angle F, I think was so; but the second part, between F and H, may not have been quite as much so as I have represented it. The ground, however, in this quarter, was, for the most part, low and marshy; and the line which, on this account, was difficult of access, had been rendered still more so by felling the trees in front.

Towson's Battery (marked K) terminated our defences, on the left. It consisted of two faces meeting in a very obtuse salient angle—that on the right, calculated for the support of Fort Erie and the intermediate line; the other for the particular defence of this flank. It was built on a hillock of sand, which, being easily thrown up, was quickly formed into a Rampart, upwards of twenty feet high, the platform of which was nearly thirty feet above the level of the lake. This height enabled it to overlook the rising ground (marked L) beyond it. The length of its faces was calculated to admit of mounting at least three guns on each; that on the right, however, was not completed, and the other had, I think, low merlons, at the time of the action. Towson's Battery and the Bastions V and W were, wrought exclusively by general fatigues, under the immediate direction of the officers of Engineers.

The space between Towson's Battery and the lake is closed, in the drawing, with an abattis, which extended around the front of Towson's Battery. The encampment of Colonel Wood's Corps, consisting of the Twenty-first Infantry, is marked Y.

2.—LETTER FROM PROFESSOR W. D. WILSON.

[From The Buffalo Daily Courier, Buffalo, October 28, 1853.]

MR. SEAVER,

DEAR SIR: Sometime in the Fall of 1850, I had the pleasure of reading the *History of the Niagara Campaign*, during the war with England, written by the late Major Douglass. I hope and trust that this history will soon be given to the public, with a biographical notice worthy of one who deserved so much of his country. In this history, the Major has spoken of the explosion of the Magazine, during the sortie upon Fort Erie, in August, 1814, upon which the result of the attack depended—and, in a great measure, the termination of the war.

also—as a casualty, which occurred from some unknown cause.

I remembered, in reading the Major's graphic description, the account which I had heard, some years before, from a Mr. Daw, who was present on the occasion. I thereupon wrote to an old friend, residing in the same village as Mr. Daw, asking him to see Daw and get from him a statement of his recollection of the manner of the explosion. Doctor Moor, the friend to whom I wrote, happened to be, at the time, Notary Public, and, very kindly, called upon Mr. Daw; and, in a few days, sent me the following affidavit:

"I, James Daw, of Littleton, New Hampshire, depose and say, that I am fifty-eight years old.

"I enlisted into the Army of the United States, in April, 1814, and was enrolled in the Company of Daniel Ketchum.

"I was within the Bastion of Fort Erie when the Magazine exploded, in August, 1814, while the British Army was attempting to re-take the Fort.

"It was known to me and others, some days before that event, that preparations had been made to fire the Magazine, in case the Fort could not otherwise be defended.

"We were attacked before the arrangement was completed. The design was to have placed in the Magazine, a keg of powder, in connection with about twenty more already placed there, and to connect, with this, a large piece of port-fire, to enable the person who applied the match, to do it with safety to himself. Instead of this, there was only a train of powder strown on the ground to the Magazine.

"A Lieutenant of Bombardiers volunteered to fire it. He was seen to apply the match more than once, as the whole train of powder did not burn on the first application, and he was obliged to advance so near that he was killed by the explosion.

"The subject was often talked of among us; and the act of the officer who applied the match was always regarded as one of extraordinary daring. I never heard any one name the explosion of the Magazine as an accident.

"JAMES DAW,
"Twenty-fifth Reg."

Doctor Moor then officially certifies that James Daw, the signer of the above, personally appeared, and made solemn oath that the foregoing affidavit was true, before him, as Notary Public.

This affidavit was sworn to, at Littleton, New Hampshire, on the twenty-second of October, 1852.

This certainly is an important document, and, if true, the noble daring and self-sacrifice of the Lieutenant of Bombardiers should be known and rewarded with the gratitude of his countrymen, which is due to them.

Doctor Moor adds that he believes Mr. Daw to be "a man whose statements may be fully relied upon." I can add that I knew Mr. Daw, some twelve or fifteen years ago, and regarded him, and think he was generally regarded, as a man of veracity. I never heard his veracity called in question.

I send this document to you, believing you will be glad to insert it in the *Courier*. Buffalo being so near the scene of the occurrence to which it relates, I have supposed that its publication there would be more likely to revive and call forth the recollection of some other person, on a subject of so much national interest, than in any other place.

I am, Very Truly, Yours,
W. D. WILSON.

GENEVA, N. Y., Oct. 26, 1853.

8.—ANSWER TO PROFESSOR W. D. WILSON'S LETTER, BY REV. MALCOLM DOUGLASS, A SON OF MAJOR D. B. DOUGLASS.

[From The Buffalo Daily Courier, Buffalo, November 14, 1853.]

ALBION, Nov. 7, 1853.

MR. SEAVER:

I have been favored, by a friend, with a copy of the *Buffalo Courier*, for the twenty-eighth of October. It contains, I perceive, a communication calling public attention to the stirring event at Fort Erie, during the siege in the Campaign of 1814, and, especially, to the explosion in the contested Bastion of the Fort, during the night-attack of the British force. The question as to the cause of this explosion is proposed; and the testimony of Mr. James Daw—at the time, a soldier in the Twenty-fifth Regiment—is furnished, to the effect that it was the result, not of accident, but of a pre-concerted plan. May I crave the insertion of a few words upon this subject?

I have, at hand, the manuscript Lectures of Major Douglass, on the Niagara Campaign, referred to by your correspondent; and I may leave to quote the passage which bears upon the point in question: "It is not difficult to account for the cause of the explosion of the Bastion. The Magazine was under the Bastion, and quite open. In the haste and ardor with which the guns were served, during the action, and in the confusion of the moment, the cartridges were, doubtless, broken and the powder strewed around, forming a train of succession of trains, connecting with the

"Magazine, which a burning wad or the discharge of a musket might easily ignite." It will be observed that this conjecture does not agree with the statement of Mr. Daw; and I still think, with such attention as I have been able to give the question and without impugning the veracity of Mr. Daw, that the above statement is the more accurate and reasonable of the two. I may observe, by the way, that this was a subject to which Major Douglass had devoted a great deal of attention; for he was not unaware that the question was debated. I distinctly remember having heard him say that, at various times since the Campaign, he had compared notes with his brother officers, who were also eye-witnesses of the explosion, and the impression which he formed, at the period of the siege, were only more and more confirmed, viz.: that it was purely accidental.

I have regarded Mr. Daw's statement as inaccurate in its principal points. His first statement is as follows: "It was known to me and 'others, some days before that event, that 'preparations had been made to fire the Magazine in case the Fort could not otherwise be defended. We were attacked before the arrangement was completed," etc. Now the public and private statements of Major Douglass assure us that no such arrangement was known to the Engineer officers, who are always entrusted with the superintendence of affairs of this kind, in the defence of fortified camps. No such arrangements were known to the General commanding, who, in his Report to the Secretary of War, acknowledges the Chief Engineer's correct and seasonable suggestions to regain the Bastion; and, while giving some of the details of this very attempt to regain it, he adds: "at this moment, every operation was arrested by the explosion of some cart-ridges, deposited at the end of the stone-building, adjoining the contested Bastion. The explosion was tremendous—it was decisive; the Bastion was restored." So far, then, as the officers are concerned, the occurrence does not seem to be pre-concerted; and, as Mr. Daw evidently does not regard it as the secret work of private soldiers, it would seem not unlikely that he and his fellow-soldiers misinterpreted some directions and arrangements in the construction of the Bastion, which was unfinished, up to the time of the attack.

Mr. Daw further states that "a Lieutenant of Bombardiers volunteered to fire it. He was seen to apply the match, more than once, as the whole train of powder did not burn on the first application, and he was obliged to advance so near, that he was killed by the explosion. The subject was often talked of among us, and the act of the officer, who ap-

plied the match, was always regarded as one of most extraordinary daring." Now Major Douglass was the only Lieutenant of Bombardiers in the action. The Company of Bombardiers and Sappers and Miners was under his especial command, as an Engineer officer. His Junior, Lieutenant Story, was on duty on the American side. Captain Williams and Lieutenant McDonough, both of the Artillery, are the only officers mentioned in General Gaines's Report as killed, and they were known to have been killed before the Bastion was yielded to the enemy. Is it not likely, then, that Mr. Daw's statement, on this point, is one of those mistaken rumors which would naturally circulate among the private soldiers, after the battle, and which, at such a time, can easily gain currency with many, upon very insufficient evidence? And does it not appear that, until more decisive evidence, to the contrary, is advanced, the statement in the Niagara Lectures has, by far, the greatest probability in its favor? My own opinion is, decidedly, in the affirmative.

Major Douglass's account of the explosion may be interesting to your readers. It is as follows: "The Bastion, itself, was still in the possession of the enemy; but it was understood that they were not only unable to penetrate further, but that they had been terribly cut up by the fires from the Block-house and from other adjacent parts of the Fort and outworks. Several charges had been made upon them, but, owing to the narrowness of the passage and the height of the platform, they had, as yet, been unsuccessful. Another party, however, it was said, of picked men, was now just organized, with the hope of a better result. To this enterprise, then, the only thing now remaining to complete the repulse of the enemy, the attention of every beholder was most anxiously bent. The firing within the Fort had already begun to slacken, as if to give place to the charging party; the next moment was to give us the clang of weapons in deadly strife. But, suddenly, every sound was hushed by the sense of an unnatural tremor beneath our feet, like the first heave of an earthquake; and, almost at the same instant, the centre of the Bastion burst up with a terrific explosion; and a jet of flame, mingled with fragments of timber, earth, stone, and the bodies of men, rose to the height of one or two hundred feet in the air, and fell, in a shower of ruins, to a great distance, all around." * * * *

In another place, he thus remarks: "As to its effect in deciding the contest, it was very small, if anything. The British General found it very convenient to assign the explo-

"sion as the chief cause of the failure of the enterprise. But he had been completely repulsed, with dreadful carnage, at all points, before the explosion—the British troops in the Bastion were unable to advance; their commander was killed; their numbers were momentarily thinned by our fires; and so completely were they cut up and disabled, that of those removed from the ruins of the Bastion, but a very few were free from severe gunshot wounds. Indeed, had the explosion been a few minutes later, the whole of their Reserve would, probably, have been intercepted and cut off, by a strong detachment, which was in motion for that purpose."

I have, I fear, taken up your attention with a tedious letter; but it seemed called for by the statements which were made through the means of your esteemed correspondent. Perhaps the Memoir and the Lectures may yet be forthcoming, and at no distant date. And I may here say, that any well-authenticated data which may be furnished me—letters, memoranda, notes, and the like—bearing upon any or all of the events of the Niagara Campaign, will be thankfully received and acknowledged.

I am, with great regard,

Yours, Very Truly,
MALCOLM DOUGLASS.

4.—ANSWER TO PROFESSOR WILSON'S LETTER,
BY EBENEZER MIX, ESQR., OF BATAVIA, NEW YORK.

[From The Spirit of the Times, Batavia, N. Y.,
November 15, 1853.]

BATAVIA, NOV. 15, 1853.

MR. HURLEY:

I observe, in the *Buffalo Courier* of the twenty-eighth ultimo, a communication from Professor Wilson of Geneva, with the accompanying affidavit of Mr. Daw, the introduction to which contains a request, that "old inhabitants" will give their recollections on the subject to the public, and, as no one will dispute my being one of the "Old Inhabitants," and, believing myself somewhat qualified for the task, I cheerfully comply with the request.

Far from attempting to impugn the veracity or question the integrity or respectability of any person connected with that communication, I must entirely disagree with it, in relation to the main incidents therein stated, on which any doubts can arise. The discrepancy between our statements is easily accounted for, as Mr. Wilson, I presume, is not a military man, and would not claim to be familiar with the localities of "Old Fort Erie," or the exact application of military parlance; while Mr. Daw, according to his own account, was, at that time, a mere youth, of the age of twenty years, and

a new recruit in the service. He, too, as appears from his statement, has lost his recollection of military terms and phrases, or he would not have said, in the commencement, that he "was within the Bastion, when the Magazine exploded"—had he been within the Bastion, at the time the basket of cartridges exploded, he would not, probably, at any time since, have been in Littleton, New Hampshire, to have told the tale; as every man, whether British or American, in or near the Bastion, or about the level of its plank-platform, at that time, and many below, were either killed or so severely wounded and horribly mangled, that death was the result. Mr. Daw undoubtedly meant, that he was within the Fort—the military encampment, called Fort Erie—at the time of the explosion, and would so amend his statement, if now revised by him, not that he, a young Infantry private and a new recruit, was, at that time, within the works of the "Old Fort," occupied, exclusively, by Officers, Artillerymen, and Bombardiers, and visited only by such persons as the officers saw fit to invite and admit. Mr. Daw was, at that time undoubtedly where his duty called him, and where, had he been otherwise inclined, his officers would have compelled him to be, in parade in the plaza, in front of the space between the second and third traverses, counting from the "Old Fort," in which, if I mistake not, his Regiment, the Twenty-fifth, was encamped, there ready to march, or stand and combat the enemy, as commanded by his officers, for it will be understood, that the Infantry, generally, were not called into actual conflict with the enemy, that night, but were mustered and stood at their respective posts, ready to obey orders, although the Twenty-first and part of the Twenty-third Regiments did great execution in defending our southern or left extremity, near which they were encamped, as did the Heavy Artillery and Light Corps in defending the northern or right flank of our encampment.

It is said that he who demolishes an edifice, let it be ever so mis-shapen and inconvenient, without erecting another, has been guilty of an injury to the public weal. To avoid such an imputation, I will give a succinct account of the assault on Fort Erie, by the British, in August, 1814, which I believe to be true, and know that it was uncontradicted, in any of its essential points, at the time it transpired, by any intelligent person who pretended to be acquainted with its details.

That the reader may the better understand the following statement, I will give an extract from Turner's *Pioneer History of the Purchase of Western New York*, etc., being

description of Fort Erie, as it existed in 1814 *—as its works are now almost entirely demolished, scarcely leaving a trace to designate its former location:

"Fort Erie, or rather the encampment called by that name, lying at the outlet of Lake Erie into Niagara-river, on the Canada side, was, at that time, composed of old 'Old Fort Erie,' consisting of two large stone mess-houses and one Bastion, mounted with cannon, situated near the margin of Niagara-river, and a high artificial mound, transformed from Snake-hill, about one hundred and fifty yards southerly of the 'Old Fort.' This redoubt was connected with the 'Old Fort' by a parapet of earth, thrown up between them, with a western angle; from this Parapet, traverses extending into the encampment.† The open esplanade, on the West and North of our works, was but from sixty to eighty rods wide, where it terminated in a dense forest, standing on a marshy or swamp bottom. Between this lengthy parapet and the shores of the Niagara-river and Lake Erie, mostly between the traverses, was the encampment of our regular soldiers."

On the third of July, 1814, the American Army took undisputed possession of Fort Erie; and all its forces, on the Niagara frontier, concentrated within it and on the adjacent grounds, soon after the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's lane. In the latter part of July, the British troops, on the Niagara frontier, amounting to about five thousand, four hundred of which were veterans of European peninsular fame, under the command of Major-general Drummond, encamped on a farm, a mile and a half northwesterly of the Fort, making apparent demonstrations to invest it for a siege, but privately preparing to take it by storm, or assault. For this purpose, the assaulting forces were divided into three Divisions, one of which was to commence the attack on Towson's Battery, the entrance South of the American encampment; another Division, under the immediate command of Colonel (not General) Drummond, was to attack the only Bastion in the "Old Fort;" while the third and largest Division, was to silence Douglass's Battery, a small work near the Niagara-river, and march into the American encampment, along the Ni-

agara shore. The night of the fourteenth of August, which was a dark night, was selected for the enterprise, and midnight the hour.

Agreeably with this arrangement, the attack was made on Towson's Battery, but without the least success. So conspicuous was this impediment, that the British soldiers called it "The 'Light House.'" This Division then undertook to turn our works, by fording the margin of the lake; but they were so unsparingly cut down, by the sharp-shooters of the Twenty-first and Twenty-third Regiments, as soon as they rounded the abattis, that they were glad to desist, and retreated in disorder. Drummond, at the head of his Division, scaled the outer walls, or rather embankment—twelve or fifteen feet in perpendicular height—of the only Bastion in the "Old Fort," then mounted with cannon, and took possession of it, by surprise. This attack being unexpected, the attention of its defenders was drawn off, to view the scenes passing and events occurring at and near Towson's Battery, which was an unpardonable neglect of duty, for twenty-five men could have effectually defended it from such an assault, had they been at their posts and on the alert. As soon as Colonel Drummond got into the Bastion, he cried, "Give the d—d Yankees no 'quarters;' and what few Americans were in the Bastion, fled or were wantonly sacrificed, at which juncture a Lieutenant of the Artillery or Bombardier-corps, commander of a single gun, in an angle, in the parapet of the "Old Fort," some fifteen or twenty yards distant from the Bastion, turned his gun alone, which was already loaded with grape-shot, towards the Bastion, and fired it, the effect of which was to set fire to a basket of cannon-cartridges, which had been placed, for the time being, under the plank-platform of the Bastion, in range with its entrance, at which the gun was pointed. The explosion of the cartridges in the basket blew up the Bastion floor, and scattered the materials of which its parapets were composed. This accident—for so it was considered, at the time, and it has never been asserted to the contrary, from any authentic source—therefore, I must say this accident ended the career of the vaunting Colonel Drummond, and killed or mortally wounded all the British who had taken possession of the Bastion and some who had not yet elevated themselves to that high distinction; but I believe the event is to be deplored by the Americans, as by it the brave officer who fired the cannon lost his life, and there were, probably, nearly as many Americans killed and wounded by the accident as there were British.

Of the truth of the facts above stated, in all their minutia, relative to the firing the gun by

* This description, as well as the account of the sortie, contained in that volume, was written by myself, and mostly from memoranda taken at the time of the events.

† The transformation of Snake-hill into "Towson's Battery," the erection of "Douglass's Battery," and all the parapets, not included in the "Old Fort," was the work of the Americans, after they took possession, on the third of July.

the officer, its direction, etc., we never had nor ever can have a living witness; but the fact of the gun, which had been previously loaded, being turned in the direction of the Bastion and fired; the basket of cartridges exploding at the same time; the commander of the gun being found dead at its breech, with no other marks of violence than those naturally produced by such an explosion; and no one claiming a participation in the deed, nor any other corpse being found, as a silent testimony of companionship, fully warrants us in coming to the conclusion of their undoubted truth, although the gun might have been pointed at the basket when fired, and its recoil produced a more elevated direction; yet such a conclusion is not probable; but if the gun was fired into the Bastion, the direction in which it was found, the wadding would have naturally fallen into the basket or its vicinity.

While Colonel Drummond and his Division made this attack on the Bastion, the third, and most numerous, Division made an attack on Douglass's Battery and our extreme right, where our Heavy Artillery, Bombardiers, and light-troops were posted. Douglass's Battery, under the direction of its then youthful but skilful and intrepid commander,* and the troops stationed in its vicinity, soon discomfited this Division, and compelled its crowded ranks to retreat beyond the reach of the shot from our guns.

Thus ended the assault on Fort Erie, in a complete failure; but the British prosecuted their siege, with renewed vigor, until the seventeenth of September, when a chivalrous sortie from the Fort compelled them to raise the siege and make a hasty retreat to Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara-river.

That the explosion and destruction of the Bastion had any more effect on "the termination of the War," or even the capture of the Fort, than had the destruction of a camp washer-woman, by a random cannon-ball, is not to be entertained for a moment, for Colonel Drummond could not have retained possession, fifteen minutes, unless he was supported and sustained, from within the works, by the other two Divisions of the assailants, or, at least, by one of them; and they were both completely routed from their respective points of attack, before the explosion. Neither was the place where the basket of cartridges stood, the Magazine of the Fort, or even of the Bastion: it was, in fact, a very unsafe place to leave cartridges, on any occasion; and in this case they

were undoubtedly hastily and carelessly left there. The Magazine of the Fort was in a compartment in the North end of the northern mess-house, near to, but disconnected with, the Bastion, which had no separate Magazine.

I can assure the public that I write understandingly, and from my own knowledge as far as the nature of the case will admit. The facts and conclusions, herein stated, are not nursery chimeras or boyish phantasies. I was then a man, with an experience of twelve years in the scenes of manhood and active walks of life. Soon after the explosion, I visited Fort Erie and became an inmate of the tented field; and being personally acquainted with many of the Field, Staff, and Platoon-officers of our Army, and especially with Major, then Lieutenant, Douglass, who, with other officers, took me into the "Old Fort" and showed me the position of things as they were, at the time of the explosion, and related to me, in detail, the circumstances of that event, as far as they were known to the living—they deplored the fate of the young officer, who fired the gun, whose name I now forget, but made no allusion to his voluntary self-immolation.

I delineated, I presume, the first map or plan of the Fort, after the explosion, with explanatory notes and references and made several copies—General, then Colonel, Scott, on learning which, sent for me and solicited copies, one of which, as I understood, he sent to the War Department in Washington.

During the time I remained in the Fort I heard soldiers relate divers marvellous accounts of the circumstances attending the blowing up of the Bastion, which were disregarded by me, well-informed, as much as a sailor's long yarns, by his Purser. One of these stories, I presume, has been the foundation of Mr. Daw's sincere belief; but, from any officer or well-informed person, I never heard of any kegs of powder being beneath the Bastion, or of any arrangements having been made to blow up the Magazine, on any emergency.

Yours, &c.,

EBENEZER M. M.

5.—REPLY TO MESSRS. DOUGLASS AND MRS. WILSON.

[From The Buffalo Daily Courier, Buffalo, November, 1853.]

MR. SEAVER,

DEAR SIR: I do not suppose it possible for any one to misunderstand my object in sending to you the affidavit of Mr. Dow—not that it has been printed. It was to call out such articles as that of the Rev. Mr. Douglass in the *Courier* of the fourteenth instant.

* The late Major David B. Douglass, who died, a few years since, at Geneva, while filling a Professorship in Geneva College.

that of Mr. Mix, in the *Batavia Spirit of the Times*, of the fifteenth.

Although readily admitting all the ignorance of military affairs which these correspondents may be disposed to charge me with, I did not, however, possess enough to satisfy me that some of the points and statements of Mr. Dow were erroneous. Nor was I quite disposed to believe his story to be entirely a fabrication. The article of Mr. Mix, I think, furnishes the primary fact which was wrought up into story, as Dow has given it. He states that "a Lieutenant of Artillery or Bombardier Corps, commander of a single gun, in an angle in the parapet," fired it; the effect of which was, to blow up the Bastion and kill himself in the act. Now I do not recollect any mention of this fact in Major Douglass's manuscript—though it may be there. But this fact is, in some measure, inconsistent with the Rev. Mr. Douglass's communication. For in that he says: "Major Douglass was the only Lieutenant of Bombardiers in the action. Captain Williams and Lieutenant McDonough, both of the Artillery, are the only officers mentioned in General Gaines's Report as killed; and *they were known to have been killed before the Bastion was yielded to the enemy.*"

I hope we may hear yet further from those who had the means to know, and yet remember, the occurrences of that glorious night. It may be that we shall yet find reason to believe that the discharge of the gun was a noble act—though, perhaps, a mistake and unnecessary one—on the part of the Lieutenant who fired it.

Very sincerely, yours,
W. D. WILSON.

6.—LETTER FROM EBENEZER MIX, ESQR. TO
REV. MALCOLM DOUGLASS.

[From the original manuscript.]

BATAVIA NOV. 14th 1858

REV. MALCOLM DOUGLAS,

DEAR SIR,

On perusing an account of the explosion of the bastion in old Fort Erie, in August 1814, I set down immediately and penned my views on the subject, but political matter crowded it out of the paper until this week, on leaving it I had directed a copy to be sent to you. This afternoon, while my reminiscences were issuing from the press, I came across the *Buffalo Courier*, containing your essay on the same subject—this evening I compared them—It could not have been expected that two men, had they both been within the fort (not to say "within the bastion") at the time, would after the lapse of 39 years, without previous concert, have told the history of such

an exciting event, nearer alike than we have done; although neither of us was present at the time & one of us unborn, we had however in a great measure, the same source of information, your lamented father, who was at that time & place, the chief engineer & had the superintendence of constructing all new works, and repairing & improving all the old works of the fort & encampment— We both discard the intention of impugning the veracity of Mr. Dow [not Daw] but both entirely dissent from the truth of his statement, in all its material points—we both give the same reason or cause for his errors, and attribute his statement to the same source—we agree that the occurrence was a mere accident, and deny, that there existed, among the officers any arrangements or preparations to blow up the magazine, on any contingency— We likewise agree on the effect, or rather non-effect which the explosion had on the termination of the war, or the capture of the fort, and we came to that conclusion predicated on the same facts— We substantially agree in assuming the circumstances and cause of the explosion— In one point, and I believe the only one, our statements do not co-incide, that is, whether there was, or was not a magazine under the bastion, the contents of which exploded, this may be thought to be a mere variance in phraseology, and that any place, where "some cartridges" had been lodged, whether safe or unsafe, however fortuitously or temporarily their deposit, was a magazine. but I think that every common reader as well as every military man, must conclude from your statement, that there was under the bastion something like a regular apartment for the lodgement & safe-keeping of combustible munitions of war and their concomitants— A mere sight of this place would refute the idea— Maj. Douglas says that it was "under the platform and quite open" and I will add, as open as an old fashioned kitchen fire-place & about the size, without an apology for a door— But what says Gen. Gaines, the commanding officer at the time, in his report to the Secretary of War. "At this moment every operation was arrested by the explosion of *some cartridges* deposited at the end of the stone building, adjoining the con-
"tested bastion." By this statement it would be as hard to locate those "some cartridges" before the explosion as afterwards— The Gen. was ashamed, and perhaps afraid to report to the Secretary, that it was the explosion of a corn basket of cartridges tucked under the floor of the bastion!—neither would he report that it was the explosion of "some cartridges" in the magazine of the fort or bastion, for that would not have been the truth—therefore he made this evasive, or to say the most of it, in-

definite statement; this might have passed as immaterial had not Mr. Dow lugged his 20 kegs of powder into it.

As to the person who fired off the gun, there is no particular discrepancy in our statements—I should have said—"An artillery officer who had charge of the single gun &c." and so I wrote it in my first draft, his grade or whether a commissioned officer or not I did not recollect, but not wishing to contradict Mr. Dow's statement unnecessarily, I introduced the words, "Lieut." & "bombardier" But I am very certain, that several officers of the higher grade, and Maj. Douglas, in particular, while on the ground, viewing the premises, a few days after the explosion, told his friend, D. E. Evans & myself that according to the best testimony to be obtained, as there was no living witness,—the officer commanding the single gun at the angle, turned the gun alone, already charged with grape-shot, and fired into the bastion, and that the wad or some other ignited substance from the charge, fell into the basket of cartridges beneath the platform, on which the explosion took place.

I have just viewed a second bulletin from Prof. Wilson, through the *Buffalo Courier*, in which he accuses *us* of charging him with ignorance in military affairs—he should have charged *me* only—I however did not intend to offend him—but when I found a Professor in such an institution as Geneva College, speak of "making a *sortie* on a Fort," instead of a *charge*, and using several other very clumsy expressions, when addressing the public, I could not resist giving him a rap over the knuckles, but I did it without exposing his defects, or rather the defects in his writing—People who write to the public, should be prepared to meet criticism.

I insert herein a rough plan of Old Fort Erie, and some of its annexed works by the Americans. I do not however do it for your edification, as I presume you have far better drawings of it among your fathers papers, this plan and its explanatory references are mostly copied from your fathers drawings, but I send this to you to let you understand how I conceive the facts to be—*

Yours very Respectfully

EBENEZER MIX

P. S. Your friend Wilson, in his last bulletin says that, he "did not however possess "enough [ignorance] to satisfy him that *some* "of the points and statements of Mr. Dow "were erroneous, nor was I [Wilson] quite dis-

* It has not been considered necessary to re-produce this map, because it is almost exactly a copy of that which we have given on another page.—EDITOR.

"posed to believe his story to be entirely a "fabrication." [A curious sentence, and blindly put together—my opinion is that Mr. W. cannot write elegantly or even ordinarily, if these two efforts are good specimens]

Mr. Dow with Mr. W. to back him, I think comes out about as well as the old indian who having sold a deer, which he had just killed and left hanging in a certain tree in a certain meadow, as he said—and no deer being found there—he was upbraided by the purchaser for lying and replied— You found the meadow— Yes— You found the tree—Yes— And you found the deer—No— Hugh, two *trutes* to one lie—pretty good for indian! The fort was there & the bastion was blown up—all the rest of "his story" appears "to be entirely a fabrication"

If Mr. Wilson calls me out again I will fire off my big Gun at him.

IV.—KINDERHOOK, NEW YORK.

[The following articles, concerning this ancient town are taken from a local newspaper, in order that they may not be lost, among the transient items of weekly journals. They are evidently from the pen of our friend, BENJ. C. Van Schaack, Esqr., of Manlius, New York, who is a native of Kinderhook; and, as they are perfectly reliable we have pleasure in re-printing them.—EDITOR.]

I.

NATURAL HISTORY OF KINDERHOOK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ADVERTISER:

In the early part of the present century, a communication appeared in *The Balance and Columbia Repository*, a newspaper then published at Hudson, containing observations on the natural history of the village of Kinderhook and its vicinity. The author of this paper was the Rev. David B. Warden, who was a resident of this village, for several years, during the tenth decade of the last century. He was the Principal of the first Academy established here; and afterwards became Principal of the Academy, at Kingston, in this State. When General Armstrong was our Minister in France, Mr. Warden was Secretary of Legation; and he was subsequently appointed Consul, which latter office he held for many years. He is represented to have been a man of deep and varied learning, in which there is some evidence in the fact that while in Paris, he was made a member of the noted French Academy. His death occurred in that city, many years ago, at the age of sixty-eight. His library, said to possess historical value, was purchased from him, in his lifetime, by the State of New York. As the observations of an intelligent foreigner, for Mr. Warden was an Englishman, it is believed that his commu-

cation to the Hudson paper, notwithstanding its old date, will be found interesting at this time. It is, therefore, subjoined. H. O. V. S.

"NATURAL HISTORY OF KINDERHOOK.

"The town of Kinderhook, in Columbia-county, State of New York, is situated on the East side of Hudson-river, 42 deg., 36 min. N. lat. It is thirteen miles North from the city of Hudson; twenty and a half miles South by East of Albany; twenty-five miles West by North of Stockbridge, in Massachusetts; and one hundred and forty miles North of New York.

"From almost every spot in Kinderhook, the Blue Mountains may be seen, and every beholder must be delighted with them. Sometimes, the whole range appears tinged with the color of a delightful blue. The appearance is varied and irregular. In Winter, the reflection of the sun reverberating from the snow which covers them, has a grand effect. Sometimes, their tops are veiled in a cloud. The people prognosticate a change of weather from the mist or fogs which appear on the top and sides of these mountains. In Summer, if they are enveloped with fog or vapors, so that their summits are not visible, it is a sure indication of rain; and, in Winter, the same appearance indicates snow. If every part of the mountains is seen, distinctly, a sudden fall of rain or snow never takes place.

"What contributes much to the beauty of Kinderhook is the creek, which runs along the East side of the town. It originates from a spring of water which issues from the bottom of a hill, about fifteen miles North of the celebrated medicinal waters of Lebanon, and flows past them, at the distance of two hundred yards, describing a North-east by East course, but in many parts, very irregular. In proportion to the distance from its source, it increases in size, by the conflux of Claverack-creek and several considerable streams, until it mingles with those of the Hudson-river, about four miles below Kinderhook Landing.

"Four miles from town, and four from the Hudson-river, there are three falls of water in the creek, all of which are truly magnificent. Each of them is nearly two hundred feet in breadth. Two of them are thirty, and the third, which is nearest to the Hudson-river, is forty feet in perpendicular height. When there is much water in the creek, it rages over the rocks, presenting a grand appearance. The ear is struck with the rude, majestic noise, while the trees, shooting forth from the cliffs of the impending rocks and spreading their branches over the rapid stream, making the

"scene truly picturesque, so that it delights the imagination of every spectator.

"At the close of Winter, when the ice begins to dissolve, the scene cannot be surpassed; when large masses of ice are hurled over the rocks by the waters of the melted snow, and are dashed to pieces with a noise which strikes the hearer with awe and terror.

"The air and weather experienced in Kinderhook, is much the same as that of other places in the Northern States of America, which are at the same distance from the sea, having a similar quantity of cleared lands, etc.

"The good state of health which the people of Kinderhook enjoy, with the many instances of individuals arriving to a great age, evinces that the air is very pure and salubrious. It has never been subject to any general fatal sickness; and, compared to the population of other towns, there are fewer deaths than in any other settlement in the State. Many die from mere old age, free from the oppressions of disease.

"Isaac Vosburgh, of this place, was one hundred and five years old when he died. Eliza Vosburgh was ninety-three. Another woman of the same name, was ninety-five; and three brothers, each above ninety. Mrs. Pruyn is eighty-four and quite healthy. A slave of Mr. Van Alen's, an African, called Kate, is one hundred; and a black man of Mr. Vosburgh's is of the same age, both active and performing manual labor."

II.

LONGEVITY OF KINDERHOOKERS.

MR. EDITOR :

In his paper on the Natural History of Kinderhook, republished in a late number of *The Advertiser*, Mr. Warden, in proof of the pure and salubrious air of this village and its vicinity, refers to several cases of remarkable longevity among its inhabitants, particularly mentioned by him. The monuments erected in the village cemetery, since created, show that many former residents continued to attain a great age, after the period at which Mr. Warden wrote, which was the very first of the present century. A perfect mortuary record seems not to have been kept, which circumstance, together with a lack of other necessary information and time, has prevented the writer from collecting the proper materials for a comparison. Judging, however, from a partial mortuary record, with some oral information, the number of very old persons here has latterly very considerably diminished—indicating, it is feared, that the present inhabitants are departing from the simple and healthful habits of their Dutch ancestors or predecessors. Nevertheless, the great number of longevitarians

now living in this village and neighborhood is remarkable, and the fact is calculated to arrest the attention of non-residents, while those who are thus pursuing the "even tenor of their ways," seem to be unconscious of the peculiarity of their position as it strikes the minds of strangers and visitors. The number of present residents who have passed the age of three score and ten is very large. Many of them have attained the age of eighty, and not a few have considerably exceeded that point; and there are several nonagenarians. Longevity in families has not been uncommon here, particularly in families of Dutch descent, up to a recent period. An illustration will here be given.

Henry Van Schaack died in 1823, at the age of ninety years and six months. His sister, Jane Silvester, widow of Judge Peter Silvester, died three years after, at eighty-seven. Their brother, Peter Van Schaack, LL.D., died in 1832, in his eighty-sixth year. A son of the latter gentlemen, David Van Schaack, Esqr., died, eighteen months ago, in his seventy-eighth year. He left a brother and sister, still living, who have passed "the age allotted to man"—the one being seventy-one and the other seventy-three. One of their uncles died in 1858, aged eighty-four. Two nieces of the three first-named persons—children of their deceased sister—died, the one, in 1857, in her eighty-fourth year, and the other, in 1859, in her ninetieth year. Another niece died at eighty-four. Four grand-nieces of the three individuals first above-named—being grandchildren of another deceased sister—are now living at the respective ages of sixty-four, seventy-six, seventy-nine, and eighty-one; making a total of three hundred years, or an average age of seventy-five. A cousin of the four last-named individuals, of the same name, died here, last year, in her eighty-sixth year. Their parents died at the respective ages of eighty-two and eighty-four.

Ex-President Van Buren, who passed the early and latter years of his life here, died in 1862, at the age of eighty. His brother, Major Lawrence Van Buren, who always resided here, died, in 1864, in his eighty-fourth year. Their sister, a lifelong resident here, died in 1865, in her ninetieth year. The parents of these individuals died at an advanced age. Want of definite information alone prevents me from here giving a full exposition of *all* the cases of longevity, in the two families to which I have referred, and which the facts, in each case, would warrant.

Another curious piece of history will be referred to. The frequent intermarriage of cousins, here, in former days, was remarkable. In one instance, four brothers, in one family, married four sisters, in another family; and three brothers of the four sisters married three sisters of the

four brothers: making seven marriages confined to the members of two families only.

Reference has been made, in a former communication to *The Advertiser*, to the fact that many remarkable men have resided in this vicinity, in former days, one of whom was particularly noticed. It will scarcely be necessary to remind the reader that the remains of an ex-President of the United States are interred in the village grave-yard, at Kinderhook. But I will make special mention of another Dutch name. A neat and substantial monument, erected to the memory of Peter Van Ness, who died, in 1804, at the age of seventy, is now standing, in good condition, on an elevation in the rear grounds at Lindenwald, late the seat of ex-President Van Buren and now owned by Mr. Wilder. The inscription on this monument discloses the career of quite a remarkable character. It informs us that, at the age of nineteen, Mr. Van Ness was Captain of a military Company, in the War which terminated in the conquest of Canada by the English; that he commanded a Regiment at the surrender of Burgoyne; was a member of the New York State Convention that ratified the Federal Constitution, and, among numerous other trusts, public and private, he was, for many years, a member of the State Senate and First Judge of the County. To this, it may be added that he was the head of a remarkable family, all born in the town of Kinderhook. His son, Cornelius P. Van Ness, was Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont; Governor of that State; Minister to Spain; and Collector of the port of New York. His son, John P. Van Ness, was a member of Congress and Mayor of the city of Washington. Another son, William P. Van Ness, who was second to Burr in his duel with Hamilton, was an eminent lawyer and, for many years, Judge of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York.

Washington Irving informs us, in his *Received History of New York*, that the name of Van Ness had its origin in the fact that the original holders were "valiant robbers of birds' nests." If this be correct history, it must, at least, be admitted that the successors, in Kinderhook, of those old "robbers of nests" have been engaged in a more creditable business than were their ancestors.

H. C. V. S.

—The old Liberty Bell has been removed from its pedestal in Independence Hall to the new belfry, where it is to remain. When suspended from the derrick the clapper was put in place and the old bell was struck thirteen times, and rung out loud and quite clear for a bell that has got a two-foot crack in it.

V.—SAM. BROWN.

A LEGEND ABOUT "LOOK-OUT SHOALS, OF
"THE CATAWBA-RIVER."BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL, STATESVILLE,
NORTH CAROLINA.

About fifteen miles West of Statesville, North Carolina, three miles above the Island Ford, on the Catawba-river, there is, at a place called the "Look-out Shoals," on the West side of the stream, a high bluff rising three hundred feet above the water.

About sixty feet from the bottom of this, under an over-hanging cliff, there is an opening, now partly closed by a mass of rock sliding down, which is the mouth of a cave, of considerable dimensions within, and sufficient room to accommodate several persons.

There is some historical interest connected with this, from its being, in the old Revolution, a place of resort and a depository of plunder, not by a band of robbers, but, singularly enough, by a man and his sister, Sam. Brown and Charity Brown.

It is said that they belonged in that vicinity, in Lincoln-county, where they were brought up. They sallied out from this place, on their plundering expeditions, even as far as the Shallow Ford, on the main Yadkin.

The banks of this river, for a good distance up from the Forks, were inhabited by a mixed population, among whom were a good many Tories. Following up Hunting-creek, towards the Brushy-mountains, the people, in those days, are said to have been nearly all Tories.

They annoyed the Whigs a good deal, in the latter part of the War, by their robberies—especially horse-stealing. After committing their depredations, they would fly to the mountains and lie concealed.

Our hero and heroine, therefore, would find ready confederates in that quarter. They practiced various disguises, and exchanged attire, at pleasure.

Their den could not be approached, without crossing the river, which is here three hundred and forty-four yards wide; and they were acquainted with several fords, unknown to others, and, when pursued, could escape in a sudden and mysterious manner. One of those was at the mouth of Cowan's-creek; another at the mouth of Dolf's-branch.

They stole a great variety of articles—not only clothing and bed-clothing, silver and pewter-ware, and money, but horses, which they ran off to South Carolina, to dispose of.

They became notoriously objects of dread in the country where their persons were not known. With devilish cunning, they took advantage of this; and would visit houses, when not known,

and enquire if the people were not afraid of being robbed by them; and if they said that they were, Brown would direct them where to put their most valuable effects to keep them safe, of course, then, he would know where to go to take them.

It was once a proverb "to ride like Jehu;" but Sam. Brown was so famous, in this respect, that a good lady says that when she was young, she used to hear it said of one that was a hard rider, "He rides like Sam. Brown."

Another instance of his cunning was, that when he had stolen a horse, and was pursued, and he found that the pursuer had the swifter horse, he would stop at the first house he came to, and walk in, leaving the horse at the gate. The pursuer would do the same, expecting to find Brown in the house; but the minute the former came in at the front door, the latter whipped out of the back door, mounted the swifter horse, and fled.

A poor old blind man, by the name of David Beard, living on Fourth-creek, near what is now called Beard's-bridge, about seven miles East of Statesville, had a few dollars in silver, laid up. Brown made a raid on him and took his money. Beard told him he would have a hard account to render at the day of judgment, for robbing a poor, old, blind man. He replied, "It is long 'trust.'" To which Beard rejoined, "But sure 'pay.'"

It is said that he was once married to the daughter of a man who lived near the Island-ford; but his wife left him and returned to her father; where he, in revenge, went one night, and killed all his father-in-law's stock. During his absence from the cave, he left a base woman to keep house.

When any persons went there to take it, they had a place cut out behind a projecting part of the rock, near the entrance, where they could keep concealed, and shoot the assailants, who could only ascend the face of the cliff, one at a time. This is said to be the origin of the name, "Look-out Shoals." It is also said that the bones of various kinds of animals and pieces of broken crockery are found, at the present time, by visitors at the cave. It is not known to have been inhabited since their day.

Various are the traditions, in the country, of the way that Brown came to his end—some say that he and some of his confederates had escaped into the mountains, after one of his forages; were pursued; and overtaken, one Sabbath morning, in a valley, where they were dividing their plunder. Brown was shot and killed; the others escaped. Others assert that he was wounded, in South Carolina, in one of his plundering tours—he reached a deserted house, where he died. Another account is, that he had

robbed a house, near Morrison's-mill, a few miles West of Statesville; that he emptied a feather-bed, and filled the tick with bed-clothing, wearing apparel, and pewter-ware; and that he was pursued, and shot, while crossing the river. But, before he died, he told of some silver that he had secreted under a rock in Third-creek, just below the mill above-mentioned; and though a small piece of silver money was found in the road, near that spot, after much searching, no deposit has been found in the place indicated.

After the death of her brother, Charity Brown went to the West—whether to some other State, or the western part of this State, does not appear. Before her death, she made some revelations and gave some directions where to find valuables, buried in the vicinity of the cave, between three dog-wood trees, blazed, and facing each other. It is said that in the space of eighteen months, men came from Buncombe and Haywood-counties, to hunt for buried articles by her directions. A large hollow tree, which had been broken off at the top, was blown down by the wind and revealed twelve sets of pewter-ware, it is said.

There was once a pamphlet published, no one knows when, nor by whom, giving an account of the adventures of these singular characters. Only one copy of this has been heard of, in this part of the country. It was owned, and given by his grand-father, about 1844, to a man now living; and who, at that time, carried on the mills at the Shoals, called Ruffty's. Soon after the book came into his possession, a man, by the name of Theodore Perkins, from Morganton, was visiting in the neighborhood, and, hearing of it, begged the loan of it, promising to return it by a certain time, to a certain place, by the stage. But he died soon after, and the book could never be recovered. The man in question, from whose relation, for the most part, these facts have been gathered, is of German descent, named Jacob Heffner; and his father, Michael Heffner, at a very advanced age, is yet living in Caldwell-county.

The son alleges that when he comes near the cave and tries to bring his batteau to land, at the base of the cliff, he hears a fearful noise; proceeding, not from the cave, so far above the water, but from the rock at the bottom.

—Evidences of ancient fortifications have been discovered recently near Elizaville, Fleming-county, Kentucky. They are supposed to have been erected earlier than the Indians. The largest mounds in the Ohio-valley are situated near Maysville. They have never been examined by scientists.

VI.—HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO COUNTY, NEW YORK.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 168.

BY S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

VIII.—THE TOWN AND VILLAGE OF OXFORD

The town of Oxford was originally a part of the township of Fayette; and, in conjunction with an additional tract, known as "The Gore"—in all, about seven thousand acres—was purchased of the State, at one of its earliest sales, in 1789, by Benjamin Hovey and Melancthon Smith, and incorporated, in 1793, as one of the towns of Tioga-county, from parts of Union and Jericho.

In 1791, General Hovey moved into the place and built a log-house, on the present Fort-Hill-square, on the site of the Fort-Hill-house, burned down, in 1839, near the present or late residence of Nelson C. Chapman. The only other residents of the town, were Elijah Blackman and James Phelps. During that and the following years, Henry Balcom and his son, Samuel and Francis Balcom, Eben E. John Bartle, John Church, Theodore Burr, Benjamin Loomis, Jonathan Baldwin, Uri Tracy, Anson Cary, James Padgett, Samuel Miles Hopkins, Benjamin Throop, Major Dan Throop, Jonathan Fitch, John McWhorter, George Hyde, Peter Burget, Nathaniel Locke, and several other settlers made their appearance; a school was organized; an Academy was built on the present Washington-square, near the present or late residence of Joseph Walker, and incorporated by the Legislature, in 1794; and the first town-meeting was held, in the same year, at the house of General Hovey.

Uri Tracy was the first Principal of the Academy, and was succeeded, in 1795, by Elias Mosely. In 1799, a new building was erected near the present or late residence of Frederick A. Sands; but was destroyed by fire, in that or the succeeding year. A third edifice was erected, in 1801, which, in 1805, was removed to the old Academy-lot, nearly opposite the residence of the late Henry Van Der Lyn.

General Hovey procured from the State Legislature, at an early period, after his settlement in Oxford, the construction of a road, known as the "Old State-Road," from the Unadilla-river to Cayuga-lake, and was one of the Representatives of the County in the Legislature and a Judge of the County-court, in 1798. He was a native of Worcester-county, Massachusetts, born in 1757; was an active partisan of the Government, in the suppression of Shay's

rebellion in 1787; and, shortly afterwards, removed to the banks of the Susquehannah, four miles West of Wattle's ferry, afterwards the Unadilla-bridge, where he remained, until November, 1791, when he removed to Oxford, and embarked, with his accustomed energy, in the political contests of the period. He was favorably regarded by Governor George Clinton, Melancthon Smith, General John Lamb, Colonel Willett, and General Thomas, and the republicans of that day, generally. Soon after 1800, he emigrated to Ohio; where, in conjunction with General Wilkinson, Aaron Burr, and others, he entered into the project of constructing a canal at the Falls of the Ohio, opposite Louisville. After several futile attempts to organize a Company for this purpose, and the expenditure of a large portion of his own means, he abandoned the enterprise, and retired, in indigent circumstances, to the shores of Lake Erie, where he died, about the year 1815. The services of Judge Uri Tracy, as the first Sheriff and Clerk of the County; its representative in Congress, for three successive terms; and, subsequently, as First Judge of the County-court and Surrogate, have already been partially adverted to. He was a man of great force of character, unassuming and popular manners, high scientific attainments, and unimpeachable integrity. Judge Cary also filled several County offices, with credit and the public approbation. The two brothers, Balcom, were highly respectable farmers and business-men; resided on a large farm, two miles above the present village of Oxford; and transmitted their energy and capacity to their descendants; among whom we have since been two representatives in the Legislature and one of the most distinguished and respected jurists of the highest State Court—the Hon. Ransom Balcom, now, and for more than ten years past, a Judge of the Supreme-court, for the district of which the County of Chenango forms a part.

Samuel Miles Hopkins was the first lawyer of the infant settlement. He opened an office, within two years after the advent of Judge Hovey, in 1791, and wrote the draft of his first legal document on the head of a barrel, under a roof of poles, and in a rain-storm, from which he was only partially protected by a broad-brimmed hat.

Nathaniel Locke represented the County in the Legislature of 1810, and was an estimable and enterprising citizen.

THE VILLAGE OF OXFORD.—Eight miles north-west of the village of Norwich, was the village of Oxford, bisected, about centrally, by the Chenango-river, and with a population, in 1820, considerably in excess of that of Norwich, although originally settled by Benja-

min Hovey and others, at about the same period. Leaving the southern boundary of Norwich, at Canasawacta-bridge, you passed (in 1823) on the right, the residence and farm of Hezekiah Brown, those of his brother, Joseph Brown, and, on the left, the old Randall farm, originally the property of Avery Power, in 1788, and sold by him to Captain Randall, in 1800; that of Elias Breed, purchased early in the century, of William Smiley; that of Lieutenant James Gilmore; a few other scattered farms and farm-houses; and, at the distance of about four miles from either village, the half-way inn of Aaron Gates. Then, after laboriously toiling up the long, steep, winding, and, frequently, dangerous ascent, known as "Fitch Hill"—the present level road not having yet been constructed, nor even designed—you passed, on your right, the farms of Judge Anson Cary and Henry Balcom, grandfather of the present Judge Ransom Balcom—at whose log-house I remember visiting, in the Winter of 1820, with my grand-parents; and, on the left, the farm of Silas Cole and one or two others, and found yourself at Ethan Clarke's Hotel, in the village of Oxford, on the western side of the river. There were, then, only two other public-houses—one kept by Mr. Samuel Ross, a little South of Clark's (a portion of which was then occupied by the office of the *Oxford Gazette*, edited by Chauncey Morgan) and the other, on the eastern extremity of the village, by Erastus Perkins. Clark's Hotel was situated on the corner of the main street, and another, running West, up a considerable acclivity, on which were the store and residence of General Ransom Rathbun and the dwelling then, or a short time subsequently, of General Peter Sken Smith. A little below the village, were the spacious mansion and grounds of Benjamin Butler, Esqr. Fronting Clark's Hotel was a large public-square, extending to the bridge crossing the river, and flanked, on the North, by residences, among which I only recollect those of E. B. McCall, Civil Engineer, and Doctor George Mowry, a very able and popular physician, quite dwarfish in stature; and, on the South, by shops and stores, including the store of Samuel Farnham and his sons, George and Alexander H. Farnham. Crossing the Bridge, you came upon Fort-Hill-square, with its beautiful Episcopal-church and silver-toned bell, and its venerable and time-honored sexton, Russell. This church was then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Leverett Bush—a perfect model, in appearance, sanctity, dignity, and mental and moral worth, of a Christian Pastor. Mr. Bush was the successor of the Rev. Doctor William B. Lacey. On the West side of the Square were the residence of Simon G. Throop,

then District Attorney, the Lancasterian school-house, and the store of Ira Willcox, with his residence on the opposite side of the Square, on or near the site of the present Academy. Following the main street, East, you passed, on the left, the Presbyterian-church, just completed; the large house occupied, a year subsequently, by Captain James Perkins; and a few smaller dwellings—the South side being chiefly occupied by the spacious grounds of James Clapp, Esq., in rear of his house and office, situated on an angle of the large public square upon which the street there opened. On the West side of this square, and North of the main street, were the houses and offices of John Tracy and Doctor Perez Packer. Henry and William Mygatt, merchants, and Henry Van Der Lyn, Counsellor-at-law, with his brother, Gerardus Van Der Lyn, also occupied residences on the eastern side of the square, or in its immediate vicinity.

From the Episcopal-church, a street ran East, to this latter point, on which stood, on the South, the old Oxford Academy, and, adjoining it, on the West, the residence of its then Principal, David Prentice. At this ancient and excellent institution were, in 1828, or the year preceding, among its students, Charles Oscar Tracy, a son of Uri Tracy, Representative in Congress for several terms, County Clerk and First Judge; ex-Governor Horatio Seymour; Ward Hunt, late Chief-justice of the Court of Appeals and now an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, filling the position of Justice Nelson, retired; William M. Fenton, late Lieutenant-governor of Michigan; Henry R. Mygatt, a distinguished and successful Counsellor-at-law, still, I am happy to say, at the height of his usefulness, and respected and beloved by all—and their name is legion—who know him; H. W. Rogers, Joseph G. Masten, of Western New York, George R. H. Shumway, and many others whose names cannot now be recalled.

When I joined the school, boarding with Mr. Prentice, in 1823, among my fellow-boarders were Nelson B. Hale, James A. Palmer, of Waterville, Oneida-county, Erasmus D. Robinson, son of Tracy Robinson, George Clark, of Otsego, Reuben Tower, of Oneida, and William Whitney, of Binghamton; and in the institution, Edward A. C. Tourtelot, whose mother, a widow, resided nearly opposite, both of whom I again met, in 1824, at Hamilton-college and its vicinity; and two brothers, Everett, from Georgia, fiery young Southerners, liberal in the use of pistol and knives. Horatio Seymour was then known by the sobriquet of "Pompey Seymour," from his father's residence in that town. Ward Hunt and W. M. Fenton had then left—the latter for

Hamilton-college, where I joined him, two years later—both of us having prepared ourselves with the Rev. Edward Andrews, afterwards himself Principal of Oxford Academy, and the predecessor of Professor Merrit G. McKoon.

The village contains, at the present time, about two thousand inhabitants. It was incorporated, in 1808; and has some two hundred dwelling-houses, stores, and shops, six churches, several large hotels, two printing-offices, a flourishing Academy, and several public and private schools.

Among its principal inhabitants, up to 1825, and a few years subsequent, were Uri Tracy, Gerrit H. Van Wagenen, Gershom Hyde, Comfort Sands, Jonathan Baldwin, James Glover, Samuel and Francis Balcom, George Mowry, Jonathan Bush, Josiah Stephens, Nathaniel Locke, Isaac Sherwood, Peter Burgot, Samuel Farnham and his sons, George and Alexander, Gurdon Hewitt, John B. Johnson—Editor of the *Chenango Patriot*, the first newspaper established in the County—Ransom Rathbone, Stephen O. Runyan, William M. Price, James Clapp, Henry Van Der Lyn, John Tracy, Sir G. Throop, Epaphras Miller, Amos A. Franklin, Benjamin Butler, Daniel Shumway, Ira Willcox, Hezekiah Morse, Henry Mygatt, William Mygatt, David Prentice—Principal of the Academy—the Rev. Leverett Bush, the Rev. James Abel, Ethan Clark, Samuel Ross, Erasmus Perkins, James A. Glover, Austin Hyde, Chauncey Morgan—Editor of the *Oxford Gazette*—Gerardus Van Der Lyn, Doctors Perez Packer, Austin Rouse, and William G. Sears and Charles A. Hunt.

John Tracy was a nephew of Uri Tracy, and one of the most distinguished inhabitants of the village. At an early period of his practice as a lawyer, he secured the entire confidence and regard of the community, by his strict honesty and integrity, and was frequently confidentially consulted, by both parties, in a legal controversy. He represented the County, in the Legislatures of 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823; was appointed First Judge and Surrogate, in 1824, and remained in that position, up to 1833; was appointed a Regent of the University; and elected Lieutenant-governor, in 1832, on the ticket with Governor William L. Marcy, a position to which he was twice, subsequently, re-elected and held, until 1839. On the transfer of the Hon. Samuel Nelson to the Bench of the Supreme Court, at about this period, he was offered the vacancy thus created in the Circuit Judgeship of the Sixth District, comprising the County of Chenango, which, however, he declined. On the assembling of the State Constitutional Convention, in 1846, he was elected President of that body; after which he re-

to the uninterrupted enjoyment of domestic life, at his residence, in Oxford, where, surrounded by the happiest domestic ties and that "honor, obedience, and troops of friends," which, the poet informs us, "should accompany age," he remained, until the period of his death, some few years since, at an advanced age.

James Clapp came into the village, in early life, in the Summer of 1808, with his partner, William M. Price; and, being delighted with its rural beauty and quiet air of seclusion, they, at once, opened a law-office in a central situation, confiding in their own energy and ability for success. On the morning succeeding their arrival, they were called upon by Judge Hovey, who was pleased with their enterprising spirit and fearless confidence; encouraged them in their determination; and gave them his own extensive law-business.* Mr. Price continued in Oxford, for a few years only, when he transferred his residence to the city of New York, where he was subsequently appointed United States District Attorney for the Southern District; embarked, in conjunction with the notorious Samuel Swartwout, in hazardous and criminal speculations with the public funds committed to his charge; and was compelled to leave the country. He obtained, while in New York, a high reputation for brilliant talents and forensic abilities. A few years afterwards, in a fit of despondency, he put an end to his existence, by suicide. Mr.

* After their admission to the Bar of the Supreme Court, according to a statement of M. M. Noah, of the New York *National Advocate*, reproduced by Mr. Clark, in his history, "both young adventurers went into the interior of the State, to seek their fortunes, stopping at various villages, which seemed to exhibit an opening. Early one Summer evening, they entered the village of Oxford. The beauty of its position, the neatness of the place, and the substantial air of comfort which presented itself, in every direction, determined them to make that town their residence. Bargaining, therefore, with a milliner for a small but neat building, in the heart of the village, they unloaded their books, chairs, desks, etc.; arranged everything in their new office; and nailed up their sign, on the window, as the shades of night set in. The next morning, at daybreak, seated at the door of their new habitation, they saw approaching a citizen, whose appearance denoted that he was a distinguished person in the village. He was indeed, the largest landowner in Oxford. He stopped; read the sign on the window; looked at the young lawyers; and said: 'Whence came you, Gentlemen? You were not here, when I took my afternoon walk, yesterday.' Being informed by the emigrants, of their views and objects, he observed: 'I like this enterprise; and you shall have my law-business.' The gentleman referred to," says Mr. Clark, "was Judge Benjamin Hovey, one of the earliest and wealthiest settlers of Oxford."

Clapp remained at Oxford. He speedily placed himself at the head of the Chenango Bar; married the daughter of Benjamin Butler, one of the wealthiest citizens of the village; and, by his unremitting industry, diligence, and success in his profession, secured a large practice and a handsome competency.

Henry Van Der Lyn was one of Mr. Clapp's earliest contemporaries and most efficient rivals: a gentleman of finished manners, fine social qualities, and great legal science.

Colonel Simon G. Throop also attained a high standing at the Bar; represented the County in the Legislature of 1817; was appointed District Attorney, in 1821; and became a general favorite in the County, from his admirable social qualities and conceded mental abilities. His residence was on the West side of Fort-Hill-square. Some few years subsequent to 1840, having become reduced in his pecuniary circumstances, he removed to Ohio, where, a year or two since, he celebrated his eightieth birth-day, and received a high judicial appointment in the County of his residence, which he still holds. No man, in his earlier and more prosperous days, was better adapted to "set the tables in a roar," at all festive gatherings, than Colonel Throop; and no man possessed a warmer or a kinder heart, or more genial sympathy with his kind.

Stephen O. Runyan was the earliest lawyer in Oxford, having been admitted to practice, in the Supreme Court, at the Circuit held in that village, in 1804. He obtained a high reputation in his profession; but left the County at an early period.

The firm of Mygatts and Hyde was well known in these early days and until a recent period, as extensive leather and dry-goods dealers, and upright, intelligent, and substantial citizens. Mr. Hyde represented the town, for many years, as Supervisor; was the successor of John Tracy, as Deputy County-clerk, under Uri Tracy; and, in 1823 and 1833, was a member of the State Legislature.

Ransom Rathbun, Ira Willcox, and Samuel Farnham were also eminent merchants of the village: and the former held the office of President of the Bank of Chenango, from 1880 to 1853, and represented the County, in the Legislature of 1831. General Rathbun was a man of gentlemanly and somewhat imposing manners, and, for many years, commanded the County Brigade of Militia. Mr. Farnham was a quiet, unobtrusive, but very worthy man.

Chauncey Morgan was a man of fine talents, possessing considerable influence in political affairs, and generally respected and esteemed.

Doctors Mowry, Packer, Sands, and Rouse were skillful and scientific physicians, enjoying the full confidence of the community. Doctor

Sands afterwards represented the County, in the Legislature of 1846.

Epaphras Miller, Gerrit H. Van Wagenen, and Josiah Stephens were extensive land-owners: Gershom Hyde, Mr. Sands, Jonathan Baldwin, and, subsequently, his son, Rufus F. Baldwin, Jonathan Bush, Daniel Shumway, Isaac Sherwood, the elder Glover and his son, James A. Glover, Amos A. Franklin, and Charles A. Hunt were worthy, estimable, and respected citizens.

Mr. Franklin was, subsequently, in 1829, a representative of the County, in the State Legislature, and, in 1831, was elected Sheriff, and officiated in the execution of George Denison, for murder, in 1833, at Norwich. Judge Sherwood occupied a seat on the Common Pleas Bench, from 1815 to 1820, and resided in the outskirts of the village, on the East side of the river. Benjamin Butler occupied a fine mansion and grounds on the West side, a short distance below the village. Jabez Robinson, afterwards Sheriff of the County, in 1835-38, occupied a farm and mills, a little South of the village, and was a most estimable man and useful citizen.

At about this period, likewise, or some few years earlier, Thomas T. Flagler, now of Lockport, Niagara county, purchased the establishment of the *Chenango Republican*, in connection with William E. Chapman, and remained, for some years, a resident of the village, enjoying a high reputation, as an able, upright, and useful citizen.

Ransom Balcom, James W. Glover, Dwight H. Clark, and William H. Hyde also commenced their professional career, as Attorneys and Counsellors, in Oxford, and subsequently attained a high standard of success and honor; each of them occupying, at different periods, distinguished judicial or professional positions. Henry R. Mygatt, at a somewhat earlier period, entered the same field; and, by a thorough training in the difficult, though attractive, sciences of law and equity, in all their various branches; by unremitting industry, perseverance, accuracy, superior intellectual ability, and unexceptionable and exemplary moral character, speedily found his way to the highest ranks of his profession; and is now, at an advanced age, reaping the ripe fruits of a life, honorably and persistently devoted to the discharge of every duty—social, moral, professional, and public—in the highest regard and esteem of the entire community.

David Prentice succeeded to the Principalship of the Oxford Academy, about the year 1821; and remained in charge of the institution, for several years. He was an excellent man, and thoroughly versed in scholastic lore. Among the pupils of the Academy, in addition to those already named, during his Principalship—many of

them boarders in his own amiable family—were John W. Allen, formerly Member of Congress, and the first Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio; John Clapp, of Binghamton; Daniel H. Marsh, of Oswego; William W. Dean, of New York; Joseph G. Masten, ex-Judge of the Supreme Court, of Buffalo; Henry W. Rogers, of Ann Arbor, Michigan; Henry R. Mygatt, and Charles Oscar Tracy, of Oxford; William M. Patterson, of Greene; Nelson K. Wheeler, of Delaware; Erasmus D. Robinson and William Whitney, of Binghamton; George Clark, of Otsego; Reuben Tower, of Oneida; Nelson B. Hale, of Norwich; and myself. Among the earlier graduates of the institution, were Richard Morris, of Otsego; Richard W. Juliand, of Bainbridge; Samuel Miles Tracy, of Ohio; Charles F. T. Lock, of Oxford; Henry Stephens, of Cortland; Gordon Hewitt, of Owego; Lyman Balcom, of Steuben; and Roswell Judson, ex-First Judge and Surrogate, of Chenango. After the retirement of Mr. Prentice, Daniel H. Marsh occupied the position of Principal, for a brief period, and was succeeded by the Rev. Doctor Edward Andrews, formerly of Norwich, William D. Beattie, and Merritt G. McKoon; when the institution was transferred, in 1854, to its present site, on the East side of Fort-Hill-square, in a new and tasteful building erected for the purpose.

On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of its foundation, and in view of the completion of the new edifice, a jubilee celebration was held at the Academy and Presbyterian-church, on the first and second of August, 1854, by its former and present Teachers, Students, Trustees, and patrons. Addresses were delivered, on the evening of the first, by Henry R. Mygatt and Henry W. Rogers, of Buffalo; a dedicatory Sermon, preached by the Rev. George Richards of Boston, formerly a student in the institution; and an Ode, written by the Rev. Daniel Washburn, sung. On the second, in the large hall in front of the Academy, an Ode, written by Miss Lucy A. Balcom, was sung; a Historical Discourse delivered by William H. Hyde; a Gratulation pronounced by the Hon. Ward Hunt, of Utica, a student of 1822; a Poem read by the Rev. Roswell Park, D. D., President of Racine college, Wisconsin, a student in 1825; another Ode, written by Doctor Washburn, sung, when the exercises at the Academy were closed. A procession was then formed, and marched to the harbor, on Washington-square, where a sumptuous dinner was partaken by nearly five hundred guests. Appropriate addresses and speeches were made by Judge Rogers, who presided, Henry Stephens, of Cortland, a student of 1820, Lieutenant-governor Tracy, Henry Van Der Lin, Esq., the Rev. Doctor Edward Andrews, Secy.

Daniel S. Dickinson, of Binghamton, Judge Charles Mason, of Hamilton. Daniel H. Marsh, of Owego, a student in 1821; William Stuart, Esq., and Edward Tompkins, of Binghamton; the latter of whom read a facetious but well-written poem, descriptive of several of the more prominent graduates of the institution. The exercises were concluded with a brief speech from Merrit G. McKoon, the Principal of the Academy, in response to a complimentary sentiment. Letters expressive of regret for inability to attend, on this festive occasion, were read by Mr. Mygatt, from John L. Newcomb, Esq., of Syracuse; David Prentice, LL. D., of Geneva, former Principal of the Institution; the Hon. John W. Allen, of Ohio; John Clapp, Esq., of Binghamton; the Rev. George R. H. Shumway, of Wayne county; Governor Horatio Seymour, of Utica; and A. R. Corbin and S. S. Randall, of New York, former pupils.

THE UNADILLA HUNT, OR "OXFORD CHASE."—According to a tradition, lovingly commemorated by my two esteemed and valued friends, John Clapp and Henry R. Mygatt, in recent numbers of the Binghamton and Oxford journals, it appears that, in the ancient days of the Chenango and Unadilla valleys, there resided, on the banks of the latter, a renowned and mighty hunter, dark-browed, "grand, gloomy, and "peculiar," extensively known, throughout all the region round about, as Sherman Page, Grand Sachem of Unadilla and the "Oxford Chase." To his wigwam, at the close of the sultry, summer heats, were accustomed to resort, on the sound of "that mighty horn, on Unadilla's "echoes borne," which swept musically and clearly along the green banks of the Chenango, to the broad Mohawk-valley and the Oneida and Otsego-lakes, a trusty band of Sagamores, Chiefs, and Braves, with their prancing steeds, staunch hounds, and faithful rifles, gaily caparisoned for the chase, "over the hills and far away," of deer, foxes, wolves, catamounts, snipe, pheasants, and feathered fowl of every legitimate plumage. Thither came John Cox Morris, tall and straight as an arrow; stout and burly Sam Starkweather, with his stentorian voice of thunder; Henry R. Storrs and Morris S. Miller, the far-famed Oneida Counsellor and Judge; Nicholas Devereux, the great financier of the Mohawk-valley; Levi Beardsley, of Cherry-valley, with his twinkling eye and dry humor; Jo Miller, of Cooperstown, (doubtless the original Jo); James and John Clapp, Ransom Rathbone, Peter Sken Smith, the magnificent, and Simon G. Throop, with his "quips and cranks" and exuberant fun and frolic, from Oxford; Robert Monell, of Greene, with his silvery locks and beaming, gleeful, patriarchal countenance; John C. Clark, the irrepressible; Moses G. Benjamin, of Bain-

bridge; and Henry Ogden, of Unadilla. In the language of the distinguished laureate of the Hunt:

"There was Throop, ready mounted upon a fine
"black;
"And a far fleeter gelding did Starkweather
"back;
"Cox Morris's bay, full of mettle and bone;
"And gay Skenandoah, on a dark sorrel roan;
"But the horse of all horses, that rivalled the
"day,
"Was Clapp's well-fed charger of iron-clad
"gray."

* * * * *

[There was mounting 'mong horsemen of every
clan,
Morris, Miller, and Beardsley—they rode and
they ran,
There was racing and chasing, behind and be-
fore—
"THEY'LL HAVE FLEET STEEDS THAT FOLLOW,"
QUOTH YOUNG SKENANDOAH.]

* * * * *

"Forty stags were brought down, at forty rods
"fall;
"Forty bucks were made venison, by long shot
"and ball;
"Forty saddles now smoke on the plentiful
"board;
"Forty corks are now drawn from old Bacchus's
"hoard;
"Forty sportsmen clubbed wits, every man in
"his place;
"Forty stories were told of the grand OXFORD
"CHASE."

Still extant, preserved in vellum, are the official reports of Grand Sachem Page, Interpreter Ogden, "Medicine Man" Colwell, Sagamores Pooler and Field, and Ranger Carley, certifying to the astounding and almost incredible feat of prowess of that aspiring young brave, John Clapp, in slaying, on the eighteenth of November, Anno Domini, 1822, at the distance of fifteen rods, "on the full jump," with a "smooth "bore" charged with a ball and three buck-shot, a "large doe." Whereupon, in assembled wigwam, in commemoration of this "deed of "dering-do" and the "sportsmanlike conduct" of the youthful warrior, on the war-path, it was decreed that he, thenceforth and forever, rank with the Chiefs of the Tribe; be girt with wampum, tomahawk, and scalping-knife; and admitted to the Councils of the Braves.

Scarcely more apocryphal in the tradition of the Tribe was the adventure of Sagamore Throop, in the bringing down, "with his unerring rifle," of a "buck of ten," who, driven by the merciless hounds, to the river, vainly sought refuge on an island, at an incredible distance from the

shore. The huntsmen, amazed and dumbfounded,
 "Looked up and down for a passage of dry
 "land
 "When they found that the chase had fled to an
 "ISLAND.*
 "Then he LOOKED AT THE DOGS, AND THE DOGS
 "LOOKED AT HIM.
 "'Twas too rapid and broad for e'en DIVER to
 "swim;
 "And so they resolved, as they could not get
 "nigh him,
 "Though 'twas too far to shoot, 'Twasn't too
 "FAR TO TRY HIM."

Promptly responding to this most sage and incontrovertible decision of the impromptu Council of Chiefs, Sagamores, and Braves, the gallant Throop, "rearing himself thereat," sprung forward, exclaiming in the words of the intrepid Miller, at Lundy's-lane, "I'LL TRY, SIR;" quickly levelled his "unerring rifle;" and, in one momentous second, *the stately buck was not!*

Such was the Simon G. Throop of two and fifty years ago. After many and various mutations of fortune, with unbroken health and spirits, and inexhaustible wit and humor, he now, at the ripe age of eighty-two, sits on the Bench of one of the Courts of Pennsylvania, as an Associate Judge, bearing the burden of his four-score years, bravely and unweariedly, and dispensing justice with equal and exact scales. Long may he continue to grace the ermine he has so fairly and nobly won. Long may it be ere his mirth-provoking countenance and exuberant glee shall cease to "set the table in a roar;" and long may he celebrate the annual festivity of his birth, surrounded by warm-hearted friends, and greeted from afar by the staunch surviving comrades of his early days! The snows of many Winters have long since whitened the heads of the youngest of their number; each succeeding year, the mournful knell—"adieu!"—"ad plures"—sounds heavily on our ears; and, in the course of nature, soon, very soon, will they, in their turn, pass to "that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns."

"The fashion of this world passeth,
 "Passeth swiftly away!
 "We weary to sleep in the darkness,
 "To wake no more to the sun!
 "For good or for ill, 'It is finished,'
 "We die—but 'THY WILL BE DONE!'"

Judge Page, then in his seventy-second year, gave a vivid and spirited description of these

rural sports, in a letter to his friend, Levi Beardsley, in 1852: "These were times that enlarged
 "and enlivened men's souls. Imagine yourself
 "on the high bank at Pomp's Eddy—the sun
 "just rising over Burnt-hill—Round-top at the
 "South, Poplar-hill at the North, the famous
 "eel-weir above, and the cave-bank below you.
 "A hound breaks forth, on Poplar hill; another,
 "er, and still another, on Burnt-hill and Round-
 "top. By this time, twenty are in bearing.
 "You know not where the deer may come.
 "You hear a rifle at the cave-bank; and now,
 "another at the eel-weir, and, perhaps, at the
 "hay-stacks. Crack! crack! crack! and still
 "the music of the dogs growing louder and
 "more shrill, as they approach. All is expectation and excitement. You are flurried. At
 "this moment, a large buck, with antlers erect,
 "is seen on the opposite side, making his way
 "directly to you. Your rifle is well-loaded,
 "and you have examined your priming, to see
 "that all is right. You are certain of a shot,
 "and a moment more you have him. Pop goes
 "a smooth-bore; and Spikerman, the poacher,
 "has killed him! You are angry, and wish
 "John Carley was there, to lick the rascal.
 "Your agitation and excitement cease; you
 "despair of killing anything; but don't be discouraged,
 "for another deer will soon be along;
 "and, as for Carley, he will certainly flog the
 "poacher, when he meets him. The dogs are
 "still in full cry, in every direction, and your
 "morning's sport has just commenced. Keep
 "your place, for another deer will be here; and
 "so it turns out. You have killed him; and
 "Carley has found and licked Spikerman, and
 "got away his buck—but has finally restored it
 "at your request, after the flogging—for you
 "and your friends have enough; and you have
 "given the poaching rascal a drink from that
 "choice bottle slung under your arm, and thus
 "secured his friendship, just as you did with
 "Captain Adarine Carley and uncle Sperry."

These sports generally lasted four or five days, the evenings of which were devoted to hilarious merriment, interspersed with jovial songs of which Throop and Smith seem to have been the life. "I have seen," says Judge Beardsley, "nineteen fat bucks and does lying side by side, in the ball-room of our hotel, in Lund-la. The glorious scenes of the chase, the music of the dogs, and the excitement of the sportsmen, are indelibly impressed on my memory."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

* Note the startling fact implied, though not clearly expressed, that no "NO PASSAGE OF DRY LAND WAS FOUND, after diligent search to the ISLAND,"

VII.—APPOMATTOX.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE SURRENDER.*

[From the *Richmond Dispatch*.]

I.

APRIL 9th, 1878.—I have just returned from an exceedingly pleasant visit to Appomattox Court-house. The intelligent Clerk and Sheriff of the County and other gentlemen of the village and neighborhood were very courteous and obliging in pointing out the historic localities; and I found a sad interest in seeing the road by which Sheridan moved on Appomattox-station, the ground on which Gordon whipped Sheridan, in the last battle of the Army of Northern Virginia, Grant's Headquarters, Lee's Headquarters, the very spot on which Lee and Grant first met, the room in which the terms of capitulation were drawn up and signed, the ground on which the Confederate arms were stacked, the place where General Lee took leave of his officers, and other points of interest.

As so many errors have crept into the popular accounts of the surrender, and as I have General Lee's own account, which he gave a company of his friends, a few days before his fatal illness, and which has never been published, I have concluded that, on this anniversary of the "sad ninth of April, 1865," it would be grateful to my own feelings and acceptable to the public, that I should give the true story of Appomattox Court-house.

I will not go back to detail how General Lee's thin line was broken on the second of April, 1865, and he, thereby, compelled, under every disadvantage, to evacuate Richmond and Petersburg and seek the junction with Johnston, which he had determined on and actually begun to accomplish, six weeks before. Nor need I tell of his cruel disappointment, in finding, at Amelia Court-house, that his positive orders had been disregarded, and the rations intended for his famished army sent to Richmond, to be destroyed, while the trains were loaded with *consignments to Sherman*. I will not sketch the events of the "running fight," from Amelia Springs to Appomattox. Suffice it to say, that Grant had been enabled—by having the shorter route; by the delay of General Lee, on account of the swollen condition of the streams; and by the

necessary halt at Amelia Court-house—to throw his immense army on the flank and rear of his antagonist; to cut off our line of retreat to Danville; and to be in position to continually harass our jaded, starving troops. The broken-down mules and horses were unable to drag the wagons (even lightly-loaded) and the artillery along the miry roads. Sheridan's splendidly mounted and equipped Cavalry were able to make most advantageous forays upon the trains; and, often, Lee was obliged to halt for hours and fight eight or ten times his numbers upon most disadvantageous grounds, until the jaded teams could pull the trains out of the mud. In all of these contests, the Army of Northern Virginia maintained its old prestige—the men fought with heroic courage, and won some brilliant victories. But the constant marching and fighting, without rations or sleep, steadily and surely decimated the thin ranks of this noble band. Men who had been true to their colors, from the early days of the war, fell out of the ranks and were captured, simply because it was beyond their power of physical endurance to go any further; many who had been hitherto good soldiers straggled; the devoted and strong found great difficulty in preserving organization and efficiency; and, as the retreat rolled on, by the light of burning wagons and to the music of hoarse artillery, mingling with the rattle of small-arms, the Corps Commanders saw that the days of that grand old Army were numbered.

Accordingly, on Thursday night, the sixth of April, they held a conference, at which they commissioned General W. N. Pendleton, Chief of the Artillery, to inform General Lee that, in their judgment, the time had come when negotiations should be opened with General Grant.

General Pendleton thus describes the interview: "General Lee was lying on the ground. 'No other heard the conversation between him and myself. He received my communication 'with the reply, 'Gracious heavens! I trust it 'has not come to that.' And added, 'General! we have yet too many bold men to think 'of laying down our arms. The enemy do 'not fight with spirit, while our boys still do. 'Besides, if I were to say a word to the Federal Commander, he would regard it as such 'a confession of weakness as to make it the occasion of demanding unconditional surrender '—a proposal to which I will never listen. 'I have resolved to die first; and that if it 'comes to that, we shall force through or all 'fall in our places. * * * General! this is 'no new question with me. I have never believed we could, against the gigantic combination for subjection, make good, in the long-run, our independence, unless foreign Powers should directly or indirectly assist us.

* These papers, written by Chaplain J. William Jones, of the Confederate States' Army, now, we believe a leading Baptist clergyman of Virginia, was sent to us by General Jubal A. Early, with assurances of its entire accuracy.

There are some violent expressions in it which we cannot approve; but we have not felt at liberty to mutilate the papers, and present them "as they were."—EDITOR.

“ ‘This, I was sure, it was their interest and
 “ ‘duty to do; and I hoped they would so
 “ ‘regard it. But such considerations really
 “ ‘made with me no difference. We had, I was
 “ ‘satisfied, sacred principles to maintain and
 “ ‘rights to defend, for which we were in duty
 “ ‘bound to do our best, ever if we perished in
 “ ‘the endeavor!’ ”

These were, as nearly as I can recollect them, the exact words of General Lee, on that most critical occasion. What his conscience dictated and his judgment decided, there his heart was.

General Lee did not think proper to comply, at once, with the suggestions of his Corps Commanders; but when, on the night of the next day, the seventh, he received from General Grant a demand for the surrender of his army, he opened the correspondence, too familiar to need repetition, here, which culminated in the final terms of surrender. But, in the meantime, General Lee was pressing on towards Lynchburg; and, on the evening of the eighth, his vanguard reached Appomattox-station, where rations for the army had been ordered to be sent from Lynchburg. Four loaded trains were in sight, and the famished army about to be supplied, when the head of Sheridan's column dashed upon the scene, captured the provisions, and drove the vanguard back to Appomattox Court-house, four miles off. Sheridan's impetuous troops met a sudden and bloody check in the streets of the village, the Colonel commanding the advance being killed. That morning, General Lee had divided the remnant of his army into two wings, under Gordon and Longstreet—Gordon having the advance, and Longstreet the rear. Upon the repulse of the Cavalry, Gordon's Corps advanced through the village and spent another night of sleepless vigilance and anxiety; while Longstreet, four miles in rear, had to entrench against the Army of the Potomac, under Meade. I gazed, the other day, with mournful interest on the last trenches ever dug by Lee's veterans. That night, General Lee held a Council of War with Longstreet, Gordon, and Fitz Lee, at which it was determined that Gordon should advance, early the next morning, to “feel” the enemy in his front; that if there was nothing but Cavalry, he should press on, followed by Longstreet; but that if Grant's Infantry had gotten up in too large a force to be driven, he should halt and notify General Lee, that a flag of truce might be raised and the useless sacrifice of life stopped.

Accordingly, on the morning of the memorable ninth of April, Gordon and Fitz Lee attacked Sheridan's splendid Cavalry, outnumbering them, more than two to one, and flushed with the full confidence of victory and the assurance that if they needed support the “Army of the

“James” was close at hand. Yet, despite these odds and the exhaustion of these famishing men, they went into that fight with the heroic courage which ever characterized that old Corps, and proved themselves not unworthy of Stonewall Jackson, Ewell, Early, Gordon, Rodes, Ramseur, Pegram, J. A. Walker, C. A. Evans, and other noble leaders whom they had been wont to follow to victory. Utterly unable to withstand the onset, Sheridan hastened, in person, to hurry up the “Army of the James,” while Gordon drove his “invincible troopers” more than a mile and captured and brought off two pieces of artillery and a large number of prisoners. Had only Sheridan barred the way, the surrender had not occurred at Appomattox Court-house; but Gordon only drove back the Cavalry, to find himself confronted by the “Army of the James,” and the road blockaded by ten times his numbers.

What immediately followed is best told in the eloquent words of Colonel C. S. Venable, in his speech at the great Lee Memorial-meeting, in Richmond, on the third of November, 1870:

“At three o'clock on the morning of that fatal day, General Lee rode forward, still hoping that we might break through the countless hordes of the enemy which hemmed us in. Halting, a short distance in the rear of our vanguard, he sent me on to General Gordon to ask him if he could break through the enemy. I found General Gordon and General Fitz Lee on their front line, in the dim light of the morning, arranging an attack. Gordon's reply to the message (I give the expressive phrase of the gallant Georgian) was this: ‘Tell General Lee I have fought my Corps to frazzle, and I fear I can do nothing unless I am heavily supported by Longstreet's Corps.’ When I bore this message back to General Lee, he said: ‘Then there is nothing left me but to go and see General Grant; and I would rather die a thousand deaths.’ Convulsed with passionate grief, many were the wild words which we spoke, as we stood around him. Said one: ‘Oh! General, what will history say of the surrender of the army in the end?’ He replied: ‘Yes; I know they will say hard things of us: they will not understand how we were overwhelmed by numbers: but that is not the question, Colonel—the question is, *Is it right to surrender this army?* If it is right, then I will take all responsibility.’ Fellow soldiers! though he alone was calm in that hour of humiliation, the soul of our great Captain underwent the throes of death for his grand old army surrendered, and for his people, so soon to lie at the mercy of the foe, and the sorrows of this first death, at Appomattox Court-house, with the afflictions which fell upon the devoted South, weighed upon him.”

"mighty heart, to its breaking, when the welcome messenger came from God to translate him to his home in heaven."

But this letter is long enough, and I must reserve for another, General Lee's own account of his meeting with General Grant, and other incidents of the surrender.

II.

"The situation," at Appomattox, on the ninth of April, 1865, when General Lee sent a flag of truce to ask an interview with General Grant, was simply this: There were only seventy-five hundred jaded, famished Confederates, with arms in their hands, nearly surrounded by *eighty thousand* Federal soldiers, already in position, with reinforcements constantly arriving. Gordon fell back, through the village, and moved to meet an attack of Sheridan, on the flank; while General Chamberlayne led the advance Corps of the "Army of the James" into the Court-house. A Battery of the Richmond Howitzers, which had been engaged at Big Bethel, in 1861, stationed in the yard of Mr. Peer, on the extreme Northeast corner of the village, fired the last gun of the day, and withdrew as the blue waves were encircling it. The Federal picket-line was advanced beyond the village; and that little band of heroic spirits seemed about to be immolated, when, suddenly, the white flag was displayed, and the firing ceased.

There have been published so many sensational reports of the meeting between the two Commanders, that I am glad to be able to refute them by giving General Lee's own account of what occurred, as he gave it to some friends, at his house, in Lexington, but a few days before his last illness. He said that he had for duty, that morning, not eight thousand men; and that, when he learned from Gordon, that there was a heavy Infantry force in his front, he decided to see General Grant and ascertain the terms upon which he could end the contest. But, before going to meet him, he left orders with Longstreet and Gordon to hold their commands in readiness, determined, as he was, to cut his way through or perish in the attempt, if such terms were not granted as he thought his army entitled to demand. He met General Grant between the picket-lines, in the open field, about two hundred yards below Appomattox Court-house.

"You met under an apple-tree, did you not, General?" asked a gentleman present. "No, Sir!" was the reply; "We did not meet under an apple-tree; and I saw no tree near. It was in an open field, not far from the main road." This explodes the "historic apple-tree," about which so much has been said. A gentleman who was within a few feet of the two Generals, when they met, pointed out to me the exact spot. The

apple-tree, which was cut to pieces, and even the roots of which were dug up and carried off, by relic-hunters, was fully a quarter of a mile from the place of meeting; and the only historic interest that could be attached to it was that General Lee rested under its shade, a few minutes, while waiting for the return of his flag of truce. The only tree anywhere near the place of meeting was a small locust thorn, which is still standing, about twenty yards from the spot.

General Lee said that when he met General Grant, they exchanged polite salutations, and he stated to him, at once, that he desired a conference, in reference to the subject matter of their correspondence. "General Grant returned your sword, did he not, General?" one of the company asked. The old hero, straightening himself up, replied, in most emphatic tones: "No, Sir! he did not. He had no opportunity of doing so. I was determined that the side-arms of officers should be exempt, by the terms of surrender, and, of course, I did not offer him mine. All that was said about swords was that General Grant apologized to me for not wearing his own sword, saying that it had gone off in his baggage, and he had been unable to get it in time." This spoils a great deal of rhetoric about "Grant's magnanimity in returning Lee's sword," and renders as absurd as it is false, the attempt of northern artists to put the scene on canvass or into statuary. Even Grant's connivance at this so-called "historic scene" will not save it, when the world knows that R. E. Lee said that *nothing of the sort occurred*. General Lee stated, in this conversation, that he was accompanied, when he met Grant, only by Colonel Charles Marshall, of his personal Staff, who went with one of General Grant's Staff to find a suitable room in which to hold the conference; that they were first shown to a vacant house, and declining to use that, were conducted, by Major McClean, to his house, and shown into his parlor. General Grant was accompanied by several of his Staff-officers; and several of his Generals (among them Sheridan and Ord) entered the room and participated in the slight general conversation that occurred. The two Generals went aside and sat at a table, to confer together, when General Lee opened the conversation by saying: "General! I deem it due to proper candor and frankness to say, at the very beginning of this interview, that I am not willing even to discuss any terms of surrender inconsistent with the honor of my army, which I am determined to maintain to the last." Grant replied: "I have no idea of proposing dishonorable terms, General; but I would be glad if you would state what you consider honorable terms." General Lee then briefly stated the terms upon which he would be willing

to surrender. Grant expressed himself as satisfied with them; and Lee requested that he would formally reduce the propositions to writing. Grant at once did so, with a common lead-pencil, and handed the paper to Lee, who read it carefully and without comment, except to say that most of the horses were the private property of the men riding them. General Grant replied that such horses would be exempt from surrender; and the paper was then handed to Colonel Badeau, Grant's Secretary, and copies in ink made by him and Colonel Marshall. While this was being done, there were inquiries after the health of mutual acquaintances; but nothing bearing on the surrender, except that General Lee said that he had on his hands some two or three thousand prisoners, for whom he had no rations. Sheridan at once said: "I have rations for twenty-five thousand men."

General Grant having signed his note, General Lee conferred with Colonel Marshall, who wrote his brief note of acceptance of the terms of surrender offered—General Lee striking out the sentence "I have the honor to reply to your communication," and substituting "I have received your letter of this date."

This terminated the interview; and General Lee rode back to his Headquarters, which were three-quarters of a mile Northeast of the Court-house.

I have thus given the substance, and for the most part the exact language, of General Lee's own account of the surrender. It will appear, from this, that a great deal that has been said about "Grant's magnanimity" in proposing terms of surrender; and Lee's "warm thanks for the liberal terms accorded," originated simply in the imagination of the writers. The truth is, Grant proposed the only terms which Lee would have accepted; and he knew too well the mettle of that great Captain and the heroic remnant of the army which had so often defeated him not to rejoice at an opportunity of covering himself with glory by accepting almost any terms of surrender.

I have gathered a number of incidents of the surrender which interested me and may be of interest to your readers. Soon after General Lee left the McClean-house, owned by the same gentleman at whose house, near Bull Run, Beauregard had his Headquarters, during the battle of the eighteenth of July, 1861, Sheridan stalked in and said, rudely, "I mean to have this chair"—taking up one of the chairs in which the Generals had signed the terms of capitulation, and exhibiting, at the same time, a two-and-a-half dollar gold-piece. Major McClean replied, "That chair is not for sale, General. If you choose to take it, you have the physical power to do so." "I mean to have it," was the curt rejoinder; and the "great Barn-burner" gave

another proof of his skill in petit larceny. The table and other chairs were, in like manner, carried off by Federal officers, as *souvenirs*.

As soon as the flag of truce was hoisted on Gordon's lines, the offensive General Custar—"Miss Fanny"—came riding furiously in to General Gordon, demanding, in his own name, "unconditional surrender." Gordon drew himself up to his full height, and, with crushing dignity, replied: "I can have no negotiations with you, Sir; and if the settlement of this matter rested between us there could be no negotiations but by the sword."

As showing the spirit of the men who participated in the brilliant action, that morning, it may be mentioned that many of them crowded around the bearer of one of the flags of truce—a widely-known and loved Chaplain, who, since the capture of his Regiment, at Spotsylvania Court-house, had served with great gallantry on General Gordon's Staff—and eagerly asked if the enemy had sent in to surrender their force on that road, thinking that, in flanking us, Grant had pushed a part of his force too far. They had no dream that *they* were to be surrendered. But, gradually, the truth broke upon them; and great was their chagrin when these high-mettled victors in the last battle of the Army of Northern Virginia, learned that they must "yield to overwhelming numbers and resources;" that, after all their marches, battles, victories, hardships, and sufferings, the cause they loved better than life itself must succumb to brute force. Many bosoms heaved with emotion, and

"Something on the soldier's cheeks

"Washed off the stain of powder."

After the flag of truce was raised, a Federal scout was shot, through mistake, by his own men, when trying to stop the firing; and a New York Major, under the influence of liquor, met his death by galloping up to a Confederate Battery and demanding its surrender.

The women and children of Appomattox Court-house had all left their homes, during the battle of the morning; and, upon their return, had to pass through Custar's Cavalry. "Miss Fanny" himself was very rude to them, and permitted his men to hiss them, as they passed.

Per contra, it affords me pleasure to say that many of the Federal officers and men were very courteous and considerate. The citizens of the village speak in especially high terms of General Chamberlayne, since Governor of Maine, who was delicately considerate of the feelings of the people, gentlemanly in his bearing, and generous towards the vanquished.

When the arms were being stacked, a gallant Color-bearer, as he delivered up the tattered remnant of his flag, burst into tears and said to the Federal soldiers who received it: "Boys, this

is not the first time you have seen that flag. I have borne it in the very fore front of the battle, on many a victorious field; and I had rather die than surrender it now." "Brave fellow," said General Chamberlayne, who heard the remark, "I admire your noble spirit, and only regret that I have not the authority to bid you keep your flag and carry it home, as a precious heirloom."

The calm dignity of General Lee, amid these trying scenes, the deep emotion with which the men heard his noble farewell address, and crowded around to shake his hand—how they were thrilled by his simple words, "Men, we have fought through the war together. I have done my best for you. My heart is too full to say more." Gordon's noble farewell speech—the tender parting of comrades who had been bound so closely together, by common hardships, sufferings, dangers, and victories, and now, by his sad blighting of cherished hopes, were all vividly recalled, as I gazed on the very spots where they occurred, but are too familiar to be detailed now.

I was amused to learn that the Federal soldiers and tourists not only carried off all the "historic apple-tree," but a whole apple-orchard as well; and was reminded of hearing of a gallant Richmond soldier who sold to northern visitors, after his return home, wagon loads of the "Appomattox apple-tree," which he regularly gathered from a Henrico orchard.

I noted, with pleasure, that the noble women of Appomattox have gathered the Confederate dead into a neatly-kept Cemetery, on the road to Appomattox-station, not far from the grove in which Grant established his Headquarters.

I cannot close this sketch without quoting the language of that splendid soldier and unconquerable patriot, General J. A. Early, in his noble Oration on General Lee: "Finally, from mere exhaustion, *less than eight thousand* men, with arms in their hands, of the noblest army that ever fought 'in all the tide of time,' were surrendered, at Appomattox, to an army of *one hundred and fifty thousand men*; the sword of Robert E. Lee, without a blemish upon it, was sheathed forever; and the flag to which he had added such lustre was furled, to be henceforth embalmed in the affectionate remembrance of those who had remained faithful during all our trials, and will do so to the end." I have never been a "relic-hunter"—I prize the blanket under which I slept, the night of the great battle of Manassas—but I plucked some thorns from the tree near which Lee met Grant, which I propose to weave into a wreath of evergreen and immortelles, taken from General Lee's grave, the day we laid him in the vault, at Lexington, and to encircle them with the motto:

"The thorns of Appomattox covered with the
"immortelles and evergreen of Lee's last great
"victory."
VIATOR.

VIII.—GENERAL ELEAZER W. RIPLEY.*

I.

[From *The Louisianian*, Volume II., Number xxvi., Clinton, Louisiana, March 4, 1839.]

It becomes our melancholy duty to announce the decease, at his plantation, in this Parish, on the second of this month, of General Eleazer W. Ripley, after a life, adorned by private virtues, and associated with some of the most distinguished events recorded in the national history. The patriot, the statesman, the hero is no more; but his memory is embalmed in the affections of his countrymen, and will be cherished as identified with the national character, and consecrated by the noblest impulses of patriotism.

General Ripley was born at Hanover, in the State of New Hampshire, in the year 1782. His father, the Rev. Sylvanus Ripley, was Professor of Divinity in Dartmouth-college; and his maternal grandfather, the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, was the founder of that venerable and useful institution, and was alike eminent as a divine and philanthropist. Professor Ripley was accidentally killed in early life, leaving a large family to the care of his afflicted widow, who applied herself to the education of her children with a mother's ardent affection, aided by a mind highly cultivated and improved. At the age of eighteen, General Ripley received from Dartmouth-college, at the time of his graduation, the highest honors of the institution, and immediately commenced the study of the law, and subsequently entered upon the active duties of his profession, in Waterville, at that period within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In the year 1807, he was returned as a member of the Legislature of that State; and, in the year 1811, was elected to preside over the deliberations of the House of Representatives, upon the Speaker's chair becoming vacated by the appointment of the Hon. Joseph Story to a seat upon the Bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. Having removed his place of residence to Portland, he was elected, in 1812, to represent the conjoined Counties of Cumberland and Oxford, in the State Senate. The difficulties which existed between this country and Great Britain

* These sketches of the life and services of General Ripley were sent to me, several years since, by his daughter. The first is from the pen of Judge Nicholas Baylis subsequently a well-known citizen of Iowa; the last from that of Rev. A. D. Wooldridge, of New Orleans, a devoted friend of the General, and, for several years, a member of his family.—EDITOR.

having finally produced an open rupture, he received, in March, 1812, an appointment in the Army of the United States; but, prior to entering upon its duties, he took his seat, for a limited time, in the Legislature and exerted great influence in effecting an adjustment of the difficulties that existed, at that period, in relation to the monied institutions of the State. To delineate the conspicuous part which he performed during the war, would require us to write the history of the Campaigns upon the northern frontier, and to enter into particulars which would become too prolix for the space to which we are necessarily limited. They are embodied in the history of our own country; and after ages will offer up the tribute of admiration and gratitude to the memory of his name, whose military genius conceived, and whose personal efforts contributed so much to the success of that brilliant and daring achievement, which rendered the Battle of Niagara so glorious to the American arms, and crowned the brave soldiers engaged in it with imperishable fame. The most gratifying tokens of esteem were tendered to him; and, upon the reduction of the army at the return of peace, he was retained in the service, with the rank of Major-general, and was actively employed, in addition to his other duties, in planning and superintending the construction of the numerous fortifications upon our south-western frontier.

He subsequently resigned his commission, and resumed the practice of his profession, in the State of Louisiana, with distinguished success. He was afterwards elected to represent this and the adjoining Parish, in the State Senate; and, in 1834 and 1836, was returned as a member of Congress from the third Congressional District of this State; but ill health precluded his being a candidate for re-election, at the recent canvass; and, at last, with his feelings deeply lacerated by the harassing and protracted controversy attending the attempt at an adjustment of his military accounts, and upon which a most triumphant verdict was rendered, in his favor, by a jury of his country, with his health in its enfeebled state, receiving an additional shock by the brutal murder of his gallant and only son, under the unfortunate Fanning, his naturally iron constitution, impaired by the wounds received in the service of his country, has surrendered up the noble spirit by which it was animated; and the still breeze of heaven whispers over the grave of the lamented patriot and soldier. He is gone; and while his bereaved widow mourns over the departure of a kind and affectionate husband; while his daughter grieves at the loss of a tender and beloved father; and while kindred and society lament the decease of one who was open to the warmest sympathies of our nature, patriotism will shed the tear of sor-

row over the urn of her champion, and the memory of the gallant and beloved Ripley will endure as long as the brightest pages of American history and the recollection of the honors due and awarded to the brave.

II.

[From *The Feliciana Republican and Louisiana Literary Messenger*, Volume I., Number 4, Jackson, Louisiana, Saturday, March 9, 1839.]

Departed this life, at his residence, in this Parish, on the second of March, General Eleazer W. Ripley, member of Congress from Louisiana, for the second Congressional District, aged fifty-seven years.

The subject of this notice was born at Hanover, New Hampshire, the seat of Dartmouth college. He was a grandson of the venerable Doctor Eleazer Wheelock, the founder and early patron of that institution. His father was Rev. Sylvanus Ripley, graduate of the first Class and first Professor of Divinity in the College. His father having died while he was very young, his education devolved entirely upon an intelligent and pious mother. She afforded him the advantages of a classical education, which he improved so faithfully as to obtain, at the age of eighteen years, the first honors of the College of his native place. Having completed his academic studies, he entered upon the study of Law, and, shortly afterwards, commenced the practice in the County of Kennebunk, District of Maine, State of Massachusetts. Having distinguished himself very much at the Bar, for so young a man, he was, as soon as eligible, elected a member of the Legislature of his native State. In January, 1812, he was elected Speaker of the Legislature of Massachusetts, being yet scarcely thirty years of age. Having removed to Portland, he was chosen a Senator for Cumberland and Oxford, and, accordingly, took his seat in the Senate. Soon after this, influenced by that ardor for military glory which is so distinguishing a trait in the cultivated young men of the United States, he resigned his civil post and received a commission in the Army. During the war which, shortly after this, commenced between this country and Great Britain, he acted in conjunction with that portion of our army stationed upon the frontiers of New York and in the lower part of Canada. At the attack upon York, Upper Canada, in April, 1813, he "fleshed his mailed sword." After this, "his blushing cheek thickened fast upon him." He was entrusted with several important commissions, by his superior officers, which he executed with promptness, vigor, and bravery. At William-burg and other places, he acted a conspicuous part. It was at the dreadful Battle of Niagara, as it is commonly called, of Lundy's-lane.

General Ripley acquired his most imperishable renown. During the part of that celebrated battle which occurred early in the night, his men fought with a determination and bravery worthy the American name. They succeeded in routing the British and gaining possession of their artillery; but, after a dreadful conflict, in which many lives were lost on both sides, Ripley received a peremptory order from General Brown to retreat, which he obeyed, notwithstanding the mortification he felt in giving up an advantage which he had gained at the expense of the lives of many of his gallant comrades. It was during the siege of Fort Erie, soon after the Battle ofundy's-lane, that General Ripley received a severe wound upon the back part of his neck, which caused him much poignant suffering, for years, and is supposed to have contributed, ultimately, to his death.

The gallant services of General Ripley were highly appreciated by many of his countrymen. The Legislature of New York voted him a beautiful sword, ornamented with a view of his great battle, as a testimonial of her gratitude for his defence of our common country. The Legislature of Georgia gave him a vote of thanks; and, in many of the new States, the same spirit has been evinced by giving his name to a number of flourishing villages and towns. After the war, he was continued upon the peace establishment, and was stationed at Mobile and Pensacola. Finally, having found it necessary to retire from military life, for which he had a passionate attachment, he settled in New Orleans, in the practice of his early profession. Having subsequently moved to this part of the State, he was, in 1834, elected a member to Congress, of which body he was a member at the time of his death. Believing, as we do, that a man's best eulogy consists in a proper appreciation of his acts, and that the most grateful memorial in the affections of his countrymen, we have not dealt in commonplace remarks with regard to that dispensation of Providence which has added another of our heroes and defenders to the illustrious dead. We have succinctly enumerated a portion of those facts upon which memory may dwell and around which affection may entwine. We cannot, however, dismiss the subject without a few reflections upon the character and services of the deceased. As a military man, General Ripley's character stands without any well-sustained stigma. As evidence of this, after the war, a Major-general's commission was given him by the Secretary of War, according to the direction of the President of the United States, bearing date previous to the Battle of Niagara-falls, at which time he was himself bound to disobey a command of his superior officer, in a matter upon which our laws do not permit us to dwell; and in the fact

that a golden medal—which had long been withheld, on account of some difficulties between him and the Government; and which a cause of sore grief and injury to him—was presented to him, by Congress, at its last Session, as a memorial of gratitude and an evidence of their confidence and respect. As a politician, he was a firm and unbending supporter of those views of our Constitution and Laws which he considered best adapted to promote the permanency and utility of our institutions. From the commencement of his career, in Massachusetts, to its end, in Louisiana, he was a zealous supporter of the principles of the Democratic party. As a man, he was free from those vices which, unfortunately, too often are acquired in the giddy whirl of public life. Although not professedly a religious man, he ever sustained an untarnished moral character. As we stood by his last place of rest, upon a retired farm, far from the scenes of his youth and the fields of his glory, and listened to the solemn strains of martial music, the loud rattle of the soldier's "farewell shot," and the more subdued sound of the "clods of the valley," as they fell in sad succession upon the coffin of one whose voice had once been heard in our national councils, and whose manly form had once braved the battle-storm, we could but reflect, with overpowering sensations, upon the frailty of man, the evanescent character of human joys, projects, and desires, and the certainty of that last journey from "whose bourne no traveller returns."

IX.—LONG ISLAND POLITICS, IN 1798.

[The following lines, copied from an old manuscript, will show the political spirit which existed in our good old County of Queens, in days gone by.

The writer of them was Doctor Samuel L. Mitchell, of Manhasset. He put to it the name of his opponent, Harry Peters, of Hempstead, who afterwards removed to New York City.

GLEN COVE, L. I.

J. T. BOWNE.]

POETICAL EPISTLE TO ELECTORS OF REPRESENTATIVES.

CIRCULAR.

Throughout the land Dear Sir it is said,
That Jemmy T—us—d's * surely dead:
A man whom much the people loved
Is from this wicked world removed;
Has landed on that unknown shore,
Whence mortals can return no more;
And changed his seat in Congress, here,
For one among the Spirits there.

* Doctor James Townsend, of Jericho, was elected to Congress; but died of a mysterious sickness before taking his seat.

But though a loss the public shared,
I hope this loss can be repaired :
Since men as good as he are found
In various parts the country 'round.
Therefore we ought no more to mourn
The dead ; but to the living turn ;
And seek a man of talent meet
To fill the aforesaid vacant seat.

My friends who search with keenest view,
The Southern District through and through,
Declare—upon their word—they spy
No person *half* so fit as I.
How true they speak I well revolved
The whole affair, and then resolved
With view to benefit the state
To be an open candidate ;
And to the world in firmest tone,
To make my grand intention known.
Now Sir, for fear that I should miss it,
These modest lines, are to solicit
Your vote, your interests, and your friends,
To aid my patriotic ends ;
And place me safe where sense *like mine*,
May in the federal council shine :
That so South Hempstead, charming town
Possessed of wonderful renown
In sly elections cunning ways
Since Jones and Cornwalls' * glorious days ;
May still keep up her ancient name,
And fix beyond dispute her claim
To rule the district, by the means
So long employed to manage Queen's.

I fear the votes, dispersed will be ;
But least too few should fall to me,
I further hope and wish you'd strive
To keep election zeal alive ;
And make them every mother's son
To vote for me, or vote for none.
Some folks I'm told, are warm espoused
The cause of grave old Daddy Cl—s †
Who, when he moves within the sphere
Of Justice, or of scrivener
Does pretty well ; but when the creature
Affects a seat in Legislature,
He brings to mind as Esop jokes
The frog who swells to be an ox.

Theres L—dy—d too, ‡ whose high pretense
To be a man of wonderful sense,
Betrayed at first unwary hearts
To think he's got uncommon parts :

* Jones and Cornwall, were Queens-county politicians, about 1758.

† Samnel Clowes, of Hempstead, Justice of the Peace, and familiarly known as "Daddy."

‡ Doctor Isaac Ledyard was a prominent politician, who moved into Newtown.

But soon I know the curious eye,
Can deep deception there descry ;
Which lurks beneath the film of lawn,
That over his shallow sense is drawn
Like Molock, seeks he not a curse ?
Or God, or Hell, or what not worse ?

They say that whiffling C—r m—n * too,
Displays himself to public view ;
And vainly hopes his courteous means
Will coax the folks to put him in.
Ah ! Stephen, Stephen, lower thy pride !
And cast thy politics aside ;
For since thy influence is grown
So small beyond thy native town ;
'Twill be impossible to get,
'Mongst Representatives a seat ;
Until the clams and horse-feet each
Inhabiting the bays and beach
Shall gain a vote, and to content them
Thyself be sent to represent them.

Much interest no doubt's employed,
For Tr—dw—l, † V—nd—b—lt, ‡ and Fl—d : §
Whose names each warm elector rings
Through Richmond, Suffolk, and in Kings ;
But here Sir, now's the regular plan,
Since Suffolk first supplied the man—
'Tis now the time for Queens to choose
Or else, by George ! her choice she'll lose.
'Tis therefore wise that all agree,
On some *one* man, and *I'll be he*.

Last night, I dreamed ; and dreams you know
Do sometimes mighty matters show ;
That when the canvassing was o'er,
Young M—b—l ¶ beat me ten to four.
I started, waked, and told my spouse,
'Twas time I instantly should rouse
Drive on to York with swiftest pace
To Mother Shoelders ¶ state my case :
And hear, 'till I no more could doubt it
The beldame tell me all about it.
My mind was in a woeful qualm,
The groping witch explored my palm ;
Then viewed my cards, and with a look
That chilled my soul, this riddle spoke :
"A chosen youth, whose virtues sleep,
"Like David's, when he kept the sheep :

* Stephen Carman was, for many years, Assembly-man and had a great influence in Queens-county.

† Thomas Treadwell, of Suffolk-county, Member of Congress.

‡ John Vanderbilt, of Kings-county, Member of Congress.

§ William Floyd, of Suffolk-county, Member of Congress.

¶ Doctor Samuel L. Mitchell, the writer of the verses.

¶ Mother Shoelders, we suppose, was a Fortunate

"Shall guard with care each peaceful town,
"And knock the high Goliath down."

Although this prophecy is bad,
And makes me feel severely sad;
Yet still, I'll persevere to court
The people all to grant support.
Sir, you can afford me yours,
I'll love you while my life endures;
And be the gratefullest of creatures,
Your friend and servant H-r-y- P-t-a.*
AUGUST, 1798.

A LETTER FROM GENERAL JOHN E. WOOL.

COMMUNICATED BY JEPHTHA R. SIMMS, ESQR., OF
FORT PLAIN, NEW YORK.

AND DAWSON:

In the Spring of 1850, I published the first
edition of my *Trappers of New York*, in which,
on page 101, is an account of the
glorious deeds of John E. Wool, then Major
of the Twenty-ninth Regiment of New York
Infantry, on the sixth of September, 1814. With
a handful of brave men, numbering, part of the
less than three hundred, he met and held
back, on the Beekmantown-road, a body of
about a thousand of the best drilled British Infantry
for several hours; and, in a road-fight of *seven*
hours, killed and wounded some two hundred
of the enemy—a number nearly equal
to his entire command, when the fight began.
His little army, strengthened, near Gallows hill,
held the body of troops, under Major Appling, held
the enemy in check until the Americans had
crossed the Saranac-river, and taken up the
position behind them. The American loss, in this
transaction, under consideration, was about
fifty, in killed and wounded.

When my book was out and had been read by
General Wool, he assured me, in person, that I
gave the most authentic account of the transac-
tion which he figured, that day, then as yet
unrecorded.

Nicholas Stoner was Fife-major of the same
regiment; and he had stated to me his belief
that William Bosworth, Sergeant-major of the
Twenty-ninth, who had been a British deserter
and was now severely wounded, had been borne
from the field, on Major Wool's own horse; and
from his own recollection of that incident, I
showed General Wool, at Troy. The following
is my answer to my inquiry:

"TROY 8th January 1850

"MY DEAR SIR:

"I have just received your communication of
the 7th instant.

"In answer to so much as relates to 'Bos-
worth,' I would remark, that I well remember
him as, I believe, Sergeant Major of the 29th
U. S. Infantry. He was one of the gallant
detachment, under my command, that resisted
for seven miles, on the Beekmantown road, the
British advancing on Plattsburgh, the morning
of the 6th September 1814, when he was se-
verely wounded.* Being informed of the fact,
he having greatly distinguished himself, I had
him taken care of and carried from the field.
How or in what manner I am now unable to
say. Although I may have furnished him a
horse, I am quite sure I did not give him the
horse which I rode." [*Stoner remembered to
have held the horse, while the wounded officer
was being placed upon his back.*] "It is thirty-
seven years since the occurrence took place,
and in the heat of action. At such a time,
when the attention of the Commander is di-
rected in so many ways at the same moment,
and upon whose prompt decision and action,
success and safety may depend, it can hardly
be supposed that he would charge his mind
with every circumstance, although important
to individuals, that might take place.

"I have no recollection of being on foot at
any time during the period referred to, except
for a moment, when my horse was shot under
me, and then no longer than whilst changing
the saddle to another horse.

"I am very respectfully

"Your ob^d serv^t

"JOHN E. WOOL

"To J R SIMMS Esq

"ALBANY

"N. Y.

"P. S. Please send me one of your books
when completed & price W."

XI.—REVOLUTIONARY INCIDENTS, IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM REAL.

[From the *Columbia Hive*, July 23, 1836.]

MR. EDITOR:

During the darkest period of our revolution-
ary struggle, this inflexible friend of liberty was,
at all times, actively and zealously engaged in
the cause of American Independence, and, at the
commencement of the War, attached himself to
a scouting-party, in the neighborhood of Nine-

* Peters was a store-keeper of Hempstead; and
agent of Doctor Mitchell in this canvas.

* He was taken to Plattsburg, and afterwards to Burl-
ington, Vermont, where he recovered.—J. R. S.

ty-six, who, by their intrepid courage, soon became the terror of their enemies.

Shortly after the village of Ninety-six fell into the hands of the British, a band of plundering Tories, headed by one of the most distinguished Tories in South Carolina, visited the house of Mrs. Beal, the mother of William, for the purpose of stealing, which was their chief occupation. On entering the house, they demanded, in the most peremptory terms, all the money and jewelry that she possessed. She instantly complied with their unmanly request, and gave to the utmost farthing. The commanding traitor pretended to be dissatisfied; and said she had retained a part. She solemnly declared she had not. He then ordered his clan to take every species of movable property that they could lay their hands upon; and all left the place, rejoicing at their success.

In consequence of this savage conduct, Beal's indignation was fired to the highest pitch; and he determined to have revenge, as soon as an opportunity could be afforded. He accordingly set out in quest of those ruffians who had plundered the house of his widowed mother, in his absence; and did not go far before he met with the conspicuous Tory, on Wilson's-creek, who was the principal actor, at his mother's. They immediately recognized each other, as they had been acquainted, for several years. Beal rushed towards the Tory, in a furious manner; who put spurs to his horse and soon had him to the top of his speed, flying from death. After running their horses about three miles, the Tory drew a pistol and shot Beal's horse dead from under him. He then halted and considered whether he should charge on Beal or not. Beal took his pistol from his holsters, and retreating, dared the Tory to come on; but the Tory knowing him to be a swamp-fox and fearing that he might have a party of Whigs, in ambush, considered it was best to abandon the project, particularly as Beal defied him in such a gallant manner.

It is but proper here to state that Beal could have shot the Tory, several times, according to his own statement; but he preferred putting him to death with his sword.

In a few days after this transaction, young Beal met with his antagonist, on Saluda-river, one of them being on either bank of the river. They spoke to each other, as courteously as if they had been mutual friends; and the Tory very politely invited Beal to come over. He asked him if he would remain there, until he came. He replied in the affirmative. Beal then plunged into the river; and when he had swam about half across the stream, the Tory bid him "Good morning," and rode off, in great haste, promising to see him some other time.

It was not long, however, before Beal had oc-

casional to visit the house of a friend, some distance below Cambridge, which he did, at night, in company with a Whig. When they arrived at the place, they dismounted and tied their horses, very close to the door, there being but one door to the house. After remaining a short space of time, they heard a large company riding up, which they were confident must be Tories. "What shall we do?" said Beal's comrade. "Do as I tell you," replied Beal, "and I think we are safe. The night is dark and they cannot see us. Rush to your horse; take up your sword; and make as great a noise as possible; and I have no doubt we can put them to flight." This they both did; and Beal called, in a very loud voice, for his men to parade as if he had been commanding a Regiment of Cavalry. The Tories instantly halted. The Whigs then rode towards them, and Beal cried out, "If you are soldiers, stand and fight it." The Tories, fearing that they were about to be attacked by a superior number, quickly retreated, in great confusion. It was afterwards ascertained that there were thirteen in the company, under the immediate command of the infamous, bloody Bill Cunningham, the distinguished Tory to whom I have alluded throughout this communication. It would be almost superfluous to add that the Tories were greatly mortified on learning that they had been put to flight by two Whigs.

During the Revolution, William Beal was in several engagements, under the gallant General Butler. He lived, for many years after the war, and died in the State of Georgia, highly respected by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

The great and good should be held in lasting remembrance.

XII.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D. OF SALEM, MASS.—CONTINUED FROM SERIES II., VOLUME X., PAGE 113.

FROM THE ORIGINALS, IN THE COLLECTION OF MISS MARY R. CROWNINSHIELD, OF CHATHAM TOWN, MASS.

[1.—Colonel David Humphreys to Dear Bentley.]

BOSTON, Aug. 16th 1787.

DEAR SIR,

In our short interview (much too brief to satisfy my desire of being more thoroughly acquainted) I flatter myself, I have acquired much knowledge of your obliging and friendly disposition as to authorize me to bring to your notice and protection, a gentleman not long

arrived in this country from France, who, I conceive, possesses no ordinary merit as to the literature and eloquence of his own country.

M. Artiguenave, of whom this letter is intended to be introductory, was, as I understand, among the most conspicuous performers at the *Theatre Francais* of Paris. His classical knowledge of the French language, and his correct pronunciation have entitled him to distinction as a scholar and a gentleman, wherever he has been known since his arrival in the U. S.

You will have seen in the public papers some notices of his exhibitions in this town and at the University at Cambridge, which are thought to be far from exaggerating his talents.

It has been proposed to him to give some recitations and readings at Salem— Knowing as I do, the urbanity and liberality of the Inhabitants towards Strangers, I have ventured to encourage him with the hope of patronage and success. Your countenance, I have no doubt will be of great utility to him in making his talents known to the respectable circle of your friends. Even those who are not much or even in any degree acquainted with the French language, I think will be amused with so favorable a specimen of their elocution.

I hope whenever you visit Boston, if I should be in town, you will do me the favor of gratifying me with your company, that I may have an occasion of assuring you in person, with how much respect and regard I am your most obt. humbl. servt.

D. HUMPHREYS

Rev'd Mr BENTLEY,
SALEM

[2.—James Sullivan, Attorney-general of Massachusetts, to Doctor Bentley.]

BOSTON, 28th March 1804.

REYD. & DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure to receive yours of yesterday, by the hand of the young man you recommended; and should have great pleasure of complying with your wishes. You can never be under the necessity of making an apology to me for any communication you shall make to me. The habitual benevolence of your heart, while it excites your exertions for your fellow men in distress, can never involve you in a conduct improper for your character and station.

This young man wishes a prosecution *criminaliter* for the injury he has suffered. As the matter he complains of happened upon, or beyond the sea, in an American bottom, it is without the jurisdiction of this commonwealth, but within that of the United States. I have therefore recommended him to Geo. Blake Esq. Attorney of the general government: and have taken the freedom to allow him to carry your

letter to that gentleman. This I did because I know that whatever you write or say will have weight with him.

Should a civil action be brought for damages, that must be done in the County of Essex, where our mutual and valuable friend Mr. Storey, will do it for him. I am, Sir, with all the sentiments of respect and friendship your very humble servant

J. SULLIVAN

Rev'd. MR. BENTLEY
SALEM

[8.—John Philper to Hon. Nathaniel Alexander, Member of Congress from North Carolina, concerning the discovery of gold in that State.]

CABARRAS COUNTY, CONCORD, 25th Jany-
1804—

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of the 19th ult. came safe to hand, and agreeable to your request, will give you such information as I am in possession of, on the subject of the gold-mine. Its discovery was made early in the month of July 1803 by a small son of Mr. Reed's who was diverting himself in shooting small fish with a bow and arrow. He discovered a piece near the size of the one I enclose, at the bottom of the creek; and immediately showed it to his father. The face of the country in the neighborhood of this place is for the most part very uneven, the soil barren & rock. The bed of the Creek, where the gold has as yet been found, is composed of perpendicular strata of rock running N.E. and S.W. in the chinks of which, intermixed with sand the gold is found. The flint and a blue colored rock prevail. Another kind is found irregularly interspersed, perfectly black, and incrustated with a substance resembling soot. Another substance resembling a cement made of tar and sand is found. This, Sir, is as near as I can give, a description of the bed of the creek where the gold is found. The large mass you mention (the 28th) lost about fifteen per cent. Smaller masses loose from two to five per cent. The enclosed piece will give you a more correct idea of the gold in its natural state, than any description which I can give. The total amount found is estimated to be worth between twelve and fifteen thousand dollars—

With sentiments of esteem I remain
respectfully yours

JOHN PHIPER

Honl. NATHL. ALEXANDER
WASHINGTON,
(for Mr. BENTLEY)

[4.—A. Rodgers to Doctor Bentley.]

DEAR SIR,

William informs me in a letter this evening, that the body of Mr. Harris was not found until

Handwritten notes:
Harris - ...
#61810

this morning; and that they were obliged to bury it this afternoon.

He says "Mr. Bentley's interest in this worthy young man desires all the information we can give him." They would have kept him until tomorrow, that his friends at a distance might have attended his funeral, but it was impossible. My weak eyes must plead as an apology for this miserable scrawl—

A. RODGERS

SALEM, July 10, 1810

Rev'd. WM BENTLEY.

[5.—*Lieutenant-governor Gray to Doctor Bentley.*]

Boston, Dec. 26, 1811—

DEAR SIR,

This will be handed you by my friend Dr. Waterhouse, who we think excels in vaccination. We have heard the small-pox has been brought into Salem, which has induced him to visit your place. If he can be useful, it will make both him & me happy. Such seamen as incline to accept the inoculation gratis, may receive it of the Doctor at my expense. Will you introduce him to Dr. Mussey and Capt. Townsend or any other of your friends, which you think will wish to promote the object of his visit—

I am with sentiments of esteem & respect,
Sir, your obt. servt.

WM. GRAY—

Rev'd, DR. BENTLEY
SALEM.

[6.—*Colonel Thomas Aspinwall* to Doctor Bentley.*]

HON. B. W. CROWNINSHIELD—SECY OF THE NAVY
DR SIR,

A certificate of the Commanding officer of the 21st, of the time place &c of John Bentley's death, accompanied by testimony of the right claimants relation to the deceased will entitle such claimant to the half pay for five years. General Miller could furnish this certificate I presume, and give the Rev'd. Dr. Bentley the assistance he requires. If the deceased was *commissioned* or if he had accepted an appointment, he was an officer and his wife or child can claim the half pay, and if the government consider the *promotion* of an enlisted soldier a *discharge* (and in my opinion it is a most honorable one) an additional certificate of that fact from the commanding officer of the Regt in which he en-

listed will entitle his legal representatives to soldiers land & three months pay—

Yours most respectfully

THOS. ASPINWALL
Col. &c

[ENDORSEMENT.]

By the 12th Sec. of the Act of the 11th Jan'y. 1812, provision is made for the heirs and representatives of non-commissioned officers, or soldiers who may be killed in action or die in the service of the United States, of three months pay and 160 acres of land. By the 15th Sec. of same act provision is made for the representatives of commissioned officers of the military establishment, who are killed in action or die by reason of any wound rec'd in the actual service of the U. S. who leaving a widow, or if no widow a child or children under 16 years of age, of half pay for five years.

If the person about whom this letter was written was killed either as a private, or as an officer, his case is embraced in the foregoing and it may be applied to his situation.

ROBERT BRENT, paymaster of the Army.
April 29. 1815

[7.—*The Secretary of the Foreign Missionary Society to Doctor Bentley.*]

The Rev'd. Mr. Bentley is respectfully requested to give notice to his Congregation, that a sermon will be preached at the Tabernacle by the Foreign Missionary Society of Salem and vicinity on Wednesday next at 2 o'clock P. M. after which a collection will be made especially for the purpose of aiding in imparting the Holy Scriptures to the heathen nations of the East in their vernacular languages. The collection is to be thus specially appropriated, on account of the well known and deeply deplored loss by fire at Serampore, a loss towards repairing which the friends of the Scriptures & of the best interests of mankind, will contribute with peculiar pleasure.

January 2, 1813.

SAML. WALKER Sec'y
of the F M Society of Salem & vicinity.

[8.—*Doctor Bentley to the Secretary of the Navy.*]

SALEM 20 April 1813

SIR,

In the last session I wrote to Genl. Warren among other things to obtain the half pay, which the Inspector G. Snelling told me he believed was justly due to my brother John Bentley of Thomaston Maine. For four generations we have fought in Canada, and no one of the family ever received a favor from the government. I was led into Maine by Genl. Knox, and since

* Colonel Aspinwall still lives, in Boston, enjoying the reward of a well-spent life, in the society of his friends and family. He is an officer—Vice-president, we believe—of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and it is our privilege to count him among our warmest personal friends and most constant supporters.—Editor.

the General's creditors did. A warm patriot inheritance, he named his children, Jefferson, Madison, &c. and a fine set of boys they are.

His neighbors told him, when enlistments were discouraged in Maine, if he would engage with the volunteers, they would join him. They did. Its term was out, but he still continued, and through the war, he told me, he should have some commission. A commission of Ensign (21st Regt. of Infantry) was granted him by Madison. I received it after his death from Mr. Snelling, and sent it to his family.

He died gloriously in the battle of Bridgwater, after having been repeatedly wounded in several former actions.

His commission was in camp before his death, but he did not receive it. He has merited the privilege of it. Yesterday I received from one of my nephews the following article respecting our sons, and the paragraph will assure that we have no ordinary claims.

A son of your brother Thomas, who was a prisoner on board the *Bulwark* 74 and yet on shore at Belfast Maine, spent a day or two at Thomastown, on his pilgrimage to Boston. He states that he sailed in the privateer *Leo*, and was captured on board of one of her prizes. His treatment was barbarous in the extreme."

Will you sir you would make some enquiry & give a definite answer you would much oblige me and my family that only asks a little aid to supply the Union with some of the best hearted men in it. May Sir, such are our commercial habits, that perhaps it would not be amiss to employ such a man as Capt. Thomas Webb of Salem on a revenue cutter on the shores of Maine. A man of firmness is seldom to be found.

With all affection and respect,
your devoted servant

WILLIAM BENTLEY.

I received a letter from Dr. Mitchell of New York lately. He recollects your worthy brother with great esteem and affection—

BENJ. W. CROWNINSHIELD,
Sec'y. of the Navy,
WASHINGTON,
D. C.

Mr. Miller paid us a visit last Tuesday. He gave no notice. He was regarded with affection by our citizens, visited our fortifications, was warmly received by Major Putnam, and remained at noon to Boston.

When I learn the title of your Salem Library, I will write it, and my own name in the blank space.

W. B.

—Rev. Samuel Worcester, D.D. to Doctor Bentley.]

MR. BENTLEY—

Permit me to introduce to you Mr. Wilson, a

student in divinity who would be obliged by some aid from you, in regard to German literature—

Yours dear Sir, with respect—

S. WORCESTER—

Rev^d MR BENTLEY

SALEM—

[10.—Hon. Charles Turner, Jr., Member of Congress, to Doctor Bentley.]

WASHINGTON, April 8th 1812—

REVD. SIR,

With pleasure I received your favor of the 25th ult. as it affords satisfaction that there is no defection among the genuine Democratic Republicans, and as it is understood that New Hampshire is *safe*, even without the knowledge of Henry's disclosures, I trust and from information from various parts of Massachusetts, entertain a great degree of confidence that she will be *sure*. The wincing of the *fluttering pigeons* proves more than they intended, they were not bound by our laws to furnish evidence against themselves. Their reflections upon the character of Henry falls on *their friends* who employed him. The disclosures furnish the evidence of what we did not doubt, but could not prove. Sensible I am that the apparent inactivity of Congress must have made unfavorable impressions on our friends, while our opponents have taken advantage of it to circulate ideas of our incincerity, want of talent, of nerve &c. knowing perhaps better than they the cause, we have suffered, *thus far*; and while the question remained undecided, every art has been resorted to, to divide us; this situation was favorable for them to make impressions by indirect insinuations, to excite jealousies between the executive and legislative, and particularly to touch every discordant string between *States*; while laboring under these disagreeable circumstances, it was difficult for us to give assurance to our friends that certain measures would be pursued— The assuming, and enquiring state of N- Y- has taken advantage of our situation to push their claims. If they had come forward with modesty, there appeared early in the Session a disposition to think favorably of their candidate (not for the first seat) but they have overdone and must fall back, and rest four years longer. The Vice President is sick here, many doubt his recovery. That and other circumstances, have delayed the Republicans here giving to the public their opinion of suitable candidates.

For two days past the House has been in secret Session; the votes are no longer of a doubtful nature, disagreeable as is the idea of the national Legislature excluding themselves from public inspection. Our friends will judge of the propriety of the measure when they consider

the licensed and secret spies that attend us. The subject matter of the first inst. will soon be known, that of the second perhaps not immediately, the majority is great in the House, and although modesty might forbid the declaration, as I have the happiness to rank with them, I think they are not wanting in talents. On them rests the tremendous responsibility. I feel its pressure. As we need, so I trust we shall have the prayers of all who wish well to their country.

Please Sir, to accept such Documents as I may be able to procure & transmit.

I am Sir, with sentiments of respect & esteem
Your most humble servt.

CHAS. TURNER, JR.

Rev'd WM BENTLEY
SALEM.

[11.—General Eleazer W. Ripley, U. S. A., to
Doctor Bentley.]

HEAD QUARTERS, CHARLESTOWN—
March 29, 1816.

REVD. MR. BENTLEY—

VERY DEAR SIR,

The friends of President Wheelock in the event of the state of things being changed at Dartmouth (of which there exists very little doubt) wish to have the liberty of inserting your name among the members of the board of Overseers— The institution will be placed on a ground as it respects its funds its politics, and its religious principles which will be highly gratifying to the friends of science and our social institutions.

You will be pleased to favor me with your views in relation to the subject. This communication is confidential.

With the most sincere respect—

Dear Sir yo. mo. ob. servt.

E. W. RIPLEY—

Revd WM BENTLEY
SALEM

[12.—Charles Darley, Esq. to Doctor Bentley,
on book-borrowing.]

TEN HILLS CHARLESTOWN 10th June 1811

REVD. WILLIAM BENTLEY—

SIR,

I hope you will not take an exception at my calling on you for two volumes of the French Dictionary of the Academy, also a complete set of John Jaques Rousseau's Works & such other books as you may have in your possession belonging to my library. If I mistake not you have some of the works of the Abby Mably's. I should not make this call on you, but my affairs have induced me to dispose of my books to the best advantage.

Perhaps your memory may not recall the cir-

cumstance relating to those books; the first you wished me to spare you, at a time when misfortune followed me hard. I informed you I then expected to sell my library and would spare it at any price, you thought it worth: you named \$8.— to which I assented; but probably through forgetfulness this money was never received. You may now return the work or pay Mr. Henslow as you please. The other work you requested, observing that I had two sets, and that you would send Mrs. Darley an English Set instead of the small one, which from probably the same cause was not performed. I must now request you to return the work itself; bidding you welcome to the use of them for the time you have had them, I am Sir

Your humble Servt.

CHAS. DARLEY—

P. S. In the free access my friends have had to my library, I find missing, 1st Vol. of the Encyclopedia & its first Vol. of plates. Also other books. If you can put me in the way of finding them you will greatly oblige me—

[13.—John N. Vaughan, Esq., Secretary of the
American Philosophical Society, to Doctor Bentley.]

PHILADELPHIA 5 Jan'y, 1803

REVD. MR. BENTLEY
SALEM,

By Mr. Nichols

by order of D. Priestly I send you the Copy between Socrates & Jesus & 2nd Ans. to Lib. the 1st I sent before Mr. Pelham of Brea. I am told by the booksellers here, has all the pamphlets of this controversy for sale: should any enquiry be made for them. Possibly some may be sent to Mr. Natty of your place. The Governor of Kentucky Gerrard has embraced Unitarianism & I find some pamphlets on the subject are reprinted there—

Yours with respect

J. N. VAUGHAN

[14.—Samuel Harris, Jr. to Doctor Bentley.]

BOSTON September 30th 1803.

DEAR SIR,

Soon after my return I sent you by the stage driver some persian paper, ink &c. with the music which I had promised to the young lady in Wenham, which last I hope you will have the goodness to send with yours. I am sorry the paper is not better, it appears to be the kind which is used for very common purposes and you will find our hot-pressed paper much better.

I now return "Dizirmani" &c with my thanks I communicated to Miss Adams your offer of Wolfries for which she desired me to express her gratitude. I called on your friend Judge Winthrop on the first opportunity of

ing disengaged from Court, and desired for the loan of Extracts. He is at present using, but will let you have it as soon as it is unemployed. To write a little in the old style, you have observed in Kennicott's Notes, that he renders the word in Psalm I. verse 6—Job. 9, 5, which the common version translates *to know* having the meaning of *to stand*. I have observed several other places where the meaning could be the same. You may probably be willing when looking at your bible to notice these places, or perhaps Eichorn has set them. The chief places are these I Sam. 22. 6. 21. 2.—I Sam. 20. 22. Job 21. 19. Ps. 144. 3. 98. 2. 77. 74. 5—Prov. 31. 23. 10. 3. 8. 6. Isaiah 21. 50. 9. Ezeck, 35. 11. 38. 14. Neh 9. 1. Habbac. 3. 2. Hosea 6. 3d. and many other places doubtless—

Yours &c. SAML. HARRIS, JUN-
v'd MR BENTLEY
SALEM.

—John Pintard, founder of The New York Historical Society, to Doctor Bentley.]

NEW YORK, 10th July 1816—

DEAR SIR,
Your favor of Jan'y 27, 1814, has remained a very long time unacknowledged. It was received together with the box containing seven volumes of the *Salem Register*, which remained unopened 'till the beginning of these events, when at the first meeting of the N. Y. Historical Society, in their new apartments in our city Institution they were presented in your name. I am instructed to return you the thanks of the Society for your very valuable donation and request your acceptance of the only two volumes of our *Collections*, as yet published. Also desire that you will be pleased to forward usually the successive volumes of your *Register* half bound like the preceding, the expense of which I will cheerfully pay to your order. I prefer keeping up the series in this way, as the papers are apt to miscarry, be mislaid or spoiled. Without compliment or flattery, the history compiled as I understand by yourself, is the best brief chronicle of the times in this or any of the European world.

Our Society has lain dormant for a time. During the late war, the apprehension of invasion and possible Vandalic destruction of the public buildings and their contents, led us to take refuge from the fate of Washington. Our library was cased up for transportation, and not unpacked until within a fortnight, when the books which have not materially suffered were placed, till unarranged on the shelves of our library at the New York Institution, formerly the State House, which on the removal of the establishment.

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ishment to the splendid buildings at Bellevue, was granted by our munificent corporation for the accommodation of the Academy of Arts, The Literary & Philosophical Society, the U. States Military & Philosophical So., the N. York City Library, our Hist. So., and Mr. Scudder's Museum. The Philosophical & Hist. So's apartments are already in order. The improvements for the other Societies are in progress. This concentration of every thing which relates to Science, taste and literature within the walls of one extensive edifice, will be very accommodating to all interested in these pursuits. We hope that the former garden of the Alms House in the rear of our proud City Hall and between it and the Institution, will be converted into a botanic garden. This however is the work of another year, as well as an application to our Legislature for State patronage; our city having abundantly done its part. Happily the interests of our State & city are so identified that we have everything to hope from the liberality and patronage of our Legislature. The cause of Science soars above all local or political prejudices. Our president elect, Mr. Benson having declined, is the Hon. Gouv. Morris; and a committee was appointed to arrange his inauguration on our anniversary festival, St. Nicholas day 6th Dec. We intended originally to have observed the 4th of Sept. the day of Hudson's discovery of our country, as our anniversary, but it occurs when our citizens are much scattered abroad. We therefore adopted the legendary birth day of the old Dutch tutelary Saint Nicholas, which happens at this festive season of the year. I have given this brief detail as some compensation for my apparent neglect, not excusable, only that I had partly recognised your favor by transmitting *Mr. Clinton's discourses*.

When we come to the fruition his grant of \$12,000. to our Society which will come in its course, our Society will be handsomely established. We propose to place the capital on mortgage & apply the annual interest to increase our library, by which means we shall perpetuate its advantages. Of my kinsman the late John Mandus Pintard, Consul at Madeira, whose hospitality to his countrymen was commensurate with his generous spirit, I have to acknowledge your polite recollection and to inform you that he is no more. He died about five years ago, on a plantation he was enterprising at Bayou Sara near Baton Rouge.

Will it be possible to add to your many favors, by obtaining and forwarding to us such pamphlets, discoveries &c as may not interfere with your private collections.

The tracts relating to Dartmouth College controversy will be very important if obtainable thro' any of your N. Hampshire friends.

Accept reverend Sir, my acknowledgments for your attentions & sincerity to our Society.

I am with great respect
your ob. sevt.

JOHN PINTARD.

Rev^d WM BENTLEY
SALEM

[16.—*Hon. Charles Turner, Jr., M. C., to Doctor Bentley.*]

WASHINGTON, April 27, 1812

REVD. SIR,

Your favor of the 18th inst. has lain by me several days unanswered, for want of leisure. I agree perfectly with you in sentiments contained in yours, and only regret that imperious circumstances render delay necessary, sensible at the same time that that delay may change in some degree the public sentiment; and give the opposition further advantages for intrigue. The shoals, (as we say of fish) of young men from other States, imported into Massachusetts to assist at the Gubernatorial Election, will account for the Federal, alias Tory, gain. But at the May Election the requisite *residence* will cut off many, and I trust Massachusetts may yet be secured. A resolution passed the Senate on Saturday morning last for an adjournment from the 29th inst. 'till the 8th of June next, by a majority of *one*. The House postponed it indefinitely by a majority of seven. This vote gives no data as to numbers who will eventually divide the *main question*; many think a short adjournment will operate no injury, other than the effect on public sentiment; but so strong are my impressions that even a short adjournment would have an ill effect, that I cannot & shall not consent to it, however desirous I am to visit my family, and have some relaxation. I am the more convinced of the *iniquity* of the measure, from its being very much desired by Mr. Foster, and who after the decision expressed very great dissatisfaction and held a *parasymanis* (?) with the British partizans of both Houses, the evening following. It is not for me to express my feelings, excited by the wicked arts, intrigues, and machinations of the enemies of *heaven* born Liberty, to extirpate it from the earth, but supported by a steady trust in the *God of Our Fathers*, I can not despair of the *Commonwealth*; even if we should be severely chastised for our ingratitude. Accept Sir, the sincere respects of
your friend & humble sevt.

CHAS. TURNER JR

Rev'd WM BENTLEY.

[17.—*William Kerny to Doctor Bentley.*]

SALEM June 20th 1808.

SIR,

My health has become so bad I can attend to

our miserable (?) business no longer— I should have offered it to Mr Palfrey— but I find our old friends not inclined to lend him their aid, say they, he tried to obtain Mr Heard's place & has tried the same method to injure you

To a weak unprincipled creature I will bestow no favors, when I have proved him so want of principle is worst of every thing but meanness! the wretch with this vacuum of soul has from his *D E I T Y* but half his creation.

If I had enjoyed good health last fall I should have done you good service but a bird void of wings never can soar with the eagle. If I recover my health, as I expect, I would do the same business again.

one man says he would not have the place for large sums of money— this same man would be pleased with the offer— but he is all vanity therefore I cannot recommend him.

Sir I am with much respect,

Yr obedient Servant,

WILLIAM KERNY

Rev'd WM BENTLEY
SALEM.

[18.—*Memorandum—probably by Doctor Bentley—as a guide for writing a pamphlet against clerical titles, addressed to James Tyler of Salem, with a letter transmitting it.*]

[MEMORANDUM.]

The pamphlet should not exceed 30 pages. It should be calculated to convince the illiterate that University titles, as also the title of Revd. particularly the title of D.D. are repugnant to scripture. To this end all the texts of scripture that are most to the purpose should be introduced, with such reasoning and explanation as may be necessary to show that clergymen cannot lawfully give and receive these titles. Indeed the general tenor and spirit of scripture is opposed to the pride of man, these titles are in favor of it: the conclusion then is obvious. The subject should be treated with great delicacy; severity should be avoided. Public worship should be encouraged. The clergy treated with proper respect, and represented as an useful and important order of men, so long as they make the scripture the rule of their conduct; so that none shall say the writer is an enemy to the clergy, to religion &c. It may be well to notice that the Federal Government have wisely rejected all titles except the name of office &c. That there is no class of men in the United States so loaded with vain & employ titles as the clergy, who are particularly bound to be patterns of meekness & humility. These titles may be represented as empty, the offspring of pride, the food of pride, calculated to excite pride & vanity; unworthy the accept-

ance of an humble follower of the meek & lowly Jesus &c. Dwell principally on the title D.D. which seems to be the toy or plaything of riper years, or of old age.

Will you Sir be so obliging as to make one more attempt, \$20. will accompany this paper.

I am, Dear Sir

With much respect, your friend.

MR. JAMES TYTLER,
SALEM.

BOSTON, Aug. 13, 1800.

DEAR SIR,

You will see by the preceding, that our friend though much pleased with the ingenuity of your piece, thinks that it was not in every respect suitable for publication. I hope you will be willing to try again; and have no doubt but you would give entire satisfaction.

You friend & humble servt.

C—B—

MR. JAMES TYTLER—

[19.—*John Pintard, founder of The New York Historical Society, to Doctor Bentley.*]

NEW YORK, 16th Sept, 1816—

REV'D. SIR,

Your favor of the 14th ult. together with the box containing the *Essex Register* 4 vols. neatly bound, for 1805-6 and 14 & 15 have been safely received and presented at the last meeting, 10th inst, to the Society; together with many valuable donations from other friends and correspondents. I am instructed to return you the sincere acknowledgements of the Society, and the additional thanks for your promise of completing the series from 1800, which will prove a very valuable Register of events during the present century. I beg leave to add my own individual thanks for your attention to the interests of an Institution that has long been the object of my personal care, and which with the fostering protection of our State will undoubtedly be perpetuated and become a valuable legacy to posterity. "Those men are the only truly great, who leave some durable monument behind them." My earnest and sole ambition is to enrol my name among the benefactors of the human race. I have every confidence that the fruits of my incessant labours will remain, when I am mingled with my kindred dust; and that the accumulation of Historical documents already acquired, with the prospect of future acquisitions will render our library invaluable to future Historians. We begin to be rich in revolutionary MSS. to the attainment of which I give my undivided attention. We have rescued from oblivion & destruction most important and serious political correspondence, which detail the events of our revo.^l war printed documents, are more easily acquired. I do not mean

of anti-revolutionary date, which are becoming exceedingly scarce, but of which, as you perceive by our catalogue, thro: the means of our mutual friend the Revd. T. Alden, we boast of no small store. We shall acknowledge your future kind attentions to this department, nothing so trifling or obscure, but will be acceptable, and find its place in our collection of tracts.

My coadjutor Dr. Francis has recently returned from Europe, to his aid I look for the arrangement of a large stock of pamphlets unbound, when I shall not forget to furnish you with such duplicates as may be worthy your notice & acceptance.

I enclose you here a certificate of Honorary Membership for your friend Prof. Ebeling, whose name is an honor to our Society. I hear Dr. Mitchell has sent him the two only Vols. of our *Collections*, if not, I will forward them on notice, either to you or him direct. Should he have any thing redundant which he can spare, we shall be thankful for the favor. The Society expects that every member will do his duty. You have seen a short notice of our *commemoration* of Hudson's Discovery— by our Pread the Hon^l Gouv. Morris who gave us an elegant address— truly American & free from all party politics to a respectable and enlightened auditory— It was a proud day for this society— It is our aim to make this address drag along a hard volume for which we have ample materials. But I fear, in vain. We wish the printer to take the work we paying for 200 copies for the use of the society. There is not a sufficient taste, if it existed, nor interest taken in our national history as with you to encourage an annual volume of rare & important documents. *Never despair* is my motto, and we must not complain, for considering everything we are working wonders in this State & city. It falls to my lot to tug at the Oar of our academy of arts. A few strong pulls we shall get our bark into harbor.

You are a diligent examiner of the public prints. You will see an advertisement of the Academy in the en'g. prints of the city which explains our hopes & will abridge this head. We have a noble apartment in the N York institution (late old almshouse) I have little doubt but that in the course of two or three years the Academy will be an honor to our city, productive in its receipts, and after reimbursing considerable expense for repairs— enable her Directors to educate young artists & with the patronage of the State send them to Europe to perfect their education & return and enrich our country with their talents. Happily the interests of our State & city are identified— no local jealousies exist and we must avail ourselves of this circumstance before "1804 egketai"

I have not yr favor at hand & may not reply

particularly to all its contents. I feel sensibly obliged to you for yr warm & friendly recognition of my dear departed brother J. N Pintard who was most dear to me, it revives every tender feeling & recollection when his name is called.

This will be forwarded through yr friend Mr Goodhue who was made a member of our society the 10th I hope he will bring some of his eastern zeal with him to inspire us with fresh vigor

Accept my rev'd friend the best wishes for yr health & happiness

of dear Sir

Yr obdt humble Ser't

JOHN PINTARD

Rev'd Wm BENTLEY

SALEM

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

XIII.—*FLOTSAM.*

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIS. MAG.]

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

Our venerable fellow-citizen, Charles Harrod, who lives among us in the quiet autumn of his life, honored and respected for his virtues and good deeds, has furnished us with the following contribution to the history of the ever-glorious battle of the eighth of January, 1815.

It has been said that the generally received account that cotton-bales were used as breastworks at that battle, was a myth; and many other conflicting reports, respecting them, have somewhat weakened men's trust in the assertions of written and printed history. It is that there still lives a witness, whose personal connection with the use of the cotton gives him knowledge of its effectiveness and of the disposal of it; and that he has thus given to the world the facts to be treasured up and recorded in such future editions of existing histories, or future chronicles thereof, as may hereafter be published.

"NEW ORLEANS, March 19, 1869.

"MESSRS. EDITORS OF THE *Picayune*,

"GENTLEMEN: Understanding that a discussion is now going on in England as to the number of bales of cotton that were used by order of General Jackson, in the lines, on the eighth of January, 1815, and having some knowledge of that transaction, I am induced to hand you a copy of a note, addressed to a friend of mine, dated 'July 1, 1861,' and that friend, I think, handed it to William H.

"Russell, Esq., one of the correspondents of the *London Times* :

"NEW ORLEANS, July 1, 1861.

"DEAR SIR: At your request, I hand you the following memorandum, showing the number of cotton-bales sent to the American lines for use in 1814 and 1815. At that time I took notes relating to the matter, which notes were burned, some years ago, with my office.

"After the battle, on the night of December 28, 1814, in which the Quartermaster-general, Colonel Piatt, was wounded, and at his request, I was ordered by General Jackson to go into his office as his Assistant.

"About the 26th of December, 1814, an order was sent from Headquarters to the Quartermaster-general, to send to the lines, I think, 500 bales of cotton; that order was placed in the hands of the writer to execute. At that time, there were but few carts or drays in the city, and all the roads, leading from the city to the lines, were so cut up and muddy, that it was quite impossible to transport the cotton by land.

"The brig *Sumatra*, belonging to Cornelius Paulding, Esq., was lying at the levee, at that time, partly loaded for France, having on board 277 bales of cotton, shipped by Messrs Vincent Nolte & Co.

"A barge was hired and taken alongside of that brig, with orders to the brig to discharge the cotton into the barge, which was done: the 277 bales of cotton were taken to the lines; and there discharged (I believe about the 26th or 27th of December, 1814). No more cotton was sent to the lines, at that or any other time.

"At that time, the troops were busily employed in throwing up the breastworks; and about 280 bales of cotton were taken to build a magazine in the garden at Headquarters (and near this magazine Judah Touro, Esq., received his wound). The cotton placed in this magazine was covered with earth, which made it the form of a sugar-loaf. A part of the cotton was placed on end in the line, and a part in what was called the Half-moon battery.

"During the battle, January 8, 1815, and subsequent bombardments, the enemy's balls passed through the bales of cotton, they offering but slight resistance. The bales used in the magazine answered a very good purpose; and were not much damaged by the bombarding.

"After peace was made known, all the cotton remaining (some was lost,) was gathered together by order of General Jackson, and sold for the benefit of whom it might be

cern; and three Commissioners were named by the commanding General to determine in what way Messrs. Nolte & Co. should be compensated for the 277 bales of cotton taken from the brig *Sumatra* and used at the lines, Nolte & Co. to furnish the weights. "The Commissioners named were Benjamin Morgan, Peter V. Ogden, and W. W. Montgomery, all merchants and honorable men. The day the commission met, the price of cotton was 14 cents per pound, and that price was awarded to Messrs. V. Nolte & Co., and they received the money, at that price. I do not recollect what the cotton taken from the earthworks brought, but think about \$2,000 for the lot.

"Respectfully,
"CHARLES HARROD."

New Orleans Picayune.

GENERAL HOOKER ON GENERAL HOWARD.

General Joseph Hooker was found at the Astor House, yesterday, by a *Sun* reporter; and a conversation about General O. O. Howard ensued. "I have no desire to strike a man who is down, or who, at least, is very rapidly falling," said the General; "but I can assure you that these new developments, in relation to him, have not altered my opinion of the man. Although I had not known him as a speculator, I am well aware of his inherent hypocrisy. And he is such a profound Christian, too! Why, down in the Army—when I was in command of the Army of the Potomac, and he had the Eleventh Corps, under me—he was full of overflowing with his miserable cant. Now, nobody has more respect for genuine Christianity than I, and I would be slow to doubt the genuineness of any man's piety; but Howard has always been a downright hypocrite. Do you know, Sir, that he read once about an English General—I do not recall the name, at this moment—and he at once settled down into an imitation of that character. He has been playing a part, Sir, with a view to establishing himself as an eminent Christian. He used to keep his tent hung with religious mottoes, so as to catch the eyes of visitors. Ah! it was all pretence. He is no more a Christian than my boy James. Why, Sir, all the while that he was maintaining these pretensions of piety, he was backbiting his fellow officers, and trying to undermine them, in every estimation. General Slocum was a fellow corps-commander; and against him Howard directed much of his venom. At last, I told him that I would listen to no more of his whisperings about his fellow officers: that if

he had charges to make, they must be presented to me in writing, as I had determined to put a stop to his unsoldier like spying. I was satisfied, then, and certainly have now no reason to change my opinion, that he was playing a part in the Army, and that his semblance of piety was assumed to cover and help on his selfish purposes. As an officer, he was totally incompetent; and his incompetency affected the tone of his Corps. He was a perfect old woman; and paid more attention to Sunday-schools and prayer-meetings, than to discipline. He is a bad man, Sir, a bad man."—*New York Sun*, December 31, 1873.

A MEMENTO OF FRANKLIN.

Levi W. Groff, one of the staunch old Pennsylvania farmers and stock-growers, in Lancaster-county, has in his possession, the memorable "Benjamin Franklin watch," which he politely exhibited to some friends, in Philadelphia, recently. The time-piece is a curiosity in itself. It is manufactured of silver, in the old bull's-eye pattern, with open face, and on its back bears the following inscription, in lettering still well defined, notwithstanding its extreme age and, no doubt, extensive handling: "BEN FRANKLIN, 1776." An old paper, on the inside, indicates that it was "repaired by Thomas Parker, of Philadelphia, on the 24th of January, 1817." The watch, it appears from another paper, was made in London, by W. Tomlinson, and is numbered 511.

It would be a matter of curiosity for antiquaries interested in such matters, to learn the history of its sale and purchase by the great American philosopher. It was probably bought by Franklin, when he represented the independent Colonies at the British Court, in London.

There appears to be no doubt about the authenticity of this interesting relic of the past. Mr. Groff has a letter from the late William Duane, of Philadelphia, dated August 17, 1866, which states that Doctor Franklin's watch was worn, after his decease, by his son-in-law, Richard Bache, the great-grandfather of Mr. Duane, who resided, during the latter years of his life, in Bensalem township, Bucks-county, Pennsylvania, who mislaid it while on a visit to Philadelphia, and all traces of it were supposed to have been lost, until Mr. Groff became its fortunate possessor.

The watch will probably be one of the most curious relics on exhibition, at the coming Centennial, in Philadelphia. That Mr. Groff is one of the sturdy old "Dutch" farmers of Pennsylvania, may be realized from the fact that, prominent among his valuable historical collec-

tions, is the original Grant-deed, conveying the land he now lives upon, from the sons of William Penn to his great-grandfather.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE.

"The words 'on to Richmond' were not Mr. Greeley's, but Mr. Dana's; and they were 'right words.'—*Cincinnati Commercial*.

The real author of these words, was the gallant and brilliant General Fitz Henry Warren, then a Washington correspondent of the *Tribune*.—*New York Sun*.

SCRAPS.—Bishop Cheverus, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston, and afterward Archbishop of Bordeaux, was on a visit to a French family, in Bristol, Rhode Island, when Bishop Griswold, of the Eastern Diocese, to gratify the universal desire to see and hear a prelate of such reputation for piety, sent a complimentary message by one of his divinity students, and placed the Episcopal-church, in the town, at Bishop Cheverus's service. The invitation was accepted with characteristic simplicity and courtesy; and, after brief devotions, the Roman Catholic Bishop preached from Bishop Griswold's pulpit, to the great satisfaction of a large congregation. This was in the year 1817 or 1818, while Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, Doctor Jones, of New Jersey, and Doctor Robertson, of Saugerties (who is my authority for the above statement) were studying theology under Bishop Griswold.

J. BREWSTER.

NEW HAVEN, March 24, 1873.

—Governor Letcher, the other day, related an incident of the war. He said that, in one of the battles before Richmond, four flag-bearers had been shot down, and a call was made for a volunteer, to carry the colors. A stripling took the torn standard. In a few minutes, the staff was snapped by a shot. The boy sat down; unloosed a shoe-string; and tied it. He started in front, again. Another bullet splintered the staff. It was then fastened by the other shoe-string. He had hardly shook the folds out, a second time, when down fell the flag, struck by a ball. The shoe-strings had given out. He unbuttoned his jacket; ripped his shirt to ribbons; and wrapped the broken rod, and carried the tattered ensign, through the fight. Governor Letcher said: "When they brought me the 'boy, with the shattered staff patched up with 'shoe-strings and shirt-tails, I made him an officer and give him the best sword Virginia 'had.'"

—The Supreme Court has decided that Confederate War-bonds, issued by any State, in aid

of insurrection, could not be treated in the same way as Confederate money, which the Court has before decided did not vitiate a contract, provided the contract was a lawful one. The Southern Confederacy held exclusive jurisdiction over the territory where the contract was made; and the Confederate money was the usual medium of exchange. The Plaintiff in the case, in which this opinion was given by Justice Field, sued to recover a note given at Memphis, in December, 1862. The admitted consideration of the note, was a lot of war-bonds, issued by the State of Arkansas, to aid the rebellion, then worth about 75 per cent of their par value, and used at that time in Memphis, to some extent as a circulating medium. The Court held that the issue of the bonds being unconstitutional, the consideration of the note was void.

—A graveyard in Delaware-county, New York, has this epitaph:

"The Lord, He made her, and lent her to me;
"Till He should call for her again;
"He had a right His own to take;
"Oh, praise Him for His goodness' sake."

XIV.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HARPER & BROS., 419 N. Y.," or to Messrs. F. & J. ARNOLD, & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*A Brief Notice of the Library and Cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society.* From the Semi-Annual Report of the Council, presented at a Meeting of the Society held in Boston, April 30, 1873. By Nathaniel Paine Worcester: For private distribution. 1873. Octavo, pp. 59.

At the semi-annual meeting of the Society, in April last, the Council presented, in its semi-annual Report, an unusually extended description of the Library and Cabinet of the Society; and, some additions to that portion of the Report having been made, subsequent to its presentation to the Society, the whole has been printed, in a separate form, for private distribution.

After a brief sketch of the Society and its Library, Mr. Paine proceeds to describe, in detail, the Library and the Cabinet, dwelling especially, on its "nuggets." The former contains more than fifty-three thousand volumes, estimating ten distinct pamphlets as one volume.—mode of estimating which, with all possible respect, we most heartily condemn—and some

its treasures are of great rarity and importance. Its manuscripts, too, are numerous and of priceless value, including the papers of the Mather family—Richard, Increase, and Cotton; of Doctor Bentley, and of other notable men; its newspapers are numerous and important; and its Cabinet is one of the best in the country.

The descriptions of all these are sufficiently in detail to enable the readers to understand the great importance of that collection to all who profess to write on American history; and besides being a welcome memento of a valued friend, this handsome volume will be servicable as a guide to the contents of that collection.

2.—*A Statement of the proceedings of Citizens of Englewood, Bergen County, New Jersey, in relation to the Suspension and Removal of Gen'l Thomas B. Van Buren, from the office of Commissioner General, from the United States to the Universal Exposition, at Vienna, Austria. 1873. Hackensack, N.J.: n. d. [1873?] Octavo, pp. 69.*

The country is already well informed of the proceedings of John Jay and of the disgrace which he attached to the United States, in connection with the Commissioner to the recent Exposition, at Vienna; and we need not repeat the story.

The pamphlet before us is a statement of the measures adopted by the neighbors of the Commissioner-general, General Van Buren, for the vindication of that gentleman; and to those who are not as well acquainted with John Jay as we are, it will be very servicable in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the affair.

3.—*Sketch of the Life of John A. Sheppard, A.M., author of The Life of Commodore Tucker, The Defence of Masonry, &c. By John Ward Dean, A.M. Boston: 1873. Octavo, pp. 16.*

A very graceful tribute to the memory of our late friend, John A. Sheppard, Librarian of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, by his successor in that office, Mr. Dean.

It originally appeared in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*; but, we believe, with an additional paragraph, it is reproduced, in this form, for private circulation.

The edition numbered one hundred copies; and, as it is also illustrated with a well-executed portrait, it will be very acceptable to Mr. Sheppard's many friends.

4.—*The Town of Hollis, N. H. S. l., s. a. [Boston: 1873?] Octavo, pp. 14.*

The Historical and Genealogical Register for October, contained a paper, by the Hon. Samuel T. Worcester, of Nashua, N. H., on *Hollis, in*

the Battle of Bunker-hill and the first year of the Revolution; and it has been re-produced, in this form, with a new title, for private distribution.

The author opens with a discussion of the question of the spelling of the name—Hollis or Holles; then glances at the early history of the Town itself; and finally discusses the action of the Town and the conduct of the townsmen, in the earlier days of the War of the Revolution, introducing copies of several original papers illustrative of the subject.

It is a well-written, well-supported historical paper; and a welcome addition to the locals of New Hampshire.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

5.—*Address delivered before the New York Society Library on the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation, November 24th, 1873. By Thomas Ward, M.D. Octavo, pp. 30.*

If we understand the matter correctly, there was an historical address, on the same occasion, and the orator was not, therefore, expected, in this instance, to explore the annals of the Society, to describe its origin or its early adventures, to expose the thieves who have stolen its treasures and then openly exulted in their possession of them, to compare the Present with the Past, nor even to guess about the Future.

With this knowledge before us, we have read the Doctor's *Address* with pleasure. It tells us of Books, and their uses and results; it glances at libraries, without doing more than allude to the one whose centennial the orator was celebrating—leaving to Mr. de Peyster that congenial duty—it notices "the literature of a land," in its importance and its results; it introduces the stale subject of "liberty" in the West, and her apocryphal influences and consequences—in the overthrow of feudalism, "the steady progress of reform," the overthrow of slavery and serfdom, "the elevation of Italy and Germany," the opening of the East to Western "civilization" and vice, a looser Divinity, a laxer law, a less rigid medicine, a reformed literature—in a release from the trammels of the classics, in the increase in the number of Colleges and Schools—no matter about the *quality*—in a regenerated Art, a better developed Music, a purer Drama; in a non-progressive Architecture, a more daring school of Engineering, in speculative Philosophy—Geology, Astronomy, Science, the Arts all are reviewed. Steam, photography, anæsthetics, the stethoscope, the spectroscope, gas-light, and water-works, labor-saving machines, canned-fruits, artificial teeth, steel-pens, lucifer-matches, india-rubber, the growing indifference for females and the disrespect of

children for their parents, "women's-rights," mediæval worship, the Mormons, party-politics and their abuses, the prevailing thirst for wealth, increased healthfulness, a lower death-average, and a score of other subjects all pass under review; and it is closed with an appeal to the next centennial orator, telling that distinguished person what he shall say, on that occasion, of the Society Library and its surroundings.

Altogether, this is a very well written paper; and, under the existing circumstances, it is as creditable to the Doctor as, probably, it was acceptable to the audience.

6.—*Report of the Proceedings at the Memorial Meeting in honor of the late Mr. Joseph Andrews, (Engraver) held at the Rooms of the Boston Art Club, on the evening of May 17, 1878.* Boston: Published by the Boston Art Club. 1878. Octavo, pp. 21.

Joseph Andrews was born at Hingham, Massachusetts, in August, 1806, and died in Boston, in May, 1878. A few days after his death, the Art Club, in Boston, met for the purpose of offering a testimonial of respect to his memory; and the beautiful pamphlet before us contains a record of the proceedings of the Club, on that occasion.

After a few prefatory remarks, by the President of the Club, Charles C. Perkins, Esqr., Mr. S. R. Köhler read an admirably written memoir of Mr. Andrews, which was followed by an appropriate address by Rev. C. S. Waterson, in which the high professional character of Mr. Andrews, as well as his modest worth, as a man, were feelingly portrayed.

The proceedings of the Club were marked, throughout, with excellent taste; and we have seldom seen the details of such a meeting carried out with so much delicate propriety.

The pamphlet is a very neat one.

7.—*Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O., August, 1870. Historical and Archaeological Tracts, Number One.* Battle and Massacre at Frenchtown, Michigan, January, 1818, by Rev. Thomas P. Dudley, one of the survivors. Octavo, pp. 4.

..... September, 1870.
Number Two. Judges of the Supreme Court of Ohio, under the First Constitution, 1803-1862. By Alfred T. Goodman, Secretary of the Society. Octavo, pp. 7.

..... November, 1870.
Number Three. Papers relating to the War of 1812. [From the papers of the late Elisha Whittlesey, of Canfield, Ohio.] Octavo, pp. 4.

..... January, 1871.
Number Four. First White Child Born on Ohio Soil. By Alfred T. Goodman, Secretary of the Society. Octavo,

..... [January, 1871?
Number Five?] Ancient Earth Forts of the Cuyahoga Valley, Ohio, by Col. Charles Whittlesey, President of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society. Published for the Society by a Gentleman of Cleveland. Cleveland, Ohio: 1871. Octavo, pp. 40, with nine pages of plates.

..... July, 1871.
Number Six. Papers relating to the first white settlers in Ohio. Octavo, pp. 8.

..... [Number Seven?
War of 1812. From the Papers of Hon. E. Whittlesey. Selection No. 2. Octavo, pp. 5-7.

..... December, 1871.
Number Eight. Indian affairs around Detroit, in 1764. Octavo, pp. 6.

..... February, 1871.
Number Nine. Archaeological Tracts.—Inscriptions attributed to the Mound Builders.—Three Remarkable Fageries. By Col. Chas. Whittlesey, President of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society. Octavo, pp. 4.

..... May, 1871.
Number Ten. Annual Meeting at the Museum, May 12, 1872. Octavo, pp. 4.

..... August, 1871.
No. 11. Ancient Rock Inscriptions in Ohio, an Ancient Burial Mound, Hardin County, O., and a Notice of some Rare Polished Stone Ornaments. Edited by the President of the Society and Published by a Gentleman of Cleveland. Cleveland: 1872. Octavo, pp. 16, and two folding Maps.

..... Nov. 27.
Number Twelve. Selection No. 3. War of 1812. From the Papers of the late Elisha Whittlesey. Octavo, pp. 1.

..... No. 13. February, 1872. Papers relating to the Expeditions of General Bradstreet and Colonel Bouquet, in Ohio, A.D., 1764. Selection No. 1. Octavo, pp. 7.

..... No. 14. February, 1872. Papers relating to the Expeditions of General Bradstreet and Colonel Bouquet, in Ohio, A.D., 1764. Selection No. 2. Octavo, pp. 6.

..... No. 15. April, 1872. Correspondence of Major Tod, War of 1812.—History of Northfield. Octavo, pp. 8.

..... No. 16. May, 1872. List of Publications.—Annual Report, 1871.—Origin of the State of Ohio. Octavo, pp. 5.

Historical Manuscripts. [No. 1.] Broadside.

Western Reserve Historical Society. List of Manuscripts in Binding. No. 2. August 1, 1872. Broadside.

..... No. 3. January 1, 1871. Broadside.

The above is, we believe, a complete collection of the publications of the Western Reserve Historical Society, of Cleveland, Ohio, which is one of the youngest of the sisterhood of Historical Societies, and yet one of the most active.

While the State cannot afford to print its own records, it cannot, with any decency, take the public monies to print the records of a private corporation, no matter what the objects of that corporation may be; and we insist that, even in the halls of legislation and in public printing-offices, there should be some regard paid to the fitness of things and to the capabilities of tax-payers, as beasts of burden. Let the burden of taxes, which is now crushing the very life out of thousands of the working-men of this State, be made lighter, by a more rigid economy; and let those ambitious doctors who desire a receptacle for their essays find one among the excellent journals of the day, which are paid for by those who resort to them for information.

The volume is well-filled with, probably, essays which would have been welcomed in other publications—we notice, among their authors, some well-known names; and, were not our taxes quite as high as we care to see them, we could have received it with more satisfaction than we now enjoy.

14.—*Annual Report of the Secretary of State, to the Governor of Ohio, including the Statistical Report to the General Assembly, for the year 1872.* Columbus: Nevins & Myers, State Printers. 1873. Octavo, pp. 486.

Ohio has some good practices; and one of these is the annual publication of a carefully-prepared Report of the statistics of the preceding year, embracing minute records of her products in agriculture and horticulture, her mineral wealth, her social statistics, her wealth and taxation, her pauperism and crime, her railroads, her population, and her manufactures. The volume before us is that for 1872; and the Secretary who prepared it, no longer Secretary, has done his work with admirable skill and industry. The value of such a record, year by year, no one can estimate; and, if all the States would pursue the same practice, posterity would bless the memory of him who projected the system.

15.—*Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Railroads and Telegraphs of Ohio, for the year ending June 30, 1872.* Prepared by O. L. Wolcott, Commissioner. Columbus: Nevins & Myers, State Printers. 1873. Octavo, pp. 148.

There are three thousand, seven hundred, and fifty-seven miles of railroads, in operation, in Ohio, costing, with their equipments, two hundred and six million, three hundred and fifty thousand, eight hundred and five dollars; and, from the first of July, 1871, to the same date, in 1872, thirty-four million, two hundred

and fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred dollars, or nine thousand, six hundred, and forty-seven dollars per mile of roadway, or 5.55 per cent on the cost; costing, for operating expenses, twenty-three million, five hundred and two thousand, seven hundred and thirty-nine dollars, or sixty-eight and a third per cent of the earnings; and employing twenty-five thousand, three hundred, and ninety-three persons in operating them, besides those whose interests are indirectly concerned.

Need we wonder that railroads are now above the law, making and repealing statutes, at will, and defying those whose servants they are?

The volume before us tells the story, as far as Ohio is concerned; it tells, too, how uneasily Ohio bears the yoke of her iron-bound oppressors.

15.—*Nineteenth Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Common Schools. State of Maine. 1872.* Augusta: Sprague, Owen, & Nash, Printers to the State. 1872. Octavo, pp. 104, 222.

Maine contains six hundred and twenty-six thousand, nine hundred, and fifteen souls—less than two-thirds the population of the city of New York—occupying four hundred and twelve towns and eighty-eight “plantations;” with two hundred and twenty-six thousand, seven hundred, and fifty-one “scholars,” of whom ninety-two thousand, seven hundred, and fifty only go to school in Summer and one hundred and two thousand, four hundred, and forty-three in Winter—where the rest go to, we are not told; averaging only nine weeks and a third of school-teaching in the six months of Summer and ten weeks in the six months of Winter—only nineteen weeks out of the fifty-two, per year; paying an average of thirty-three dollars per month to her male teachers and three dollars and sixty cents per week to her “school-marms,” exclusive of ten dollars per month for their board; and taxing her people just two dollars and eighty-seven cents per scholar, for the support of her schools.

With a heavy majority of her children out of school, from year's-end to year's-end, Maine certainly need say little about the intelligence of her coming men and women; and if, as is so often said, the public-schools are essential as preservatives from crime, we wonder, while this record is before us, just how virtuous Maine will be, a few years hence. With more than one-half of her children, over four years of age, entire strangers to a school, Winter and Summer, what intelligent and virtuous men and women they will become, when they shall have ceased to be children.

It really seems, with such records as this before

us, that the shams of New England must be made to include her much talked-of intelligence, her boasted common-schools, and the virtue of her rising generation, if not that of those who are older.

MAPS.—Some years since, a well-known and competent City Surveyor, John B. Holmes, Esq., commenced the publication of a series of maps of the various large estates on which the greater portion of the city of New York now stands, showing, on a large scale, their ancient boundaries, together with the courses of the old roads as well as those of the modern streets, the original divisions into lots, the numbers of the respective lots, and other information, concerning the several estates, of which lawyers, conveyancers, land-owners, and historical students so well know the value.

As these maps were prepared with the greatest care, from original surveys, and as they were protracted on a large scale, their great importance to the Bar of New York and to the landholding and antiquarian public was readily appreciated; and Mr. Holmes has been encouraged to continue the series, with the same care and scientific accuracy. We trust he will not suspend his good work until he shall have extended his attention to every portion of the island, as well as to those portions of the main-land which—embracing the ancient Manors of Morrisania, Fordham, and Van Courtland—are now included within the limits of the City and County of New York.

Mr. Holmes having placed a complete series of these invaluable maps on our table, for notice, we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers, the country over, to their great usefulness to every one who is interested in the details of New York history, New York genealogy, and New York topography. The series, as far as published, embraces,

I.—*Map of the West Bayard Farm, the property of Nicholas & Stephen Bayard and of Ald. John Dyckman, Dcd., property, is surveyed and laid out into lots, in the year 1788, by Casimir Th. Goerk, City Surveyor.*

[This estate extended along the western side of Broadway, from below Howard-street, to above Bleeker-street, and westward nearly to Bedford-street; and was bounded by the several Estates of the Widow Mary Barclay and Leonard Lispenard, the Richmond-hill property, and the Estates of John de Peyster and Samuel Jones, and the Haring—Map Number III., post—and “the East Bayard” Farms—Map Number II., post.]

II.—*Map of Bayard's East Farm, accurately made from old maps, (not in Register's Office)*

from Conveyances on Record from Nicholas Bayard, Sheriff's Sales, Lottery Lots, &c., &c. New York, September, 1869.

[This Map embraces property from Pell-street, along the Bowery, to Prince-street; along the latter to Mulberry-street; along the latter to the middle of the block between Prince and Houston-streets, thence to Broadway; along the latter to one hundred feet below Howard-street; thence eastward to Center-street; thence, diagonally, to Baxter-street, opposite the line of Pell-street; thence to the place of beginning.

This map also contains notes of the partition of the Stephen Van Rensselaer property; of conveyances by Nicholas Bayard and wife, Nicholas Bayard alone and jointly with others; Lottery Lots conveyed by Richard Sharpe and others. Sheriff's Sales of property of Nicholas Bayard and Nicholas Bayard, Junior; of the partition between William Houston and wife, Gerard Rutgers and wife, John H. McIntosh and wife, Robert C. Johnson and wife, and Cornelius C. Roosevelt; and of the fraudulent deeds of property, in this farm, which have caused so much trouble during the past few years.]

III.—*Map of the Haring or Herring Farm, showing its Original Perimeter, as surveyed in 1784, by David Haring, with the Streets and Avenues accurately laid down. Also the Division of the Farm by Partition.*

[This estate is of an irregular form, extending from the Bowery, westward and north-westward, along the North line of what is now Bleeker-street and the old line of Amity-lane (now closed) to the vicinity of the corner of Macdougall and Amity-streets; thence, westerly, to the vicinity of Hammersley and Varick-streets; thence, northerly, to the vicinity of Christopher and Hudson-streets; thence, easterly, along Christopher-street, beyond Fourth-street; thence, southerly, to Amity-street, midway between Macdougall-street and Sixth-avenue; thence, easterly, including two-thirds of Washington-square, to Broadway, opposite Astor-place; thence, southerly, along Broadway, to the middle of the block now occupied by the New York Hotel; thence, easterly, to La Fayette-place; thence, southerly, along that place, to the middle of the block bounded by Fourth and Great Jones-streets; thence to the Bowery, a few feet to the northward of Great Jones-street; and thence, along the Bowery, to Bleeker-street. It was bounded by the Trinity-church, the Lullow, the Sailors' Snug-harbor, the Nicholas Stuyvesant, and the Anthony L. Bleeker estates, the “Bayard's West Farm”—Map Number I., ante—and other properties, less widely known.]

IV.—*Map of the East and West De Laun Farms, showing the Perimeter & Streets, as surveyed under its original owner, James De Laun.*

ey, Esqr. Also the present Streets and Perimeter, as laid down on the maps in the Register's Office, together with their Lot and Block numbers.

V.—A second edition of the same Map, containing many corrections and additions of much value to the Lawyer," including a list of purchasers of the property, from the Commissioners of Forfeiture.

It was made from the descriptions of the property, given at the time of the sales by the Commissioners of Forfeiture. The original perimeter and ancient road lines were taken from an original map, made for Lieutenant-governor De Lancey and now in the possession of his son and nephew, Edward F. De Lancey, Esqr.

This princely estate, which was confiscated by the People of the State of New York, as a punishment of its proprietor, because of his unyielding loyalty to his Sovereign, extended, *First*, from the corner of the Bowery and Division-street, along the line of the latter, to Clinton-street; along the latter nearly to Houston-street; thence, diagonally, to Orchard-street, a few feet above Rivington; thence, along Rivington-street to Houston; thence, diagonally, to Eldridge-street, below Stanton; thence to the Bowery, midway between Stanton and Houston-streets; thence, along the Bowery, to Division-street; and, *Second*, from the corner of Division and Montgomery-streets, along the line of the latter, to the East-river; thence, along the latter, around the Hook, to the foot of Grand-street; thence, along Grand and Division-streets, to the place of beginning.

This Map also includes the estate of Thomas Deane, Esq., which embraced all the lands between Division and Grand-streets, on the South; Fifth-street, on the North, Clinton-street, on the East; and the East-river.]

VI.—*Map of part of the Stuyvesant Property, together with the other properties adjoining*, accurately made from old deeds, maps, & other reliable sources. Second edition.

This map embraces property bounded as follows: Commencing at the present Bible-house, thence along the line of Stuyvesant-street, extended to the East-river, near Seventeenth-street; thence, along the river, to the corner of Fifth and Lewis-streets; thence to Orchard-street, near Rivington; thence to the Bowery, near Stanton; thence to the place of beginning.

It embraces various estates, including the "Burnt Mill property," those of the "Lewis Association," Pierre Van Courtlandt, Margaret and Nicholas Romaine, Samuel and Sarah Lett, John, Philip, Henry, and Mangle Minne, Paulus and Vierte Banta, William Hillyer, Abraham Cock, and others.

The particular portion of "the Stuyvesant

"property" embraced in this map, was formerly known as "The Bouwery Farm," to distinguish it from "The Petersfield Farm," to the northward of it—Map Number VII., post.]

VII.—*Map of part of the Stuyvesant Property, known as the "Petersfield Farm," together with the adjoining properties formerly owned by O. T. Williams, Tompkins & Dunham, Thomas H. Smith, and others*, accurately made from reliable data.

[This map embraces property bounded as follows: From the Bible-house, along the line of Stuyvesant-street, to the East-river, at Avenue C and Seventeenth-street; thence, along the river, to the foot of East Twenty-third-street; thence to Broadway, near Twentieth-street; thence, along Broadway, to Union-square; and, down the Fourth-avenue, to the Bible-house.]

VIII.—*Second Edition. Map of Property formerly a part of the 12th Ward of the City of New York, belonging to the Estate of James A. Stewart, Deceased*, accurately made from Deeds recorded in the Register's Office.

[This was a small estate near Seventh-avenue and Thirtieth-street.

The purpose of this map was the location of "Stewart-street," which had been so serious an obstacle to every conveyancer, for many years.]

IX.—*Map of Rose-hill Farm, Gramercy Seat, and the Estate of John Watts*. Compiled from Maps in the Register's and Street Commissioner's Offices, together with private and reliable data.

[This map embraces properties bounded, on the East, by the East-river; on the North, by Thirtieth-street; on the West, by the old Eastern Post-road and Broadway; and, on the South, by Nineteenth-street.

It was bounded, on the South, by the "Petersfield Farm," belonging to the Stuyvesant estate—Map, Number VII., ante; and, on the North, by the Kip's Bay Farm—Map Number XI., post.]

X.—*Map of the "Murray Hill Farm," "Ogden Place Farm," Lawrence & Astor, Wiswell & Price, Corporation, Wm. Wright, John Taylor, and other property*. Accurately made from Maps on file in the Register's Office, Deeds on Record, and other reliable data.

[The estates laid down on this map are situated between the Eastern Post-road—near the line of Lexington-avenue—on the East, and Broadway, on the West; and between Thirtieth-street, on the South, and Forty-fourth-street, on the North: being bounded, on the East, by the Kip's Bay Farm—Map Number XI., post—and, on the South-east, by the Rose-hill Farm—Map, Number IX., ante.]

XI.—*Map of Kip's Bay Farm*, showing the original Farm-lines, sub-divisions into Lots and Parcels, and the old Streets and the present

Streets and Avenues. Accurately plotted from the original Deeds and compared with the old Surveys.

[This Farm fronted on the East-river, from Twenty-sixth-street to Thirty-ninth, and extended, westward, to the Eastern Post-road, near the present line of Lexington-avenue.

It was bounded, on the South, by the Rose Hill Farm—Map Number IX.; on the West, by the Murray-hill Farm—Map Number X., ante; and, on the North, by the Turtle Bay Farm—Map Number XII., post.]

XII.—Second Edition. *Map of the Turtle Bay Farm and its Six subdivisions.* Accurately plotted from the field-notes of Surveys, made in the year 1820, by John Randall, Jr., City Surveyor.

[This Farm fronted on the East-river, from Thirty-ninth-street to Forty-ninth; and extended, westward, to the old Eastern Post-road, near the line of Third-avenue.

It was bounded, on the South, by the Kip's Bay Farm—Map Number XI., ante; and, on the North, by the Beekman Estate—Map No. XIII.]

XIII.—Map of the James W. Beekman, Catharine Livingston, Brevoort & Odell, Spring Valley, Thomas Buchanan, Thomas C. Pearsall, Mount Vernon, and Abraham and William Beekman Estates. Accurately made from the most reliable data, by J. B. Holmes, C. E. & City Surveyor, November, 1870.

[The properties embraced in this map extend from about a hundred feet South from the foot of Forty-ninth-street, along the bank of the East-river, to one hundred feet North from Sixty-third-street; thence, by an irregular line, to the corner of Sixty-fifth-street and Fourth-avenue; thence to a point about a hundred feet below Sixty-third-street; thence to the Old Post-road, near the corner of Sixty-second-street and Second-avenue; thence along the Old Post-road, nearly to Fifty-ninth-street; thence to the corner of Third-avenue and Sixtieth-street; thence along the Avenue, to Fifty-second-street; thence, including the lots fronting on the West side of the Avenue, to Fiftieth-street; thence nearly to Lexington-avenue; thence, by an irregular line, to the place of beginning. The Turtle-bay property—Map No. XII., ante—bounds them, on the South; and the Estates of the Widow Hardenbrook and Peter Sawyer—Map No. XIV., post—on the North.

The Map includes notes of the conveyances when the several estates were sold; with the names of the several purchasers and the parcels purchased by each.]

XIV.—Map of the Louvre Farm, showing its original perimeter, its division, by partition, into six parcels, and the subsequent division, by partition, of four of these parcels. Also the Widow

Hardenbrook and the Peter Sawyer Farms. Accurately made, from the most reliable data.

[This Farm, the property of Isaac Jones, fronted on the East-river, from below Sixty-fourth-street to Seventy-fourth; and extended back to the Third-avenue—including the grand old "Jones's Woods," so well known to all New Yorkers of twenty years ago.

It was bounded, on the South, by the Beekman Estate—Map No. XIII—and, on the North, by the Riker Estate.]

XV.—Map of that part of the Harlem Commons East of the Fifth-Avenue & Central Park. Copied from the Original map made by Joseph F. Bridges, City Surveyor, January, 1826, now in possession of a gentleman who purchased it through A. R. Morgan, Esqr., from Mr. Bridges, showing also the boundaries given by Charles Clinton, Surveyor, December, 1825, and the inaccuracies of both the above-named maps, with other important information, by J. B. Holmes, Civil Engineer & City Surveyor, May, 1871.

[The property included in this Map was bounded, from Seventy-fourth to Eightieth-street, by the East-river; nearly along Eightieth-street to the First-avenue; thence, diagonally, to Twenty-sixth-street, near the Fifth-avenue; thence, along Fifth-avenue, to seventy-five feet below Eighty-seventh-street; and thence, diagonally, to the East-river, at the place of beginning.

This map contains, also, the Dongan Charter of New Harlem; notes of the different conveyances of property on Harlem-Common, by DeLey Selden; a note on the respective surveys of the Common, by Clinton and Bridges; and outline sketches of Estates of the Protestant Episcopal Charity School, Mr. Lawrence, and Richard Riker.]

XVI.—Map of the Third Avenue Tract, formerly the property of Benjamin P. Benson and Doctor P. Van Arsdale, accurately made, from the most reliable data, by J. B. Holmes, C. E. & City Surveyor, July 29, 1878.

[This Map embraces the old farm of Peter Benson, of whom Benjamin was the son and Doctor Van Arsdale the son-in-law.

It extended from the Fifth-avenue and One hundred and sixth-street, eastward to the First-avenue; thence, diagonally, along Roosevelt-lane, to the "Old Harlem-road," near One hundred and seventeenth-street and Lexington-avenue; thence, along that road to near One hundred and ninth-street and Fifth-avenue; and thence to the place of beginning.

It embraces the pond and the ancient creek known as Marretje Davit's Vly; and the Map contains notes of the different conveyances: Benjamin P. Benson; and his various conveyances to others.]

XVII.—Map of the Benson and Vredeman

Farm, accurately made from reliable data, by J. B. Holmes, C. E. and City Surveyor, April, 1878.

[This property commences at the old "Mill Creek," at the corner of One hundred and eleventh-street and Fifth-avenue; thence, along that ancient water-course, to One hundred and twentieth-street, midway between the Fifth and Sixth-avenues; thence to the "Old Kingsbridge-road," to the northward of One hundred and twenty-first-street; thence, in an irregular line, along that old road, the "Harlem-lane," and the "Old road to Harlem," to the place of beginning.]

The map contains elaborate notes on the title of Peter Poillion to this estate, and a list of the several conveyances, by him and his wife, when it was sold; and, because of its minute description of the ancient roads, in the vicinity of Harlem, it is important to antiquaries and those who are engaged in historical inquiries.]

XVIII.—*Map of property in Harlem, formerly belonging to Charles Henry Hall, together with adjoining Properties, accurately made from the most reliable data*, by J. B. Holmes, C. E., & City Surveyor, January 1, 1874.

[The property included in this map extends from Harlem-river, at Harlem-bridge, along the bank of that river, to One hundred and forty-first-street; thence, diagonally, to Seventh-avenue and One hundred and thirty-sixth-street; thence, along Seventh-avenue, to One hundred and thirty-third-street; thence, diagonally, to the Old Kingsbridge-road, at One hundred and thirtieth-street; thence, diagonally, along the Harlem and Kingsbridge-road, to One hundred and twenty-fourth-street, near Fifth-avenue; thence, along the said Street, to Fifth-avenue; and thence, diagonally, to the place of beginning.]

The map contains, also, notes of conveyances to and from Charles H. Hall, and of various errors in the records.]

XIX.—*Map of the Franklin & Robinson, Janet De Kay, Henry Eckford, Mary Clarke, & Clement C. Moore Estates*. Accurately made from reliable data by John Bute Holmes, C. E. & City Surveyor, November, 1869.

[The estates described in this map, extend along the exterior line, on the North-river, from Nineteenth to Twenty-eighth-streets; thence, along the latter Street, to the Tenth-avenue; thence, to Ninth-avenue, seventy-five feet North of Twenty-eighth-street; thence, southerly, about two hundred feet; thence to the old Fitzroy-road—Twenty-seventh-street near Eighth-avenue; thence, along that old road, nearly to Twenty-ninth-street; thence, easterly, to Twenty-ninth-street, about two hundred feet easterly from the Seventh-avenue; thence, nearly parallel with the Seventh-avenue, to Twenty-first-

street; thence along the latter Street to the Fitzroy-road, near the Eighth-avenue; thence, along the Fitzroy-road, to Nineteenth-street; and thence, along the latter Street, to the place of beginning.]

This map contains, also, memoranda of the conveyances by James De Kay, Charles P. Clinch, Francis R. Tillou, &c., &c., Executors of Henry Eckford; of the Partition of the Mary Clarke Property; and of the conveyances of the Franklin and Robinson Estate, by Elbert Haring, Master in Chancery.

The courses of the Fitzroy and the Abingdon-roads are laid down on this map, making it peculiarly interesting to antiquaries.]

XX.—*Map of the Glass-house farm. Also the Schroeppe, Ray, and other Estates, Down to the Franklin & Robinson, and the Widow Mary Clarke and Thomas B. Clarke*. Accurately made, from reliable data, by J. B. Holmes, Civil Engineer and City Surveyor, January, 1878.

[The estates embraced in this map extend from the Hudson-river, on the West, to the old Fitzroy-road, near the Eighth-avenue, on the East; and from Twenty-eighth to Forty-second-streets.]

They are bounded, on the South, by the Estates of Thomas B. and Mary Clarke; on the East, by the Estates of Franklin and Robinson—Map No. XIX., ante; William J. and James A. Stewart—Map No. VIII., ante; Jacob S. Arden, Samuel Osgood, and Isaac Moses; and, on the North, by the Hermitage Farm—Map No. XXI., post.

The map contains notes of conveyances by George Rapelje and wife, Susanna Elizabeth Rapelje, the Chemical Manufacturing Co., the Trustees of Esther Nelson, Richard Pennel and Henry W. Schroeppe and their wives, and David S. Jones and wife, together with a description of the forged titles, to Ann Smith, which were made by one Skidmore, in January, 1885.]

XXI.—*Map of the Hermitage Farm and the Norton Estate*. Compiled from authentic data, by John Bute Holmes, C. E. & City Surveyor, November, 1872.

[This is the old Leake Estate, extending, from Forty-second-street, near Twelfth-avenue, along the North-river, to Forty-eighth-street; thence to the Bloomingdale-road, near Forty-third-street; thence, along that road, to Thirty-ninth-street; thence, along the latter Street, nearly to Ninth-avenue; thence, northerly, to the middle of the block, between Fortieth and Forty-first-streets; thence, westerly, in an irregular line, to the place of beginning.]

This map presents the courses of the old Lake-tour and the old Fitzroy-roads; and contains an abstract of the title to the Hermitage Farm, as well as a list of the purchasers from Norton.]

The map of the Rutger Estate is nearly ready and will materially increase the value of this series of surveys, both to antiquaries and members of the Bar.

Our readers will perceive, from this description of them, the exact character of these Maps, as well as their very great importance.

They are very handsomely executed, both in the engraving and the coloring; and, if we do not mistake, they may be purchased either single or in complete sets, from the Publisher, Mr. Holmes, 89 Nassau-street, opposite the Post-office, New York City.

OUR EXCHANGES—*Continued*.—We continue the notices of our various exchanges, commenced in our last; and, in our next number, we shall extend our attention to the very few newspapers which we have cared to exchange with.

—*Harpers' New Monthly Magazine*, published by Harper & Brothers, New York, at Four dollars per annum, is now in its forty-eighth volume; and is the most profusely illustrated of American monthlies. Without pretending to be very profound or very philosophical, in its teachings, it is, nevertheless, one of the best, for general reading in the family; and its enormous circulation makes it one of the best known.

—*The Phrenological Journal and Life Illustrated*, published by Samuel R. Wells, New York, monthly, at three dollars per year, is a really excellent work, devoted to Science, Literature, and General Intelligence, and richly deserves the extended support which it enjoys. It is peculiarly interesting to all who have brains which they care for, to all who are not ashamed to look another in the face or be looked at by him, to all who are interested in the Natural History of Man and to all whose life is worth preserving, whose children are worth a decent training, and whose wives are worth being cared for. It is well edited, well illustrated, well printed; and our old friend Wells is eminently entitled to all the prosperity he enjoys.

—*The Science of Health*, a new monthly devoted to health on Hygienic Principles, published by Samuel R. Wells, New York, at Two dollars per annum, is a very useful work to all who are interested either in their own good health or that of others; and, although many will not concur in all that it contains, all will find much in it, which they may usefully read and profitably practice. It is illustrated with appropriate cuts; and it is very neatly printed.

—*St. Nicholas. Scribner's Illustrated Magazine for Girls and Boys. Conducted by Mary Mapes Dodge*. Published by Scribner & Co., New York. A new candidate for the favor of the little folks, "girls and boys;" and one which appears to be well adapted for its peculiar mission. It contains articles by several well-known authors; is well printed; and its illustrations are abundant, appropriate, and beautiful specimens of wood-engraving. Altogether, it is full of promise; and our knowledge of its publishers is a sufficient guarantee, to us, that it will be just what it promises.

P. S.—The first number was sent to us, and we penned the above notice of the work: as no other number has reached us, we suppose the Magazine was too good to be well received, in this frivolous age, and so was not continued. So we go.

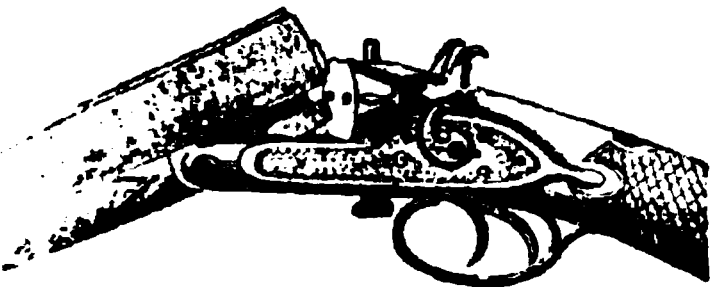
—*Wood's Household Magazine*. New York City and Newburgh, N. Y. Monthly. Octavo, pp. 48. Price \$1. per year.

Several numbers of this interesting monthly have been sent to us; and we have looked over them, carefully. It is evidently edited with good judgment; and the spirit of its articles is unexceptionable. It does not pretend, we believe, to be a religious periodical; but many of its articles are eminently religious, in their teachings, and all of them, as far as we have seen them, are such as may profitably find readers in every family. In short, we consider it one of the very best of the smaller periodicals, for family reading; and we do not hesitate to admit it into our own family.

We have also received from the same office, a copy of a very beautiful chromo of *The Yosemite Valley*, which is supplied, as a premium, to subscribers of the Magazine for two subscriptions or subscriptions for two years. We have seldom seen a landscape which has been more faithfully copied, in the finer details; and we do not hesitate to pronounce it a perfect little gem.

—*The Sunday Dispatch*, published by Everett & Hincken, Philadelphia, at Two dollars and sixty cents per year, is an excellent weekly, devoted to Philadelphia and her interests, and widely circulated. It is important to us and to all collectors of local histories, because of *A History of Philadelphia*, from the pen of our friend, Thomas Westcott, which is being published in it. It has already extended to upwards of three hundred Chapters; and Philadelphia may well be proud of her historian, who is able, and willing to present her annals.

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OF

AMERICA.

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NOVEMBER, 1873.

[No. 5.

I.—REMINISCENCES OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

By GENERAL E. P. SCAMMON, U. S. A.

In passing up the Fifth Avenue, during a recent visit to New York, our attention was directed to the monument raised in honor of a noted soldier, who has long been numbered with the dead heroes of almost forgotten wars. We were not disposed to question the justice of a sentiment which found expression in this noble cenotaph; though we could not but ask—"Where is the public monument to the older and greater soldier, the master in war, and, through all his life of usefulness, the active patron of him whose deeds are here commemorated?" We know of one which filial piety gave to the memory of a noble father; but we know of none raised in honor of the man who, when a whole country lay dejected by defeat, inaugurated victory; who, by a wise discretion, saved the nation from war, when even successful war had been disaster; who, when age began to tell upon his strength, led our armies to victory, in a foreign land, though means for waging war were given grudgingly, lest the too successful *General* might prove a dangerous rival in the field of politics, at home. We asked ourselves, why some great men are so soon forgotten. The memory of their deeds may live, and their record may fill the brightest page of a country's history; while their names, if not buried in oblivion, live in connexion with their foibles, rather than by the memory of their achievements. It is the fate of some men to have few points of contact with the age in which they live: To them, merit is rarely conceded, save for selfish ends. Urgent necessity, alone, can give them power; and, that allayed, the greedy world hastens to decry their claims to greatness, lest greatness should gain reward.

We have long purposed to contribute to our country's history, one brief chapter which has remained, till now, unwritten. While the parties here mentioned were living, one would naturally shrink from heralding their claims to honor; and, now that they have passed away, we would not be unmindful of the words—

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"*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*;" but, when justice to the wronged implies the reproach of others, should justice be withheld?

The little that we purpose to write may not demand so long a preface; which may mislead the reader to expect some wondrous revelation; but we cannot enter upon the record without this brief reference to motives and restraints.

It was our fortune, in early life, to become acquainted with General Scott. In the Winter of 1846-7, we joined him, at Brazos Santiago, and, for a time, made one of his military family. Much of his correspondence passed under our eyes; and what we write became known to us, as the copyist of his letters and the witness of whatever else we here record, beyond what has before been published. We are not professing to write the history of our War with Mexico, nor to discuss the merits of its cause. A reference to both, is but the revival of recollections pertaining to our subject.

Sundry adventurers, for the most part Americans, who, under certain conditions, changed their nationality to colonize the Mexican territory of Texas, had declared their independence of the parent State, and confirmed the declaration by force of arms. Whether they were justified by wrongs imposed by their Mexican rulers, is not here discussed. We only state the fact of their recognition, as an independent State, by the principal maritime powers, and their subsequent annexation, by formal Treaty, to the United States. Mexico declared the river Nueces to be the western boundary of Texas; and attempted to enforce her sovereignty over the country lying between that river and the Rio Grande del Norte. To repel a threatened invasion of this territory, the United States, during the Winter of 1845-6, assembled a considerable body of troops, at Corpus Christi, on the Texan coast. Early in the following Spring, this force advanced to Brazos Santiago, and established an intrenched camp, at Point Isabel. Actual war began with the combats of the eighth and ninth of May, 1846. The close of that year, found our forces, under General Taylor, in possession of the Brazos and the line of the Rio Grande, to Monterey and

Saltillo. But, as far as *conquering a Peace* was concerned, the battles, won with such credit to the bravery of the General and his little army, might as well have been fought upon the islands of the sea. The head of the War Department, in all but name, the *head* of the Administration, was restive under fruitless victories. The glories of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, and Monterey served to silence opposition, while the shouts of victory lasted; but, barren of results, could scarce survive their echo. Something more than victories must be gained to save *the party* from disgrace. Their ablest statesman was alive to this necessity; and his measures proved his shrewdness equal to its exigence. How they were taken, is what we have to tell.

Some years after the Mexican War was ended, and its recriminations had become dead issues,—long after the conquered Peace was found to consist of California, New Mexico, and Democratic succession in the Presidency—we chanced, in Florida, to meet this astute statesman, under circumstances of unrestraint. Knowing our *quondam* relations to General Scott, he seemed more than willing to discuss the recent War and its events. Since then, we have sometimes witnessed what soldiers call “*making history*,” but how the history *makers* were managed, from behind the scenes, we might sometimes chance to guess, but never had been told. After the lapse of more than twenty years, we do not pretend to recall precise words and phrases, though they seemed stereotyped in memory; and what may have been the motive of the revelation, beyond the pleasure which old soldiers take “to fight their battles o’er again,” we now, as then, but guess.

“Scott”—said he—“thought I opposed his ‘going to Mexico. But, in fact, I sent him there. It required some management; but I saw that, while Taylor was brave enough, and had been successful in fighting the Mexicans, he was not equal to directing the more extended operations which the War demanded. I told the President that some one of more ability must conduct the War, or the Administration would be disgraced. In short, that Scott must take command of the Army in the field. The President opposed me. ‘It would never do.—It would end in making Scott President of the United States!’ I replied, that failure in prosecuting the War would ruin the Administration and the party; for the country would certainly ascribe our discomfiture to jealousy of the General-in-chief. If anything would make him President, that would, unquestionably, do it. But then, Benton would disapprove; and, if he opposed us in the Senate, we were almost powerless.

“‘No, it would never do.’ After much discussion, the President yielded, very reluctantly, subject to the assent of Colonel Benton. On suggesting the matter to him, it was again met by the same objection.—‘It would make Scott President and destroy the Democratic party.’ “‘Well,’ said I, ‘we have no other resource.’ “‘We cannot, without ostensible reasons, set him aside for a younger man; and, I think we need not have much fear of the result,’ you apprehend. Let him go to Mexico and get affairs *in train*; and, before the War is ended, we can easily take the wind out of his sails. We might send a Lieutenant-general to supersede him. You are a military man. How would you like to go, yourself?’ “‘he had no ambition in that direction.’ But the bait was taken.”

“But,” we replied, ‘you actually introduced a Bill to create the office, or rank, of Lieutenant-general; and, as was supposed, with the purpose of appointing Colonel Benton.’ “‘yes, we had to introduce the Bill; but I took good care that it should never get through Congress!’

How far this care would have been effective, if unaided by the earnest protest of others, it is now impossible to know. The essential change in the Bill, before its passage, enabled the Government to offer Colonel Benton the rank of a Major-general; which, under the existing law, would have placed him in subordination to General Scott. It was therefore, declined; and the demolition of political aspirations, on the part of the commanding General, was left to the chapter of subsequent events.

Between Scott and Benton, though of opposite parties, the political manager could find little ground of choice. Both were alike impracticable. In fact, the passage of the Bill as first proposed, would have been almost as great an embarrassment as the War itself. The Secretary knew his subjects, well. He did not underrate their power; but, knowing how to utilize it, he made their strength his own. It was a happy conception to gain credit to the Administration for increase of territory—“tending the area of freedom”—and the redress of national wrong! while getting rid of both. So Colonel Benton strengthened the Government while awaiting what never came, and General Scott assumed command of the army in Mexico, to *conquer a Peace*.

The commanding General reached the East about the end of December and awaited the arrival of troops and transports, ordnance, and other *material* of war, which came so tardily to provoke impatience and distrust. He started for the seat of war, in full assurance

prompt and vigorous support, only to find his measures thwarted by disappointments and delay. To those cognizant of the correspondence between the General and the War Department, the lack of mutual confidence became but too apparent. While one party chafed under imposed restraints, the other was worried by conflicting aims. On one hand, protracted and unsuccessful war entailed disgrace: on the other, rapid and brilliant conquests might dangerously exalt their author in popular esteem. Hence, while ensuring delay, "*festina lente*," became the more appropriate motto of the War Department. The Government, as well as some of the military commanders, seemed to regard the War as affecting party ends, at home. In war, justified by the pretense of vindicating the national honor and redressing wrong, the South might think to gain a wider field for negro slavery. Adventurers, both North and South, and all to whom any change was gain, were prone to hope that through California and New Mexico lay that easy road to fortune which is ever the dream of indolence and unthrift. When war once declared, to fight was patriotic and they who made the war must needs be patriots. The charms of conquest would strengthen their hold of power. To gain it, to ignore the conqueror, was, then, the problem to be solved. It was a game in which the stakes were patronage and the Presidency. To this extent, all parties saw alike. Where the game ended, when the stakes were won, was quite another question; which the able manager, Washington, proposed and answered, before any move was made. The right or wrong of warring with the selfish aspirations of friend and foe, as means to attain a necessary end, we leave to others to decide. That he believed the War was just—demanded by the bad faith and aggressive acts of Mexico—we do not doubt. But, finding himself embarrassed in the administration of the War Department, by the jealousies of political opponents and the lies of friends, he gave opportunity to insinuations of bad faith, we know; but it has always seemed to us that, while loyal to his political party, he *fore-saw*, rather than created, means of thwarting the ulterior designs of it. And yet, there is abundant evidence that the Administration did not, from the commencement of General Scott's campaign, intend that he should bring the War to a close. Those in the confidence of the President were under the belief that the organization of the invading army and the taking of Vera Cruz would terminate the service of the commanding General, Mexico. The extraordinary delay of transports and vessels laden with the surf-boats, for landing troops, and the necessary material for

conducting a siege threatened to make the capture of that city and its fortress the end of the campaign.

Though the troops destined for the invasion of Mexico were assembled at the Brazos and Tampico, by the middle of January, it was not until the fifteenth of February that the General was enabled to set sail. Touching at Tampico, he reviewed the command of General Twiggs, and prepared the General Orders announcing the organization of his Army, and directed to the preservation of its *morale*, while in the enemy's country. He reached the Island of Lobos, sixty miles South of Tampico, on the twenty-first. Worth's command sailed from Brazos, on the twenty-fifth. Twiggs embarked from Tampico, on the twenty-eighth. On the second of March, most of the transports having arrived at Lobos, the General Orders, prepared at Tampico, were published to the Army; and the fleet got under way for Anton Lizardo—a point some twelve miles South of Vera Cruz. The fleet numbered about one hundred vessels. Four of this number were left at Lobos, under special instructions, to await the arrival of missing vessels.

On the sixth, the General, accompanied by the Division and Brigade Commanders, Commodore Connor, and other officers of the Navy, and sundry officers of the Staff and Staff Corps, went on board the captured Steamer *Petrita*, for the ostensible purpose of reconnoitering the coast North of Vera Cruz. The *real* object was to leave the enemy in doubt as to the place of landing; which the General had already determined should be made at a point nearly opposite the island of Sacrificios, South of the city. Of some thirty officers on board the *Petrita*, but six or seven are now living. Some of the party have played conspicuous parts on larger fields than those of Mexico—most notably, *Lee*, *Jo. Johnston*, *Meade*, and *Beauregard*.

The reconnoissance, at one time, threatened to prove a disaster. The course of the Steamer lay between coral reefs, which brought her within range of the heavy guns of San Juan de Ulloa. As the boats of the squadron had repeatedly made the passage, without molestation from the guns of the castle, the naval commander supposed it beyond their reach. It was impossible to change the Steamer's course, until the passage was cleared; and, for a few minutes, the commanders of both Army and Navy, their Lieutenants, and the chief officers of the Staff and Staff Corps, became a target to the batteries of San Juan. Some of their missiles passed astern; some athwart the bows of the Steamer; and one just cleared the wheel-house. Happily, the vessel was soon beyond the range of the Mexican guns, or the Army would have

been left without Generals and the fleet without a Commodore; and, perhaps, Bull's Run and Gettysburg would now have no significance beyond the designation of a muddy streamlet and a country village. To attempt the passage was an act of gross rashness or more criminal carelessness, because unnecessary for attaining the end proposed.

On the ninth, the troops of Worth's command were transferred to Navy-vessels and Steamers; and, the British, French, and Spanish Squadrons having been advised that the space between the island of Sacrificios and the shore would be required by the American war-vessels and transports, the whole fleet moved up to that anchorage, and the landing was effected, without opposition. By the twelfth of the month, despite the occurrence of unfavorable weather, the troops were in position, and the Engineers busily engaged in examining the ground and establishing batteries. Operations were delayed by the occurrence of a violent gale, which prevented the landing of ordnance, and in which some of the transports were driven ashore. On the twenty-second, seven ten-inch mortars and one or two guns being in position, the surrender of the place was formally demanded. Captain Joseph E. Johnston, of the Topographical Engineers, was bearer of the summons. Accompanied by Mr. Cox, a gentleman well versed in the Spanish language, as interpreter, and by a white flag, borne by a diminutive trumpeter mounted on a very tall horse, not unworthy the name of "Rosinanti," the gallant soldier advanced toward the walls and sounded *the Parley*. Our camp was behind a ridge of sand-hills, South of the town; and we remember that curiosity, excited by what seemed so like the *gesta* of Knights, in the olden time, led many of our comrades to climb to the summit of the ridge, to witness the novel spectacle of summoning a walled city to surrender. The General could not restrain his impatience to await the return of his messenger; but, accompanied by his Aides and the Surgeon-general, he rode along the beach, to meet him. The answer was "*the only one consistent with the honor of the garrison.*" The General did not expect a surrender at his demand; but the prompt refusal, followed by a shot from the town, by way of defiance, seemed to rouse all the combativeness of his nature. Turning to one of his Aides, he exclaimed—"Ride to the batteries, as fast as possible, and order them to commence firing! If they don't open within five minutes, I shall feel eternally disgraced!"—and so the ball opened.

To most of those engaged, the work that then began was like the realization of a dream. Vera Cruz was the only walled city they had

ever seen. The quick flash and booming sound of cannon, the shriek of shot and shells, had all the interest of novelty; though, at times, it might be hard to persuade ourselves that what was passing, was other than the artillery and mortar-practice, so often witnessed on the banks of the Hudson. Indeed, the casualties were so few as to seem the result of accident rather than hostility.

On the fifth day of the bombardment, a Memorial was received from the English, French, Spanish, and Prussian Consuls, in Vera Cruz, asking a *truce*, to enable them and the women and children of the city to retire. Due notice of the investment and of the purpose to bombard the town had been given. The blockade had been left open to Consuls and other neutrals up to the twenty-second of the month; and safeguards had been offered to enable them to pass our lines. It was manifest that they, advised of the slender means at hand, for prosecuting the siege, had chosen to remain and give the Mexicans the moral support of their presence. The experience of a few days awakened "sentiments of humanity," that before were dormant. Now, they "supposed the American General did not purpose to make war on neutrals, or upon women and children." "By no means!" said the General; "but that was duly considered, and ample time and opportunity to leave the city was afforded. You chose to remain. You now want to go out, to enable our enemies to prolong a useless defense, only to *augment our casualties*. We too, have women and children, who are liable to be made widows and orphans by the resistance which you have encouraged. You shall remain where you are; and I will receive no more proposals from the town, not made with a view to its surrender."

General Landero had now succeeded General Morales, in the command of Vera Cruz. On the morning of the twenty-sixth, the new commander proposed to surrender the place. Generals Worth and Pillow and Colonel Totten, Chief Engineer, were appointed Commissioners, on the part of General Scott. They met the Mexican Commissioners, near an old Lime-Kiln, between our camp and the town. The conference lasted until night; when the Commissioners returned and made their report. Nothing had been concluded. "Well, General," said Worth, "they are only trying to gain time. They expect us to come to their aid and compel us to risk the siege, or else to keep us back, by *dallying*, until the yellow fever does it for them. They don't mean to surrender! You will be obliged to take the town by assault." "What did they say? Did they make no proposition?" replied Scott. "Oh! they drew up ses-

propositions, which I declined to receive. I told them it was quite useless to propose terms: they would not be entertained. I did, however, consent to receive a paper which they were anxious to have submitted to you. But I told them it was useless. It is understood that if nothing is received from you, in the meantime, the fire of the batteries will re-open, at six o'clock to-morrow morning. Here is the paper: it is only a *ruse*, to gain time." Well, Gentlemen," said the General, "we can do no more, to-night. We must all have sleep. Good night!" and the Commissioners tired.

We were seated near the General's tent, and Worth passed out. He halted, for a moment, and said, "Well, Mr. ———, it is just as I expected. The Mexicans are only trying to gain time. We have the game in our own hands; but, I am afraid it will end in a *muss*. We ought to assault the place, to-morrow morning. I am ready to do it, with my command; as I have just told General Scott. I am afraid it will be deferred until it is too late. I wash my hands of it." He was hardly out of hearing when General Scott appeared at the opening of the tent. "Is General Worth gone? Call Mr. ———, and ———, I want you all! Now let us see what the Mexican gentlemen have to say for themselves?" The paper was found to contain *six propositions*, as a basis of Convention between the contending parties. They were substantially as follows: The Mexican forces to evacuate the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa and the forts Santiago and Conception. The garrisons, raising their arms, to salute their flag, and, with drums beating and colors flying, retire to the interior, by the *Camino Real*. Non-combatants and neutrals to be protected in persons and property. Churches and religious houses to be protected. The inhabitants to be secured the free exercise of their religion.

On hearing this paper read, the general was much surprised and annoyed. He, at once, detected it quite evident that the Mexican Commander wanted but the appearance of terms, before making a surrender. "And now," said "I am obliged to override the action of my commissioners, or be responsible for the lives of two or three thousand men, who would inevitably be destroyed in taking the place by assault. How could they help seeing that the garrison only wanted an excuse, to surrender?" and then he wrote out a reply to the propositions, thus informally presented. The terms set forth in this reply differed from the original and only in *accepting the surrender of the Castle of San Juan with the city*. The town and its defenses were to be surrendered. The prisoners of the several forts were to march out,

with their arms and colors; pile them at a point designated; formally surrender, as prisoners of war; and be parolled. The protection of private persons and property, churches and religious houses, was formally guaranteed. The General was careful to note that all this was virtually implied in his original demand. Thus the *terms* offered, were precisely what would have been observed had no stipulations been made. The *form* of Convention was granted to the pride of the garrison, while, in fact, it was a surrender at discretion.

The Articles of Capitulation were signed and exchanged on the night of the twenty-seventh. At ten o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-ninth, the Army marched into the city. As the General, with his escort, passed along the beach, in view of the fleet, its guns thundered forth a grand salute; and cheer after cheer was given by the crews who manned the yards and lined the bulwarks of the ships. Vera Cruz, with its great fortress, was ours. About *five thousand prisoners of war, six thousand stands of arms, five hundred pieces of artillery, the possession of the city and its Castle, the two forts of Conception and Santiago, together with the only valuable port on the Gulf-coast of Mexico,—the key to the country and its capital—were the immediate results of the Siege of Vera Cruz*; and, knowing, as we do, every step in its history, from its inception to its close, the inherent difficulties, and the embarrassments arising from jealousy, indiscretion, and bad faith, we can recall no great achievement in war, which may, with equal justice, be ascribed to the General in command.

It seemed almost incredible, that so strong a place had really surrendered to our little army. But, as we entered the town, all wonder ceased. A considerable part of the city was in ruins. On some of the streets, most exposed to our batteries, one saw only fragments of wall, standing amidst heaps of stone and mortar, to mark where buildings stood, before the siege began. On entering the great fortress of San Juan de Ulloa, which makes, at once, the port and its defense, the soundness of judgment which directed the mode of attack, was fully demonstrated. It was almost uninjured. A single dismounted gun, of all its mighty armament, was the only evidence of injury. But a few years had elapsed since this Castle of San Juan had been captured by a French fleet, a part of which was commanded by the Prince de Joinville, whose success was due to the accidental explosion of a magazine, as well as to the apathy and disaffection of the garrison. Its gray walls showed, here and there, a slight abrasion; but neither the French nor the American batteries had done them serious injury; but when the city and its forts—Santiago and Conception—

had succumbed, the reduction of the Castle became a certainty; and further resistance, without hope of succor, could only assure the speedy destruction of the town and its defenses. General Scott was so well assured of this, that, wishing "to spare their beautiful city," his first demand was limited to its surrender; and was coupled with a pledge not to construct batteries within its limits, nor to employ its guns against the Castle of San Juan. The Mexican commander fully comprehended the situation; and when the surrender of the town became a necessity, he gave up its fortress as untenable.

The day before the victorious army entered Vera Cruz, we expressed some apprehension of rudeness or irreverence in churches or to other monuments of religion—an occurrence which could not fail to provoke the resentment of the inhabitants, and give color to the assertions of their unprincipled chiefs, that we were a nation of heretics, and warring against their religion. "Well thought of!"—said the General—"I place all the churches and convents under your charge. You may post sentinels before every one; and I will hold you responsible for their protection from insult or injury."

A few days after the surrender, a small vessel, partly laden with ice and other commodities likely to find a ready market among soldiers, in the first flush of victory, entered the port. Consequent upon this arrival, the General invited the Division and Brigade Commanders, and the chiefs of the several Staff-departments, to a *Symposium*, at Head-quarters. We were the only junior officer present, and, of course, played the part of respectful listener. The conversation, very naturally, turned from recent events to past experiences. Several of the party had been the General's companions-in-arms, in what was yet called "*The last War*"—in 1812-14. It was by direct questions, rather than by suggesting the subject, that he was led "to fight his battles o'er again." Queenstown Heights and Chippewa were fully discussed; and many interesting incidents of personal experience rehearsed. There was no boasting, either in language or manner; nor a display of that more offensive phase of pride, which challenges applause by aping humility. A General could not as well describe events of which he was the author, as if he had played no part therein. That were the play of Hamlet without a Prince of Denmark. All knew that he was invited to describe the incidents of what had long been part of history. Yet we remember seeing glances exchanged, between Worth, and Pillow, and one or two others, that plainly told the motive of their seeming interest; and that the fling of "*egotism and vanity*" would follow the narrative, so frankly given, at their own request.

When the guests had left the palace, the General seemed annoyed at some slight indication of *nervousness* on our part; and turning, in his walk across the room, said, "Young gentleman! I hope, I sincerely hope, that you do not think me quite so great a fool as not to know that I sometimes say silly things." To this we answered—"You have said nothing silly—nothing that could have been left unsaid, without real or apparent affectation. But I was annoyed, because I knew the subject of conversation was introduced for a purpose, by those who are not your friends." "Stop, sir!" said the General, "You shall not make use of your position to prejudice me against others." "I do not wish to do so," we answered, "but I know, as you have often told me, that 'an Aide-de-camp, should be eyes and ears to his General;' and I have told you the truth."

As soon as means of transportation could be obtained—for the supply of draught animals as of every thing else, was insufficient—the order of march towards Jalapa was issued. The Division of General Twiggs was given the advance. A few hours after the publication of the Order, General Worth was announced. He entered with an air that told the character of his errand, before a word was spoken. What he did speak, it was in these words: "I have come, General, to ask a question, if I may be permitted to do so." "Certainly!" "It is, 'why am I to be disgraced?' General Scott replied, with much deliberation, "I will not affect ignorance of your meaning; but, General Worth! I have been too long your friend to be suspected of a desire to do you an injustice. Nor will I be unjust to others. It would be unjust to the rest of this army, to allow your command always to have the advances. Orders should have opportunities as well as you; and I will not do an injustice to please my best friend." Worth muttered some disjointed sentences, to the effect that his command felt that they had been degraded; but, really, could make no reply. He went away, evidently dissatisfied. Vexed that he could not always have the post of honor, and angry at knowing himself to be in the wrong, he never forgave. It was a notable example of that worst phase of human selfishness,—that makes it easier for some natures to forgive a wrong received, than the occasion of their own wrong-doing. How far other influences than selfish greed of distinction were then at work, in the mind of Worth we do not know; but it is very certain that consciously or unconsciously, he then commenced the work which made part of the political programme of the Administration—*vanquish the victor*.

Perhaps no profession or calling in life affords a better field for the study of human nature, in its selfish aspects, than that of arms. The politician may afford, like Cæsar, to refuse a regal crown, only to assure its coming. The soldier *glories* in his greed for honor—without the world deems him too *tame* for the eager ruses of war. We have had but one Washington; and of him a poet has said, half sneeringly,

*"Nature designed thee for a hero's mould,
But ere she cast thee, let the stuff grow cold."*

We applaud the soldier who perils his life for honor; but he must be imbued with loyalty to truth. A stern *sense* of honor must go with him, or he becomes only a trickster or a hired assassin.

We remember that, after there had been a decision of some question relating to service, which Pillow was interested, this favorite President Polk seemed almost overcome with admiration of the commanding General. Whether its expression was given with a view to reaching the ears of the General, we cannot say; but we cannot forget the effusion with which he declared—"I'll be the friend of General Scott, as long as I live!" Only a few months had passed, when it became patent to the world that he was so thoroughly faithless to his commander, that nothing but utter insignificance could shield him from the weight of censure due to his intrigues and false pretensions. He, too, could correspond with the Government, without the *visé* of the commanding General; and aid the work of "*taking the wind out of his sails*."

We have not hesitated to name these Generals, because their combined enmity became matter of official record; and their determined bitterness was only commensurate with the life-long obligations of the one, and the professions of faithful friendship which both so loudly proclaimed, until hostility promised larger rewards. Those who knew the unfriendliness toward General Scott, of those holding the reins of government; who safely trusted to its protecting ægis, when its interest might conflict with duty. In a large army, small cabals of grumblers may be of little weight; but, in small commands, where chiefs are few in number and in constant, familiar intercourse, such *cliques* assume proportions almost of mutiny. But when rulers, eager to seize some pretext to rob a commander of his powers, lend willing ears to the clamors of discontented selfishness—the greed for honors, where *honor* has no claim—the success of intrigues and slander is almost assured. Such was the position of the commanding General, in Mexico; and, as we recall the names of his

lieutenants, we see how certainly the political chess-player could count upon results. The chiefs of the several Staff-departments were men of science as well as soldiers, whose political preferences were not partisan in character. Duty, professional renown, and military rank were their sole incentives. In the old army, there was but one, and he the special friend and *protégé* of the commanding General, who might even be suspected of other than professional ambition; though some of lesser rank might minister to his vanity or pander to his wishes. But some of the commanders who came from civil life—there were bright exceptions—were politicians more than soldiers; and, in their normal character, too insignificant to excite distrust, sure to do the work expected at their hands, and *think it all their own*. Is it strange that, irritated by the failures of promised support from home; harassed by the intrigues of subordinate Generals and their satellites, and soured by the ingratitude of those who owed all—even their power to injure—to his favor, his naturally quick temper was not always under wise control? Thus opportunity was given, and seized, most eagerly, to mar the freshness of his laurels, lest their brightness might daze the eyes of his countrymen, and the conqueror of Mexico, not unlike the saintly discoverer of this western world, returned, to learn that the mind which could compass the conquest of a nation in arms, was held in light esteem, in the strife of politicians, without principle, and by a people disciplined in obedience to the tribunes of a party. And so the world was given one more of those examples of national ingratitude and a people's folly, which almost make one doubt if men should choose their rulers. A life devoted to a nation's service; great deeds, so tempered by discretion that one may question whether the glories of the battle-field equalled, in merit, the less glittering conquests of peace; unsullied fame, all weighed in the balance of popular esteem, against clownish jests and tricks of party management—held but as "*trifles light as air!*" Even, when bent with years and yielding to the sure approach of death, he ventured to indicate the only mode of suppressing "the great rebellion," his words were held in derision as the senseless drivel of senility. Yet the great General who so worthily fills his place, did, after all, but crush the monster, born of treason and fanaticism, in the folds of that "*Anaconda*" whose name was but a *synonyme* for the folly of imbecile old age. It was eminently proper that the conceptions of Scott, in his dotage, should be approved and executed by the insanity of Sherman. Let us hope, for our country's sake, that he may never regain his *reason*.

Even as we write, we learn that Congress has

voted a statue to the memory of General Scott. It is a mighty recompense; and marks the greatness of a people, and, to-day, as in future years, the rich banker and the prosperous merchant can point, with swelling pride, to this evidence of a nation's gratitude for great and life-long service, given to preserve the integrity of a nation and the glorious institutions that have made *them* Princes in the land.

II.—PATRICK HENRY.

A VINDICATION OF HIS CHARACTER, AS AN ORATOR AND AS A MAN.

BY HIS GRANDSON, WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, ESQ. OF CHARLOTTE C. H., VIRGINIA.

CHARLOTTE CO. HO. VA.
October 3rd. 1872.

VINE WRIGHT KINGSLEY, ESQ.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of the 7th ulto. has been received, together with the *Galaxy* for September, 1870, which you enclosed me; and I avail myself of the first moment of leisure, to furnish you the comments you desire, on the article of Mr. E. A. Pollard, entitled, *Historic doubts concerning Patrick Henry*.

After assuming that the life of Mr. Henry, by William Wirt, is the only historical evidence we have of the assertion that Patrick Henry was a great orator, Mr. Pollard endeavors to destroy the value of that evidence, by his assertion, that Mr. Wirt's description of the eloquence of the Reverend Doctor James Waddell was false; and that Mr. Waddell was not even blind, as stated by Mr. Wirt.

We are not favored with any authority for these statements of Mr. Pollard, in reference to the Reverend Doctor Waddell; and did the matter rest between the assertions of Mr. Wirt and Mr. Pollard, perhaps I would not be singular in believing the former. Mr. Wirt, however, was not the only man who considered Doctor Waddell as a man of extraordinary eloquence, as is testified to in the *Sketches of the Presbyterian Church, in Virginia*, by the Reverend Doctor W. H. Foote, (*Chapter XVI.*) and in the *Life of Archibald Alexander, D. D.*, by James W. Alexander, D. D. his son, and the grandson of Doctor Waddell (*Chapter IX.*). The eloquence and the blindness of Doctor Waddell are abundantly proven by these authors. But, had Mr. Wirt overdrawn the picture, it would prove nothing to his prejudice, as a historian, as he was doing nothing more than contributing a series of entertaining articles to a newspaper, under the assumed name of a *British Spy*.

In the preface to his life of Henry, Mr. Wirt gives the names of Mr. Henry's contemporaries, who aided him in preparing his book. Amongst others, we find the names of Judge Tyler, Judge Roane, Judge Tucker, Governor Page, Edmund Randolph, and Thomas Jefferson—names illustrious in Virginia annals. The last-named examined the work, in manuscript, and advised its publication. (*See letters of Jefferson and Wirt, in Kennedy's Life of Wirt, i., 407-412.*) After its publication, John Adams wrote to the author. "I esteem the character of Mr. Henry an honor to our country and your volume a masterly delineation of it." (*See Life and Works of John Adams, by Charles Francis Adams, x., 277.*) I might add much more testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Wirt's picture of Patrick Henry; but I care not to say more on this point; and, as Mr. Pollard questions his veracity, I will only refer to him, when he is sustained by others.

Mr. Pollard asserts that the fame of Henry is almost exclusively traditional; and that it is an exceptional case, in American history—a reputation so great as is, in our present day, asserted for him, so utterly naked of historical evidences, and so utterly dependent on the popular imagination to sustain and transmit; that none of his utterances survive, not one of his actual speeches, except a few detached sentences of doubtful authenticity; and he arrives at the conclusion that he was no orator in the sense in which Cicero, Burke, Fox, Mirabeau, and men of their stamp, were orators.

It is certainly much to be regretted that so few of the speeches of Mr. Henry have been preserved. He had no vanity about them; and was remarkably careless as to their preservation. He probably never wrote out a speech, either before or after its delivery. The speeches delivered in the Virginia Convention of 1775 and before the Federal Court, at Richmond, in the British debt cause, were the only ones taken down by a stenographer, so far as I know; and Mr. Robertson, in his preface to the *Virginia Debates*, does not vouch for their literal accuracy, always, and, in many passages, confesses his inability to follow him. Mr. Henry never corrected the manuscript; so, at best, we can only regard his speeches, in that volume, as an outline, rather than a fair and full report of what was uttered by him.

Admit all of this, however, and still there is enough in these speeches, taken in connection with other evidence, to prove that Patrick Henry was an orator of the very highest order. As to the other speeches given by his biographer, I am not prepared to establish, by other evidence than that adduced by Mr. Wirt, himself, that they were all delivered by Henry, exactly as given. But there is conclusive evidence

that some of the celebrated passages were actually uttered by Mr. Henry. The passage in his speech on offering his Resolutions against the Stamp Act, commencing, "Cesar had his 'Brutus,' etc., is vouched for by Judge Tyler and Mr. Jefferson; (*See note of Mr. Wirt, to the passage*) and is given by Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, (v., 274,) on the authority of a contemporaneous letter to England. The passage in his speech before the Virginia Convention, in March, 1775, on the proposition to arm the Colony, concluding: "Give me liberty or give me death," is given by Mr. Wirt on the authority of Judge Tucker and Edmund Randolph's manuscript *History of Virginia*. In the October number, for 1870, of *Debow's Review*, the Rev. Edward Fontaine, of Louisiana, relates that John Roane, of King William-county, Virginia—one of the first Presidential Electors; for many years, a member of Congress; and a member of the Virginia Convention of 1829-30, in which distinguished body he was revered as one of the conscript fathers of the republic,—once gave him an account of this speech, which he heard. He verified the correctness of the language given by Mr. Wirt; and so impressed had he been, by the particular passage I have mentioned, that he gave Mr. Henry's gestures, in every part of it. The eloquent passage in the speech before the Virginia Legislature, after the close of the Revolution, on the proposition to remove the restrictions to British commerce, commencing "Why should we fetter commerce" etc, is given, by Mr. Wirt, on the testimony of Judge Tyler. The fine figure used in the speech on the proposition to allow the return of the Tory refugees, after the Revolution, in the following words: "Afraid of them! What, Sir, shall we, who have laid the British lion at our feet, now be afraid of his whelps?" was frequently quoted by Chancellor Wythe, to his Class, while Professor of Law, at William and Mary-college. I might produce evidence for other celebrated passages; but I will pursue the subject no further, having shown enough, I am sure, to establish Mr. Henry's right to a place, denied him by Mr. Pollard, amongst those orators, "whose words, even if they had not been transcribed, could have no more eluded our memory than the live fire touching our bodies; and which, whether few or many, were they gathered up, would have been treasured, forever, in brilliant fragments." Of none of Mr. Henry's contemporaries have so many brilliant fragments been treasured up, in the memories of his hearers; indeed, of no other orator, ancient or modern, whose words have not been transcribed, have so many brilliant passages survived.

It was the misfortune of the orators of his day

that their speeches were not reported, unless written out by their authors. The misfortune of Henry was the misfortune of George Mason, of Pendleton, of Wythe, of the brilliant Grayson, and of James Innis, whose eloquence, according to Mr. Henry, himself, was "sufficient to shake 'the human mind.'" Such also was the fate of Richard Henry Lee, who spoke in almost every debate, in the House of Burgesses, from 1765 to the Revolution, and in the old Congress, to its dissolution, in 1788, yet of whose speeches, during that entire period, hardly a vestige remains.

In passing on Mr. Henry's claim to be considered an orator of the first rank, it is well to understand what is considered oratory of the highest order. It is asserted by the best writers on oratory, amongst whom is Quintilian, to whom Mr. Pollard appeals, as authority, that the rarest and noblest specimens of eloquence are those that appeal to the passions, and carry captive the hearer, a passive instrument in the hands of the orator, (*See Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory, Book VI., Chapter II.*) "The life and 'soul of eloquence is shown in the effect on the 'feelings.'" "Orators who can seize the attention of the Judge, and lead him to whatever 'frame of mind they desire, forcing him to 'weep or feel angry, as their words influence 'him, are but rarely found," says this writer. This power was wielded, in a pre-eminent degree, by Demosthenes, Cicero, Chatham, Sheridan, and Mirabeau; but not often, if at all, by Burke. Of none of the others could it have been said, even in sarcasm, as of him, that he was one,

"Who, too deep for his hearers, still went on
"refining,
"And thought of convincing, while they thought
"of dining."

The speeches which remain of the great orators are but an imperfect test of their excellencies. There is something in the manner which no language is adequate to convey. Take, for instance, Henry Clay, who is in the memory of the present age. Compare his speeches with those of Calhoun and Webster. As regards the intellect displayed, they are decidedly inferior, yet we know that, as an orator, he far surpassed them both. Doubtless, this is what was meant by Demosthenes, when, on being asked for the first, second, and third requisite of an orator, he replied, each time, "ὑποκριδὸς," which Cicero translates by the rhetorical term "Actio," but which means, more exactly, "Delivery." Unless the unanimous testimony of his contemporaries is false, Patrick Henry possessed this power of moving and controlling men, in a most extraordinary degree. When we consider the men he swayed and the results he accomplished, by his elo-

quence, he will not suffer, in comparison with any one of the great orators I have named. His great triumphs were not before promiscuous assemblies,—we only know of his addressing the people twice,—but before the ablest Judges of his day and the most intellectual deliberative bodies of his age. I will refer to a few of the occasions where his power was irresistible; and, first, may be mentioned his triumph over Pendleton, Bland, Wythe, Peyton Randolph, Nicholas, and all the old leaders, in the Virginia House of Burgesses, in 1765, in the passage of his Resolutions against the Stamp Act. He was a new member, from the country, without acquaintance, without personal or family influence; and yet, in one of the ablest, most aristocratic, and most conservative bodies which ever sat in the Colony, under the very eye of the Royal Governor, he proposed and carried a series of Resolutions, revolutionary in their character, and, for that reason, resisted by all the old leaders of the House, who but represented the feeling of submission which had overspread the entire Colonies, and, in the magnificent triumph of his eloquence, “put in motion, the ball of the Revolution.”

Again, after measures had been taken which, as were believed by the wisest in the land, would be effectual in averting a conflict between the helpless Colonies and the powerful Mother Country, when the warmest patriots were determined to take no steps to provoke Great Britain, we find him carrying captive the Convention of Virginia, crowded with her great men, and wresting from them a Resolve to arm the Colony—in fact, sounding the very tocsin of War.

And, when the War had closed, and a new form of Government was proposed for the United States, in the Virginia Convention, in which Edmund Pendleton, George Wythe, James Monroe, Henry Lee, James Madison, and John Marshall were his opponents, and were, themselves, amongst their equals, we find him the grandest orator of them all, and the leader of the debate, on his side. And, though the friends of the Constitution began with an estimated majority of fifty, for the paper, as it was, yet they were glad enough to obtain a ratification with a proposal of a Bill of Rights and twenty Amendments; and only carried it, then, by a majority of ten.

That Mr. Henry's influence over the Legislature of his State was irresistible, is abundantly attested; but I will mention one instance, for which I may well challenge a parallel. It is given in Rives's *Life of Madison*, ii., 588., in a Note.

In the year 1787, at the request of Congress, and in conformity with the Treaty of Peace

with Great Britain, Resolutions were brought before the Legislature of Virginia, repealing all Acts prohibiting the collection of debts due to British subjects. These were advocated by George Nicholas and George Mason, both men of great ability. Mr. Henry opposed them, unless amended so that the repeal should depend on Great Britain's first performing her part of the Treaty, by surrendering the Western Posts, and providing indemnity for the slaves captured and carried away, at the close of the War. After a warm debate, lasting four days, Mr. Henry's Amendment was lost; and the Resolutions passed, by a majority of thirty votes. A few days afterwards, the Bill came up, which was reported in pursuance of the Resolutions. Mr. Henry renewed his proposition, as a substitute; and *carried it, in the face of the former action of the House, by a majority of forty-nine*; counting, among his converts George Nicholas, the leading champion opposed to him, in the debate, who confessed himself convinced by his arguments.

Amongst Mr. Henry's triumphs at the Bar, I will only allude to his great argument in the British Debt Cause, before Chief-justice Jay and Judges Iredell and Griffin, sitting as a Federal Court, at Richmond.

Judge Iredell, in rendering his Opinion in the case, on appeal, (*See Ware's Exer.*, etc., Hylton, etc., 3 *Dallas*) alludes to Mr. Henry's effort, as having “been adorned with a speech of eloquence surpassing what I have ever felt before.” John Randolph of Roanoke was present at the trial, and obtained a position near enough to the Judges to hear their conversation. He gave an account of Henry's speech to the late Hon. James W. Bouldin of this County, who wrote it down, and it is before me. The Chief-justice told Judge Iredell, who had never heard Henry, that he was the greatest of orators. Iredell doubted it; and, becoming impatient to hear him, they requested him to proceed with his argument, before he had intended to speak. Randolph describes Mr. Henry as old, very much wrapped up, and resting his head on the Bar. As he arose, he began to complain, that it was a hardship, too great, to put the laboring oar in the hands of a decrepid old man, trembling, with one foot in the grave, weak, in his best days, and far inferior to the able associate by him. Randolph said, although he knew it was all deceit, still it was the power of his manner and voice, that he would, in a moment, forget and find himself enraged with the Court for their “cruelty.” Randolph then gave a brilliant outline of his progress, and compared him to the practice of a first rate four mile race-horse, sometimes displaying his whole power and speed, for

few leaps, and then taking up again. At last, he got up to full speed, and took a rapid view of what England had done, when she had been successful in arms; and what would have been our fate, had we been unsuccessful. The color began to come and go in the face of the Chief-justice, while Iredell sat with his mouth and eyes stretched open, in perfect wonder. Finally, Henry arrived at his utmost height and grandeur. He raised his hands in one of his grand and solemn pauses. Randolph said his hands seemed to cover the whole house. There was a tumultuous burst of applause; and Judge Iredell exclaimed: "Gracious God! He is an orator, indeed!"

I may safely affirm that no one who ever heard Patrick Henry, ever denied his consummate powers of eloquence; while many have left on record glowing tributes to his genius. I will detain you with but a few; but they shall be from men whose capacity to estimate an orator can not be doubted.

Chief-justice John Marshall, in Note XVIII. to Volume V. of his *Life of Washington*, speaking of the vacancy which occurred in the office of Secretary of State, during Washington's Administration, says: "This place was offered to Mr. Henry, a gentleman of eminent talents, great influence, and most commanding eloquence."

The late John Randolph of Roanoke, himself one of the greatest of American orators, described him as "the greatest orator that ever lived," and, in his own inimitable manner, pronounced him to be "Shakespeare and Garrick combined."

The late General William S. Cabell, of Danville, Virginia, related, that he heard Mr. Randolph, on one occasion, attempt to give some idea of Henry's oratory. Randolph suddenly paused, and picking up a piece of charcoal from the hearth, and pointing to the white wall, he said, "But it is in vain for me to attempt to describe the oratory of that wonderful man. Sir, it would be as vain for me to try, with this black coal, to paint, correctly, the brilliant flash of the vivid lighting, or to attempt, with my feeble voice, to echo the thunder, as to convey, by any power I possess, a proper idea of the eloquence of Patrick Henry!" (See article of Rev. E. Fontaine, above quoted).

George Mason, one of the greatest men of our Revolutionary era, described Mr. Henry in the following words: "He is, by far, the most powerful speaker I ever heard. Every word he says not only engages, but commands the attention; and your passions are no longer your own, when he addresses them." (See letter to Cockburn, in Virginia Historical Register, January number, 1850.)

Thomas Jefferson, in describing the debate on the Resolutions against the Stamp Act, (See his *Memoir, Volume I. Page 3, of Randolph's edition of his Works*) says: "I heard the splendid display of Mr. Henry's talents, as a popular orator. They were great, indeed; such as I have never heard from any other man. He appeared to me to speak as Homer wrote." On page 30. of his *Memoir*, in describing Edmund Pendleton, he adds, "He had not, indeed, the poetical fancy of Mr. Henry, his sublime imagination, his lofty and overwhelming diction."

Some expressions of Mr. Jefferson have been quoted by Mr. Pollard, which seem to detract from this estimate of Mr. Henry; but it is to be noted, that these have not come down to us under the hand of Mr. Jefferson, himself, but are reports by others of conversations with Mr. Jefferson, in his old age; and they cannot be relied on to contradict his written testimony.

The Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D., the distinguished Professor, at Princeton, himself a man of genius and eloquence, was born and reared in Virginia. In an article contributed to the *Princeton Review* for 1850, he gives his recollections of Mr. Henry. They are embodied in the *Life of Archibald Alexander*, by the Rev. James W. Alexander. He says: "From my earliest childhood, I had been accustomed to hear of the eloquence of Patrick Henry. On this subject, there existed but one opinion in the country. The power of his eloquence was felt equally by the learned and the unlearned. No man who ever heard him speak, on any important occasion, could fail to admit his uncommon power over the minds of his hearers."

James Madison bore testimony to his remarkable power, in the following anecdote, related to a parcel of gentlemen, while he was President. (See *Howe's Virginia Historical Collections*, 222.) The certificates given by Virginia to her soldiers, during the Revolution, became a subject of speculation, owing to the necessities of the soldiers. Mr. Madison brought in a Bill to stop it. Although he had previously spoken to Mr. Henry, to support his Bill, he feared he had forgotten it, and turned, with an anxious eye, towards him, when it was read. Mr. Henry immediately rose and addressed the House. Mr. Madison said he was, on that occasion, particularly eloquent. His voice reminded him of a trumpeter on the field of battle, calling the troops to a charge. Mr. Madison looked, alternately, to the House and to the audience, and saw they were with the orator; and, at the conclusion, one of the chief speculators in certificates, then in the gallery, exclaimed in an audible voice: "That Bill ought to pass." *It did pass, unanimously.*

On the same page of Howe's book, is an account, by the Rev. Conrad Speece, D. D., a distinguished Presbyterian Minister and pulpit orator, of a speech of Mr. Henry, in a criminal case. Having sketched the evidence and the speeches of other Counsel, Doctor Speece continues: "The general whisper through a crowded house was, that the man was guilty and could not be saved.

"About dusk, candles were brought; and Henry arose. His manner was exactly that which the *British Spy* describes, with so much felicity—plain, simple, and entirely unassuming. 'Gentlemen of the Jury,' said he, 'I dare say we are all very much fatigued with this tedious trial. The Prisoner at the Bar has been well defended, already; but it is my duty to offer you some further observations, in behalf of this unfortunate man. I shall aim at brevity. But should I take up more of your time than you expect, I hope you will hear me with patience, when you consider that blood is concerned.'

"I cannot admit the possibility that any one who never heard Henry speak, should be made fully to conceive the force of expression which he gave to these few words, '*blood is concerned.*' I had been on my feet, through the day, pushed about, in the crowd, and was excessively weary. I was strongly of opinion, too, notwithstanding all the previous defensive pleadings, that the prisoner was guilty of murder; and I felt anxious to know how the matter would terminate. Yet, when Henry had uttered these words, my feelings underwent an instantaneous change; I found every thing within me answering, at once, 'Yes, since blood is concerned, in the name of all that is righteous, go on; we will hear you, with patience, until the rising of to-morrow's sun.' This bowing of the soul must have been universal; for the profoundest silence reigned, as if our very breath had been suspended. This spell of the magician was upon us; and we stood like statues around him. Under the touch of his genius, every particle of the story assumed a new aspect; and his cause became continually more bright and promising. At length, he arrived at the fatal act itself. 'You have been told, Gentlemen, that the Prisoner was bound by every obligation to avoid the supposed necessity of firing, by leaping behind a house, near which he stood, at the moment. Had he been attacked with a club, or with stones, the argument would have been unanswerable, and I should feel myself compelled to give up the Defence, in despair. But, surely, I need not tell you, Gentlemen, how wide is the difference between sticks or stones and

"double-triggered loaded rifles, cocked at my breast.' The effect of this image, exhibited in this great orator's peerless manner, cannot be described. I dare not attempt to delineate the paroxysm of emotion which it excited in every heart. The result of the whole was, that the Prisoner was acquitted, with the perfect approbation, I believe, of the numerous assembly who attended the trial. What was it that gave such transcendent force to the eloquence of Henry? His reasoning powers were good; but they have been equalled, and more than equalled, by those of many other men. His imagination was exceedingly quick, and inexpressibly happy. But his most irresistible charm was the vivid feeling of his cause with which he spoke. Such feeling infallibly communicates itself to the breast of the hearer."

The Rev. Doctor Archibald Alexander, in the article already quoted from the *Princeton Review*, bears similar testimony to the characteristics of Mr. Henry's oratory. He also bears him defending a criminal; and he gives a few words in which he requested the Court to adjourn the trial, to the next day, after the day had been spent in the examination of the witnesses. "The impression made by these few words," adds Doctor Alexander, "was such as, I assure myself, no one can ever conceive by seeing them in print. In the countenance, action, and intonation of the speaker, there was expressed such an intensity of feeling, that all my doubts were dispelled: no longer again did I question whether Henry felt, or only acted a feeling." After giving a further account of the part Henry took in the trial, and relating several incidents, showing his power, Doctor Alexander continues, as follows: "The power of Henry's eloquence was due, first, to the greatness of his emotion and passion, accompanied with a versatility which enabled him to assume, at once, any emotion or passion which was suited to his ends. Not less indispensable, secondly, was a matchless perfection of the organs of expression, including the entire apparatus of voice, intonation, pause, gesture, attitude, and indescribable play of countenance. In no instance did he ever indulge in an expression which was not instantly recognized as nature itself; yet some of his penetrating and sublimed tones were absolutely peculiar and as inimitable as they were indescribable. These were felt by every hearer, in all their force. His mightiest feelings were sometimes indicated and communicated by a long pause, aided by an eloquent aspect, and some significant movement of his finger." "Patrick Henry, of course, owed much to his singular insight into the

"feelings of the common mind." Had I time, I would gladly insert the entire article; but I will only add, here, that Mr. Henry's appearance struck Doctor Alexander, at first, as that of an old clergyman; and he found him, in his latter days, spending much of his time in reading the works of such authors as Sherlock and Milotson. Perhaps this turn of mind accounts for his failure to read through Hume's *Essays*, sent to him by Jefferson, and not Hume's *History*, as stated by Mr. Pollard.

It has always been considered a test of an orator of the highest order, that he be able to attempt and sustain bold flights, which, from the mouths of others, would be ridiculous for want of power to sustain them. Take, for example, the splendid apostrophe of Demosthenes to the manes of the heroes of Marathon, Plataea, &c.; and the bold figure of Cicero, representing the rocks and mountains as moved with horror, the bare recital of the enormities of Verres. These, alone, would entitle Demosthenes and Cicero to the highest niche, in the temple of oratory. Tried by this test, Patrick Henry shows himself in no way their inferior. Before a more illustrious audience than ever hung upon the lips of Greek or Roman, the Virginia Convention of 1788, he attempted and achieved, with complete success, a flight as perilous and as eloquent. Towards the close of the great debate, and while making his last great effort to defeat a form of government which, he believed, would be ruinous to his country; in the language of his eloquent biographer, whose account was derived from eye-witnesses: "After describing, in accents which spoke to the soul, and to which every bosom deeply responded, the awful immensity of the question to the present and future generations, and the throbbing apprehensions with which he looked to the issue, he passed from the house and from the earth, and, looking as he said, beyond that horizon which binds mortal eyes," he pointed, with a countenance and action that made the blood run back upon theaching heart, to those celestial beings who were hovering over the scene and waiting, with anxiety, for a decision which involved the happiness or misery of more than half the human race. To those, with the same thrilling look and action, he had just addressed an invocation that made every nerve shudder with supernatural horror; when, lo! a storm, at that instant, arose, which shook the whole building, and the spirits whom he called seemed to have come at his bidding. Nor did his eloquence or the storm immediately cease; but, availing himself of the incident, with a master's art, he seemed to mix in the flight of his ethereal auxiliaries and, in the language

"of one of his opponents, the late learned Judge Archibald Stewart, of Augusta 'rising on 'the wings of the tempest, to seize upon the 'artillery of Heaven, and direct its fiercest 'thunders against the heads of his adversaries.'" The scene became insupportable; and the house rose without the formality of adjournment, the members rushing from their seats, with precipitation and confusion.

The effects of this grand scene were never forgotten by the audience. Doctor Alexander records the account given him, by General Posey, a man of observation and cool judgment, whose nerves had been hardened by the Revolutionary War and his contests with the Indians. He says: "he felt himself as fully 'persuaded that the Constitution, if adopted, 'would be our ruin, as of his own existence; 'yet subsequent reflection restored his former 'judgment, and his well-considered opinion 'resumed its place."

But I need not multiply proof, further. I may well stop here, and ask, what orator of ancient or modern times exercised more complete sway over the human passions?

A brilliant writer, in comparing Mirabeau and Chatham, has said, "Sudden bursts, which 'seemed to be the effect of inspiration; short 'sentences, which came like lightning—dazzling, burning, striking down everything before 'them; sentences which, spoken, at critical 'moments, decided the fate of great questions; 'sentences which everybody still knows by 'heart—in these, chiefly, lay the oratorical 'power of both Chatham and Mirabeau."

In these, our great American orator will not suffer in comparison with the great Englishman or the great Frenchman.

Let us examine, now, "the few certain 'historical evidences" adduced by Mr. Pollard, to support his peculiar theory, which assigns to Patrick Henry a position only in the ranks of what is called, in America, "*Stump-speakers*." One would suppose that a gentleman who has aspired to write history would know "*historical evidences*" when he met with them. Certainly, the public have a right to demand, that those who put themselves forward, as historical writers, should carefully search and faithfully represent their "*historical evidences*."

In the opinion of Mr. Pollard, the most important fact in Henry's life, touching the question he discusses, is his utter failure in the Continental Congress. Mr. Pollard asserts that Mr. Henry sat, for two whole years, in this body, so well qualified to hear him, without ever venturing to speak, once, though the most inspiring themes were debated, appealing to mind and heart, and calculated to stir men's

hearts to their depths; and he doubts whether any great reputation had preceded him. This entire statement of Mr. Pollard is not only without foundation; but is contrary to the facts. It is true that the Congress which sat in 1774 was well-qualified to hear and appreciate a great orator. The splendid eulogy of Lord Chatham is alone sufficient to immortalize that body.

Patrick Henry sat in the Session of 1774, which lasted fifty-one days, and during the last seventy-four days of the succeeding Session, in 1775, as is shown by the Journal; making his entire service one hundred and twenty-five days, instead of two years. He was not returned to Congress, because he had been appointed Colonel of the First Virginia Regiment, on the fifth of August, 1775. The Continental Congress sat with closed doors: how has Mr. Pollard been informed that Patrick Henry "never ventured to speak, once?" His biographer represents him as opening the first Session with a magnificent display of eloquence; and Mr. Jefferson, who took his seat in the latter part of the Second Session, was told by the members, that, in the earlier Session, Henry "had captivated all, by his "bold and splendid eloquence." (*See letter of Jefferson, published in the Philadelphia Age July 29, 1867.*) Nor is this all the evidence we have. John Adams served with Mr. Henry, during both Sessions, and kept a Diary. The Diary for the Session of 1774 has been published in the second Volume of the *Life and Works of John Adams*, by Charles Francis Adams. On page 857 of that Volume, John Adams records that, previous to the opening of Congress, he was informed, by Duane, "that the "Virginians speak in raptures about Richard "Henry Lee and Patrick Henry, one the Cicero "and the other the Demosthenes of the age." This establishes the reputation with which Henry entered Congress. On the first day of the Session, (*see Page 365*) Mr. Adams records that Patrick Henry made a speech, and gives some of the heads of his argument. There are published with Adams's Diary, fragmentary notes of the debates, on several important questions. On each one, Mr. Henry is represented as speaking, when the debate is in the Congress. On Pages 895-896, Mr. Adams sketches the prominent members; and he uses these words: "Lee, Henry, and Hooper are the "orators." On Pages 887-890, a debate is recorded, which, of itself, would entitle Mr. Henry to imperishable fame.

The celebrated Joseph Galloway, who, afterwards proved himself to have been a disguised Tory, by openly joining the British Army, introduced a plan to settle the difficulties between

the Colonies and Great Britain, which was voted for, by five out of the eleven Colonies represented in the Congress. It was cunningly devised, and, if successful, would have checked the tide of Revolution and prevented Independence. The plan provided for a British American Legislature, to pass on all laws in which more than one Colony was concerned. It was advocated by Duane, Jay, and Edward Rutledge. Richard Henry Lee said he could not agree to it without consulting his constituents, thus indicating a willingness to accept it. Patrick Henry, alone, of all the speakers mentioned by Adams, opposed it; and, so far as we can see, from the debate, defeated it; and this with a knowledge of the only alternative left to the Colonies, for he admits, in the debate, that the measure taken by the Congress would lead to War.

No notes of the debates, during the next Session, are given in Mr. Adams's *Works*, and we are without this contemporaneous testimony, as to the part taken by Mr. Henry. The Journal shows, however, that he was placed on many important Committees, and was the member selected by General Washington to present his first communication to Congress; thus showing, beyond question, his high standing in the body. When we remember that these Sessions of Congress were the only occasions on which Patrick Henry appeared before any other than a Virginia audience, and that his reputation, as an orator, became co-extensive with the Colonies, and surpassed that of all of his contemporaries, it must have been that his appearance was not a failure, but a splendid success. So much for Mr. Pollard's "most important fact."

Equally groundless is Mr. Pollard's second "historical evidence." He asserts that Mr. Henry "remained silent when the proposition for "Independence was about to be decided by the "Virginia Convention;" and that, "although "a member of the Committee that drafted the "Declaration of Rights and the first Constitution of Virginia, Mr. Henry spoke on none "of these inspiring themes, and permitted "another member of his Committee to offer the "Resolution of Independence."

Mr. Pollard hints at his authority for these assertions, in the following words: "there has "been brought to light, in modern times, a very "curious letter from General Charles Lee, "written in May, 1775, in which he refers to "Mr. Henry, on the supposition of a letter from "the latter taking grounds against Independence." (*American Archives, Fifth Series, Vol. 96.*) Charity leads me to believe that Mr. Pollard never saw the letter of General Lee to which he refers. It is dated on the seventh of May, 1776, and not 1775. It does not refer to any letter from Mr. Henry, but to a conference

with him, on the day before. It does not represent Mr. Henry as taking ground *against* Independence, but as holding that *the pulse of France and Spain ought to be felt*, before Independence should be declared—that is the Resolution *be made public*. The following extracts from the letter show how Mr. Pollard has misstated it.

"If I had not the highest opinion of your character and liberal way of thinking, I would not venture to address myself to you; and if I were not equally persuaded of the great weight and influence which the transcendent abilities you possess must naturally confer, I should not give myself the trouble of writing, nor you the trouble of reading, this long letter. Since our conversation, yesterday, my thoughts have been solely employed on the great question, whether Independence ought or ought not to be *immediately* declared." * * * "You say, with great justice, that we ought, previously, to have felt the pulse of France and Spain. I more than believe, I am almost confident, that it has been done; at least, I can assert upon recollection, that some of the Committee of Secrecy have assured me that the sentiments of both these Courts, or their agents, have been sounded and were found to be as favourable as could be wished." The writer then proceeds to argue that an *immediate* declaration of Independence would be best, in every contingency. So far from this letter showing that Mr. Henry was opposed to Independence, it undertakes to assure him that the only precautionary steps which he had urged should have been first taken, before an open declaration had been taken; and thus shows that Mr. Henry must have been an advocate of the *immediate* declaration, if satisfied with General Lee's statement.

The Resolution of the Virginia Convention, directing our Delegates in Congress to move a declaration of Independence, in that body, contained also a direction that they unite in measures for forming a Confederation of the colonies and foreign alliances: and it was solved, at the same time, and as a part of the same set of Resolutions, that a Committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration of Rights and a Plan of Government for the Colony. Mr. Pollard is correct in saying that Mr. Henry was placed upon this Committee; but he is in error, in asserting that another member of this Committee offered the Resolution of Independence. As the Committee was not appointed until after the Resolution of Independence had passed, it could not have emanated from the Committee: and Thomas Nelson, who proposed the Resolutions to the Convention, was not

placed on the Committee provided by them, he being Delegate-elect to the Congress. The Resolution was reported to the Convention, from the Committee of the Whole, on the fifteenth of May, nine days after the conversation between General Lee and Mr. Henry. (*See Journal*, 11 June, 1776).

The order in which the three great transactions should occur, which went to establish Independence, to wit: the *open* Declaration, the Confederation, and Treaties with foreign powers, was the subject of grave discussion amongst the warmest advocates of Independence. Mr. Henry's contemporaneous letters show that he thought the Confederation should be first made, then the *open* Declaration of Independence, and, then, Treaties of Alliance with foreign powers; and that steps ought to be taken, immediately, to secure France and Spain, before Great Britain could forestall the Colonies, at their Courts. In writing to John Adams, on the twentieth of May, 1776, he says: "Before this reaches you, the Resolution for finally separating from Britain will be handed to Congress, by Colonel Nelson. *I put up with it, in the present form, for the sake of unanimity.*" "Tis not quite so pointed as I could wish. Excuse me for telling you what I think of immense importance; 'tis to anticipate the enemy at the French Court." * * * "Excuse me, again. The Confederacy—that must precede an open Declaration of Independency and foreign alliances." (*See Life of Adams*, i., 201.) In Mr. Adams's reply (*See the same work*, ix., 386) he says: "I esteem it an honor and a happiness, that my opinion so often coincides with yours. It has ever appeared to me that the natural course and order of things was this; for every Colony to institute a Government; for all the Colonies to Confederate, and define the limits of the Continental Constitution; then to declare the Colonies a sovereign State or number of confederated, sovereign States; and, last of all, to form Treaties with foreign powers."

Richard Henry Lee wrote to Mr. Henry, on the twentieth of April, 1776, expressing his views on the subject, and setting forth, substantially, the views expressed by Mr. Henry. I have his letter in manuscript. On the twentieth of May, following, Mr. Henry replied to him, using this language: "Your sentiments, as to the necessary progress of this great affair, correspond with mine." (*See Campbell's History of Virginia*, 648.) While the exact order was not followed, as suggested by Mr. Henry, yet Congress was impressed with the importance of making their action, on each branch of the subject, as nearly contemporaneous as possible; and, on the same day that a Committee was

appointed to draft a Declaration of Independence, it was resolved to appoint Committees to prepare a form of Confederation, and a plan of Treaties. (*See Journal*, 11 June, 1776.)

So far, then, from Mr. Henry's "taking grounds against Independence," it appears, by his contemporaneous correspondence, that he held the same views on the subject entertained by Richard Henry Lee, the mover of the Resolution in Congress, and by John Adams, the great advocate of the Resolution, in debate.

But, perhaps, Mr. Pollard might answer that "all this does not prove that Mr. Henry spoke on this inspiring theme, and *I have asserted that he did not.*"

Strange as it may seem, one of the very authors quoted by Mr. Pollard proves, conclusively, the fact that *Mr. Henry did speak*, on this great occasion, and with tremendous effect. Had Mr. Pollard read "Appendix, No. 38," to Randall's *Life of Jefferson*, he would have seen this question ably discussed by the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, in a letter to the author, and the fact developed that Edmund Randolph, once an enemy to Mr. Henry, stated, in his Oration over the dead body of Edmund Pendleton; "that the Resolution of Independence was drawn by Pendleton; was offered in Committee by Nelson; and was sustained, against all opposition, by Henry, with that abounding energy and eloquence of which he was a master." The *Journal* shows that the Resolution was *unanimously* adopted, by the Convention, on being reported from the Committee of the Whole. It was, therefore, in the Committee of the Whole that Henry sustained it against all opposition, and brought about unanimity; and, so far as the testimony of Edmund Randolph, a member of the Convention, goes, Henry was the *only* advocate of the Resolution, in debate—if there were others, they were forgotten; and only the *Colossus* of the debate was remembered.

Mr. Grigsby refers to the *Virginia Gazette*, November 2nd, 1803, in the State Library, as authority for his statement. I have examined the authority, and find it contains a more splendid testimony to Mr. Henry's effort on the occasion, than was remembered by Mr. Grigsby, when he wrote his letter. Edmund Randolph is reported as saying, that, in enforcing the Resolution of Independence: "Henry's eloquence unlocked the secret springs of the human heart, robbed danger of all its terror, and broke the keystone in the arch of royal power."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

—Iowa city has sold its public library, and is now going to invest it in a theatre.

III.—THE CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES.

A LETTER FROM THE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE IN NEW YORK, ORGANIZING AN OPPOSITION TO THE RATIFICATION OF IT, "AS IT WAS PROPOSED BY THE LATE CONVENTION TO THE RESPECTIVE STATES FOR THEIR ADOPTION."

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE COLLECTION OF THE EDITOR.

NEW YORK May 18. 1788.

SIR,

The importance of the Subject upon which we address you, we trust will be a sufficient apology for the liberty we take.

The System of government proposed by the late Convention to the respective States for their Adoption, involves in it Questions and Consequences in the highest Degree interesting to the People of these States.

While we see in common with our Brethren of the other States, the Necessity of making alterations in our present existing federal Government: We cannot but apprehend that the proposed in its room, contains in it principles dangerous to public Liberty and Safety.

It would far exceed the bounds of a Letter to detail to you our objections to the proposed Constitution; and it is the less necessary we should do it, as they are well stated in a publication, which we take the liberty of transmitting you in a series of Letters from the Farmer to the Republican. We renounce all Ideas of local Objections and confine ourselves to such only as affect the cause of general liberty, and are drawn from those genuine republican principles and maxims which we consider as the glory of our Country, and which gave rise to the late glorious revolution, and supported the Patriots of America in effecting it.

Impressed with these Sentiments we hold it a duty we owe our Country, our Posterity and the Rights of Mankind to use our best endeavours to procure amendments to the System previous to its adoption.

To accomplish this desirable event it is of Importance that those States which have not yet acceded to the plan should open a Correspondence, and maintain a Communication. That they should understand one another on the Subject, and unite in the Amendments they propose.

With this view we address you on the Subject and request a free Correspondence may be opened between such Gentlemen in your State as are of Opinion with us on the Subject of Amendments. We request your Opinion on the matter, and that you would state such amendments as you judge necessary to be made.

We think it would conduce very much to promote Union, and prevent discord and an hostile disposition among the States if a correspondence could be brought about between the Conventions of your State, Virginia and this, who we presume will be in Session at the same time. We have the highest hopes that such a Measure would produce the happiest effects—We shall write to Virginia and propose it, and wish your Convention may be inclined to agree to it—We have every reason to believe it will be agreeable to ours.

It is not yet declared who are the Members elected for our Convention—The Ballots are to be counted the last Tuesday in this Month—But, by the best Information received from the different Counties, we have not a doubt of their being a decided and considerable Majority returned, who are opposed to the Constitution in its present Form. A number of the leading Characters, who will compose the Opposition in our Convention, are associated with us. We are anxious to form a Union with our Friends in the other States, and to manifest to the Continent, and to the World, that our Opposition to this Constitution does not arise from an impatience under the restraint of good government, from local or state attachments, from interested motives, or party Spirit—But from the purer sentiments of the love of Liberty, an Attachment to republican Principles, and an adherence to those Ideas which prevailed at the commencement of the late revolution, and which animated the most illustrious patriots to undertake and persevere in the glorious but arduous contest.

In behalf of the federal
Republican Committee,

I have the Honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obed. Servant

JOHN LAMB
Chairman

Hon'ble NATHANIEL PEABODY Esqr

PS. We shall write to North & South Carolina on the *general* Subject of this Letter—But as their Conventions will not be in Session at the time that yours, Virginia, and ours will, we cannot propose a correspondence between them

—A tombstone in Texas has the following inscription:

"He remained to the last a decided friend
"and supporter of Democratic principles and
"measures. Blessed are the dead who die in
"the Lord."

HIS. MAG. Vol. II. 19.

IV.—HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO-COUNTY, NEW YORK.—CONTINUED FROM PAGE 254.

By S. S. RANDALL, LL.D., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

IX.—THE TOWN AND VILLAGE OF GREENE. EARLY SETTLEMENTS—THE BIRDSALL FAMILY—THE VILLAGE.—PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS.—The first settlement of the town of GREENE, which was formed in 1798, from parts of Union and Jericho, dates back to 1794, when Conrad Sharpe, a Dutchman, located himself about two miles North of the present village, and was, soon afterwards, followed by a number of his countrymen, who formed a considerable little hamlet. Stephen Ketchum, David Bradley, Derick Race, Joseph Tillotson, Elder Gray, and Elisha Smith, a few years later, effected settlements in the town; and the latter gentleman became the Agent of the Hornby Estate, surveyed the town, and, in 1806, laid out the present village, which, then, was known by the name of "Hornby."

The original patentees of the township, embracing fifteen thousand, eight hundred, and thirty-five acres, were Malachi Treat and William W. Morris, in 1788, and it was designated as the "French Tract," and subsequently divided by their Agent, Charles Felix Buloinne, assisted by Captain John Harris, of Norwich, a surveyor, into one hundred and fifty lots, exclusive of that portion of the village-plot, on the East side of the river, known as the "French village-plot," and occupied, at that period, or soon afterwards, by eight or ten French refugees, with their families.

The first of these French settlers appears to have been Simon Barnett, a Creole, from the West Indies, who arrived from Philadelphia, as the pioneer of the company. His son, Charles F. Barnett, now, or recently, residing near the village, is the sole survivor of these original settlers. Among their number was M. Dutremont, who was the purchaser of the tract from the original patentees, and contracted with the settlers. Talleyrand, the celebrated French Minister, in company with one of his countrymen, in Philadelphia, visited the place, in 1795, and took with him, on his departure, as his Private Secretary, a son of M. Dutremont. Captain Joseph Juliand emigrated from France to the settlement, in 1797. Dutremont was accidentally drowned, while fording a river, on horseback, on his way to Philadelphia; and the land purchased by him reverted to the original patentees. Most of the French emigrants, with the exception of Captain Juliand,

left the place, discouraged, and joined a settlement, below Towanda, in Pennsylvania.

Among the earliest permanent settlers in the town, prior to 1797, were Captain Joseph Juliand, Nathaniel Kellogg, Zopher Betta, Benajah Loomis, Cornelius Hill, Daniel Tremaine, (who located on the East side of the river, in 1793) Nathan Bennett, Joshua Root, Eleazer Skinner, Thomas, Joab. and Aden Elliott, Roswell Fitch, Philo Clemmons, Captain Mandeville, Simeon and Benjamin Jones, Harden. Bennett, Record Wilbur, and Deacon Richards, on the "Chenango-road," leading to Bainbridge, from 1792 to 1795; and, on the West side of the river, in the southern portion of the town, James and Herman Terwilliger, Elisha and Noah Gilbert, Stephen Palmer, and Joseph and Cornish Messenger, about the year 1796.

The first town-meeting was held at the tavern of Conrad Sharp, in April, 1798, and was presided over by Nathaniel Kellogg. Benajah Loomis was chosen Supervisor, John Hallenback, Town Clerk, and James Wiley, Isaac Perry, and Allen Button, Assessors. The first grist-mill was built, in 1794, by Abraham Storm and Henry Vorse; and the first saw-mill by Mr. Sharp, in 1795. Elisha Smith kept the first store in the village, at about the commencement of the present century. The first frame house was erected in 1803, by Thomas Wattles, on the site of the present "Chenango-house." Doctor Charles Josslyn opened, at Sharp's inn, the first physician's office, in 1805, and removed to the village, during the succeeding year, where he remained in practice for twenty years, and, in 1817, was promoted to the Bench of County Court of Common Pleas. The first organized church was the Baptist, in East Greene, Elder Nathaniel Kellogg, in 1795; the second, in 1807, Elder Jeduthan Gray. Enoch Greene opened the first school, in East Greene, in 1796, and taught ten years; an Englishman, by the name of Cartwright, however, appears to have taught near Chenango Forks, as early as 1794.

Among the subsequent settlers in Greene, prior to 1820, were Charles Cameron, Agent of the Hornby estate, Benjamin Birdsall, Robert Monell, Charles and Anthony Squires, Doctor William D. Purple, Warren Gray, Elijah Rathbone, Alvah Hunt, William Hatch, Benjamin Birdsall, Junior, Doctor George Birdsall, Maurice Birdsall, Maurice Birdsall, Junior, Joseph Juliand, Junior, Frederick Juliand, and George W. Juliand.

THE BIRDSALL FAMILY.—From an article in the *Chenango American*, published in Greene, I have taken the liberty to abridge the following sketch of the Birdsall family, communicated by Doctor Purple.

Colonel Benjamin Birdsall, with his sons Benjamin, Junior, George, and Maurice, came into the town, in 1816, from Columbia-county, which he had represented in the Legislatures of 1792 and '8, 1796, and 1804. He held a Colonel's Commission, in the Revolutionary War, and occupied a prominent position in the early history of the State; was a member of the Convention, held in 1801, for the amendment of the Constitution; and possessed great enterprise and force of character, combined with the most pleasing and popular manners. After attaining to the advanced age of eighty-eight years, he died, in 1828, at his residence, in Greene, universally esteemed and lamented.

Colonel Birdsall's eldest son, Benjamin Birdsall, Junior, resided, for many years, a few miles West of the village, and sustained a high reputation as a local magistrate and an intelligent, upright citizen. His son, Benjamin was an officer in the War of 1812, and, while in command of the military station, at Greenbush, near Albany, in 1818, was shot by James Hamilton, one of his soldiers, who was afterwards convicted and executed in Albany. His brothers were Samuel Birdsall, of Warren Seneca-county,—a Member of Congress in 1838-9, and, by profession, a lawyer, recently deceased; Doctor William Birdsall, of Warren Steuben-county; and George Birdsall, a farmer in Pennsylvania; and his sisters, Mrs. Nancy Ely, of New Berlin, and Melinda Birdsall, who died, unmarried, a few years since, in Pennsylvania.

George Birdsall, the second son of Colonel Benjamin Birdsall, settled, as a physician, in the village of Greene, and became the father of two daughters, one of whom was the wife of David O. Perry, formerly a Teller in the Bank of Chenango, and, subsequently, a clergyman of Springfield, Illinois; and the other the wife of the Rev. Mr. Payne of the same place.

Maurice Birdsall, the third son of the original Colonel Birdsall, was a farmer, and lived in the village of Greene, occupying the old family homestead. He had the reputation of a high-toned, upright man, and was universally respected and esteemed, up to the period of his death, at the age of seventy-eight years, in 1852. His widow, formerly Ann Purple Greene, still, in 1872, survives him. He had eight children, viz.: 1. John Birdsall, graduate of one of the eastern Colleges, a student in law in the office of his uncle, James Birdsall, at Norwich,—partner in the law-office of Robert Monell, about the year 1817, and, subsequently, in the year 1823, at the age of twenty-five years, appointed from Chautauque county, his then residence, Circuit Judge of the Eighth Judicial Circuit, a position which he

signed, on account of his health, in 1829, after which, in 1831, he represented Chautauqua-county, in the Assembly, and was elected, in 1832, to the Senate, where he remained until 1835, when he resigned. In 1837, he emigrated to Texas, where he was received with open arms by the founders of the new Republic, became a law-partner of President Sam. Houston and Attorney-general, which office he continued to hold, until his death, in 1839. He was a man of rare and brilliant endowments, and highly attractive social qualities. 2. Ann, wife of the Hon. Alvah Hunt, then a partner in the flourishing mercantile establishment of Rathbone & Hatch, and who afterwards represented the Sixth Senate District, in the Legislature, from 1839 to 1843, and, subsequently, held the office of State Treasurer. Mr. Hunt died in New York, in 1859. Mrs. Hunt was a most amiable, attractive, and intelligent lady, and mingled, for many years, in the highest circles of the State Capital, an universal favorite. She is still living, (1872) in Greene, and though a great sufferer, from protracted physical disease, still retains those cheerful and agreeable characteristics for which she was formerly so distinguished. 3. Polly, who became the wife of the Hon. Thomas A. Johnson, of Steuben; and died, in 1865. 4. Benjamin, a farmer of Wisconsin and, more recently, of Iowa, with a numerous family to perpetuate the ancestral name. 5. Emeline, married to Robert O. Reynolds, District Attorney of Chenango-county, 1842-'3, and '4, and who died in 1856. Mrs. Reynolds still resides in Greene. 6. Maurice, Junior, engaged during the past thirty years in mercantile and other business pursuits. 7. Luiza, who died, in 1859, wife of the late George Barnes, of Steuben. 8. James, a physician of Wisconsin.

James Birdsall, formerly of Norwich, fourth son of Colonel Benjamin Birdsall and brother of Benjamin, Junior, George, and Maurice, left his family homestead, at an early date, probably about 1808. A sketch of his progress and character has already been given in connection with Norwich. He subsequently removed to Michigan, where he died, a few years since. His eldest son, Henry Huntington, is an Attorney, at Addison, Steuben-county; Charles J., Benjamin, and Maurice, are merchants, at Fentonville, Michigan. Adelaide became the wife of William M. Fenton of Norwich, subsequently Lieutenant-governor of Michigan, and was one of the founders of Fentonville. Sarah became the wife of Henry Dillaye, of Racine; and Elizabeth, Rizpah, and Catharine residents of San Francisco, California. Noah Ely, Esq., of New Berlin, who married one of the daughters of Benjamin Birdsall,

Junior, was a native of Massachusetts, in the vicinity of Williamstown, and graduated at Williams-college. After leaving this institution, he entered his name, as a student, in the law-office of Counsellor Foote, of Albany, and, after the usual preliminary course, was admitted. About the year 1812, he removed to Chenango-county, and, after a brief law partnership with Peter B. Garnsey, established himself, in the following year, in the village of New Berlin, where he continued to reside, until his death, which occurred on the thirtieth of January, 1871, at the advanced age of eighty-six years.

Mr. Ely was a man of very superior intellectual acquirements and literary culture. With a heart ever "open as day, to melting charity," and social and domestic qualities of the highest order, he united great personal dignity, and all the graces and virtues of the Christian character. He represented the County, in the Legislature of 1832; and was universally respected and esteemed as a man of stern integrity, solid worth, in all the relations of life, a safe and judicious counsellor, a genial companion, and a trusty friend. Many and grievous domestic sorrows and afflictions encompassed his life and lacerated his heart; but, through them all, he was upborne and sustained by a firm reliance upon an overruling Providence, by the consolations of religion, and the sympathy of those by whom he was surrounded. His memory will long be cherished by those to whom he was best known amid the scenes and associations of his long and useful life.

VILLAGE OF GREENE.—About twelve miles, in a south-westerly direction from Oxford, following the course of the Chenango-river, and situated on the West side of that river, lies the beautiful and flourishing village of Greene, fifty years ago, a small cluster of neat white residences, with ample grounds, and surrounded by flowers, and trees, and pleasant walks; its two principal and only streets intersecting each other at right angles; and its one or two graceful churches rising high above the humbler tenements in their vicinity. Here resided Charles Cameron, the wealthy Agent of the "Hornby Tract," Benjamin Birdsall, Joseph Juliand, with his younger brothers, George and Frederick, Robert Monell, Alvah Hunt, Charles and Anthony Squires, merchants, William M. Patterson, Adam G. Ransom, Warren Gray, and Doctors Levi Farr and William D. Purple.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.—Mr. Cameron was a large, portly, agreeable man; gentlemanly in his manners; and of attractive social qualities; the two Squires were prominent businessmen, and active politicians; Warren Gray and Doctor Purple also exerted great influence, in political circles. The former, for many years,

filled the position of Deputy Sheriff; and the latter, although somewhat eccentric and peculiar in his manners, possessed an active and energetic intellect, and, in addition to his professional pursuits, devoted a large portion of his time to the local antiquities of his own and the adjacent towns, and to the delivery of popular scientific and historical lectures. Robert Monell, at that period, was engaged in the practice of the law; stood high at the Bar; and was one of the most popular men in the County. He was, successively, elected to the Legislature, appointed District Attorney, and, subsequently, Circuit Judge of the District, on the promotion of Judge Samuel Nelson to the Bench of the Supreme Court of the State. Judge Monell was, indeed, one of nature's noblemen. Of fine personal appearance and fascinating manners; accessible, warm-hearted, benevolent, and a universal favorite with all classes, he uniformly commanded the respect and confidence of the community, generally. From the effects of a severe illness, his hair became of a silvery whiteness, at an early period of life. With him, was associated, as a law-partner, at about this time, William M. Patterson—a man who, without any of the personal graces, winning manners, or flowing courtesy of his associate—indeed, with a rather saturnine and repulsive exterior, by the mere force of his abilities and talents, worked his way to distinction at the Bar, and in the legislative councils of the State. A few years, subsequently, Robert B. Monell, a nephew of the Judge, became a partner in the law-office—afterwards removing to the city of Hudson, where, I believe, he still resides. Joseph, George, and Frederick Juliard, were, at this time, wealthy merchants, and among the most respected and esteemed citizens of the County—the former and latter having, subsequently, ably represented its interests in the State Legislature. Mr. Ransom was an industrious, plodding, and successful lawyer.

Any account of Greene would be imperfect which should fail to embrace that eccentric, but, occasionally, brilliant meteor, Doctor Charles Josslyn—once an honored and highly respected citizen, and occupying a seat on the Common Pleas Bench; but, even at the early period to which these sketches relate, a falling and wandering star, magnificent in ruin. The Doctor, in his lowest estate, possessed much native dignity; was proud of his personal appearance; and unforgetful of his antecedent glories.

Doctor Levi Farr was one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Greene, as well in his social as professional capacity. He was a brother of Bela Farr, of Norwich; enjoyed a

wide reputation, as a physician; amassed quite a large fortune; and lived to a good old age, universally regarded and esteemed.

Alvah Hunt, then of the firm of Rathbone & Hunt, merchants, was a most estimable and agreeable man. He was a State Senator, in 1840, and, subsequently, for several years, State Treasurer; a man of whom any community might be proud—large-hearted, amiable, energetic, and able. His accomplished lady will long be remembered in the social circles at home and abroad, as the impersonation of grace, beauty, and talent.

The first newspaper established in Greene was *The Chenango Patriot*, by Nathan Randall, in conjunction with Joseph M. Farr, in 1830. It remained in existence for a few years only; and was succeeded by the *Chenango American*.

Mr. Nathan Randall was a son of Deacon Charles Randall, of Norwich; and, after a brief residence in New York, in the employ of the *National Advocate* and *Herald* printing-establishments, he removed to Syracuse, where he accumulated a large property by railroad and other speculations; and died in 1872. His first wife was a daughter of Robert Monell, of Greene.

Mr. Farr was a son of Bela Farr, of Norwich; and, after spending a few years in the law-office, at that place, removed, with Mr. Hatch of New Berlin, to Norwalk, Ohio, as Editor of the *Experimentalist*. He was afterwards, elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, and remained in that State until his death, a few years since.

X.—THE TOWN AND VILLAGE OF SHERBURNE— EARLY SETTLEMENTS—VILLAGE OF SHERBURNE— —PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS.—Sherburne was formed from a part of Paris, Oneida-county, in 1794. The original "Certificate of Survey" of the lands included in this town and the adjoining town of Smyrna, on the West, was given to the purchaser from the State, William S. Smith, on the sixth of April, 1793, and the Patent issued on the sixteenth of April, 1794. The first settlement appears, from a statement of the venerable William Newton, now, if still living in his eighty-eighth year, and published in the *Sherburne News*, in 1871, to have been made in the South-west quarter of the town, in 1793. The grantees or assignees of Smith, twelve in number, viz.: Cornelius Clark, Josiah Lathrop, John Gray, Junior, Joel Northrup, Joel Easton, Eleazer Lathrop, Newcomb Raymond, Nathan Gray, Abram Raymond, Elijah Gray, James Raymond, and Timothy Hatch, with their associates, John and Ezra Lathrop, Ebenezer Hibbard, Amos Cole, Elijah Foster, Elijah Gray, John Gray, Senior, and David P.

These men were originally from Litchfield-county, Connecticut; and, after spending some two years at Duanesburgh, in Albany-county, whither they first immigrated, they finally effected permanent homes in the south-westerly portion of the present town of Sherburne. With the exception of Joel Hatch, they were all farmers; he being a manufacturer of *Spinning Wheels*, which appear to have been speedily introduced into the families of the settlers, and "upon which musical instruments" says Mr. Newton, "they gave lessons to their daughters, who grew up strong and healthy." These ancient instruments, it is quite unnecessary to say, have, in the progress of the civilization of the nineteenth century, given place to the modern *pianos*, with far different results.

A few years later, on the East side of the river, were to be found Eli Marsh, Noah Robinson, James and Zacheus W. Elmore, Samuel Stebbins, Bela Scoville, Doctor Asa White, Mr. Paddleford and Mr. Bullock; and, on the West, Daniel and James Anderson, Joel Thompson, Jeremiah Purdy, Joseph Adams, Tilly Lynde, Demas Hubbard, Samuel Foote, Israel Foote, Doctor Israel Farrell, and Joseph Dixon, "a very prominent man," observes Mr. Newton. Israel Foote is still, we believe, living, at the age of eighty, at or near Sherburne Four Corners. His son, Isaac Foote, and a female relative, wife of John Mitchell, are residents of Norwich. On the South-hill, were the two Lyons; and, on the West-hill, now part of Smyrna, were Demas Hubbard, Mr. Sanford, and Mr. Ferris, with many other families. I remember when a boy, in 1816 or '7, having been taken with my grandparents to the log cottage of a venerable couple, by the name of Snow, situated in a dense forest; and having been shown, from the summit of this West-hill, the village of Sherburne. I think Doctor Mead, of Smyrna, was the husband of one of the daughters of this family.

THE VILLAGE OF SHERBURNE.—In 1794, the Congregational church and society of Sherburne were formed—according to Mr. Newton the first church established in the County, as then existing, including Madison. The church edifice, however, on the West side of the river, though commenced as early as 1793, seems not to have been completed until some eight or nine years later, in consequence of an irreconcilable difference of opinion as to its site. Another was built, on the East side, at about the same time.

As early as 1806, there were, in the village of Sherburne, according to Mr. Newton, three stores owned and occupied by Zacheus W. [or James] Elmore, Bela Scoville, and Alfred Gray; two taverns, kept by Samuel Stebbins and

Doctor Asa White; one lawyer, of the name of Petit; one physician, Doctor White; and a distillery, owned by Gardner White. On the East road, were two taverns, kept by Reuben Davis and a Mr. Harris; on the West-hill, one kept by Samuel Foote; one at the old Four-Corners; one East of the Quarter, by a Mr. Picket; one on the "Handsome Brook"-road, kept by Jacob Reese; and, on the North-road, two, by Abner Calkins and a Mr. Jeffers. From this multiplicity of hotel accommodations, one would infer either that the Sherburne roads were quite a thoroughfare, or the hardy inhabitants of a somewhat drouthy constitution—possibly a mixture of both.

In 1812, the first woolen-factory was erected, by William Newton, on Handsome-Brook, which was twice burned down and finally abandoned; Joshua Pratt had opened a store and built a distillery and ashery; and Joel Hatch a machine-shop; Elias Babcock had opened a store and built a distillery; Alfred Gray had sold his store to Blakesley & Hamlin, and this firm had also built a distillery, Gray having opened a store and tavern, in the vicinity now known as Earlville; John Gray, Junior, and Lauren Curtiss had opened two taverns, in the village; Doctors Guthrie, Knight, and Greene had recruited the stock of physicians; and Lyman S. Rexford and Willard Weldon that of Attorneys. Subsequently came Benjamin Rexford, Daniel Newton, Joseph Benedict, Timothy Hunt, William G. Fargo, Smith M. Purdy, Abram Dixon, John H. Lathrop, and others.

In 1803, the first newspaper published in the County, appears to have been published at Sherburne Four Corners, by Abraham Romeyn, under the title of the *Western Oracle*—a small octavo sheet. This was succeeded, in 1806, by the *Olive Branch*, edited by Phinney & Fairchild, which was, subsequently, in 1812, transferred to John B. Johnson.

From a very interesting *resumé* of the history of the establishment and organization of the "West-Hill-church," recently communicated to the Editor of the *Chenango Telegraph*, and from the *History of the Town of Sherburne*, by Joel Hatch, Junior, we gather the following additional facts:

Smyrna then formed part of Sherburne; and all the inhabitants on the West side of the river insisted that the "meeting-house" should be at West-Hill, situated on the Great Western Turnpike midway between the two villages or settlements—to accommodate those living in the present town of Smyrna. Among them, were Judge Foote and his sons, Isaac, Amasa, and Hiram, with their families; Chester and George Hammond; Joseph Collins; the families of Joshua and Harvey Talcott; John Percival and

his sons; and many others. The opposition of the East side residents was so strong that a new church, "The Second Calvinistic Congregational Church in Sherburne" was founded, in October, 1803, and continued in existence for about thirty years, although, for ten years before its extinction, it had scarcely more than "a name to live"—its decay and absorption being caused by circumstances yet to be referred to. The East side church-edifice was, soon after, built, the location selected being on or near the present residence of Asa Foote, a mile and a half North of Sherburne village, where it remained, until 1810, when it was removed to its present location, about midway between the village and "The Quarter." In 1857, it was sold to the Catholic Society, and a new brick church erected, in the centre of the village.

Mr. Hatch relates that the old church remained without plastering, for ten years, and, during two Winters, the storms were permitted to beat into the window-openings, a fact which called out a sharp rebuke from a visiting clergyman. At the close of a service he said: "It is a shame for any people to let their Minister stand in his pulpit, with the winds blowing directly on him, while they are secured from the storm, below. You ought, at least, to do as much as to board up the windows in the galleries." This was done before the next Sabbath. The fire-places of the neighbors were thronged, at noon, by the shivering congregation, and the "foot-stoves" replenished with coals, for the afternoon. In moving the church, the ladies bore a part; but, it is hinted that while they held the levers the men quietly and unobserved bore themselves to the burden, proving that gallantry and goodness may be combined in the same persons.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.—But to return to West Hill. It is believed that a few persons settled there as early as 1792 or 1793; but who were the very first we have no means at hand of determining. Some of those recollected, as early residents on the "West-hill," were the following: Judge Tilly Lynde and his brother, Charles W. Lynde, were the first merchants. They had a large and profitable trade; and laid the foundation of their ample fortunes, in an old store which still stands, in a tolerable state of preservation. Judge Lynde was also prominent in political affairs. In 1818, 1826, and 1828, he was a member of Assembly from the County, and, in 1821-2, was a member of the State Senate, elected from the "Middle District." His last appearance in the political field was in 1832, as the Whig candidate for Congress, from the district, when he was defeated by the late Doctor Henry Mitchell, of Norwich. He, soon

after, removed to Homer and, afterwards, to Brooklyn, where he died, some years since. He had several sons who removed to Wisconsin. Two of them were lost, on the sixteenth of June, 1838, by the burning of the steamer *George Washington*, off Silver-creek, Chautauqua-county. Their bodies were washed ashore and found by Mr. David Fairchild, an old Sherburne acquaintance of Judge Lynde. About fifty others perished in that disaster. The oldest son, Pitt Lynde, resides in Milwaukee; and, during Democratic ascendancy, was prominent in politics and has held the office of United States District Attorney. Charles W. Lynde was elected to the State Senate, upon the Anti-Masonic ticket, in 1830, from the old Sixth District. He then resided in Cortland; but, subsequently, removed to Brooklyn, where he died. Until Smyrna village had Harvey Talcott and Russell Case as merchants the western trade was largely drawn to West-Hill, it being a central position and competing with Sherburne, Earlville, Smyrna, and the "Four Corners," until the growth of some of these places diminished and finally absorbed its business.

Frederick Sexton kept a tavern and was known by all who traveled upon the turnpike. He was a good citizen, esteemed by all. While he kept an inviting hostlerie, company and general trainings were held on West-Hill, calling together all the Militia, the "troop" boys, and ginger-bread peddlers, for many a day around. The writer of the article in question remembers one of these musters of about fifty years ago, when a "sham fight" was looked upon with more awe than the disastrous Ball-Run battle excited, in 1861. Mr. Sexton died nearly three years since; but his descendants occupy the old homestead.

"Deacon Josiah Adams lived opposite the old church; and his ancient dwelling remains outwardly as when he left it to take the journey from which none return. He was an eminently religious man and raised his household in the good old New England ways, and in their case it has proved true—'Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.' Deacon Adams was, we believe, the first school-master of the place, and taught on West-Hill and at the Four Corners. His birth-place was New Ipswich, New Hampshire; and he died on West Hill, on the eleventh of October, 1849, aged eighty-three years. One of his sons, Rev. Isaac F. Adams, resides in Auburn. The house of Deacon Adams was a great resort between the morning and afternoon services on the Sabbath, and his generous-hearted wife always had a large baking, on Saturdays, and no one was permitted to go away hungry."

She died, on the second of February 1844, aged seventy-five years. Her maiden-name was Foote, a daughter of Judge Isaac Foote, and sister of the late Isaac Foote, one of the early Sheriffs of this County. Major Joseph Dixon, although living a mile South of the Hill, was numbered among its prominent men. He owned the farm afterwards owned by Deacon Isaac Smith, and now by his son, Levi N. Smith. The latter years of his life were spent in Smyrna. The Dixon brothers of that place are his grand-sons. One of his sons, Honorable Abram Dixon, has, for many years, resided in Chautauqua-county, and, thirty years since, was a member of the State Senate.

Doctor Israel Farfel was a prominent physician, for many years, his practice reaching into all the adjoining towns. Doctor Guthrie, Demas Hubbard, Senior, Colonel James Thompson, now of Akron, Ohio, the Sanfords, Catlins, and others lived on the Hill, or in the immediate vicinity, and East of the Hill; but West of the river, were the Hatches, Raymonds, Lathrops, Pratt, Gardiner, and others. Thus, within a radius of two or three miles, there lived, soon after the beginning of the present century, a large number who would be esteemed, in any community, as men of strong intellect, most of them of New England origin, of the Puritan type in religion and morals, and some of them prominent in public affairs and wielding a large influence throughout the entire circle of their acquaintance, and even where they were not personally known."

From the original records of *The Second Calvinistic Congregational Church in Sherburne, formed into Church Order, the — day of October, A. 1803, under the superintendence of the Rev. Joshua Knapp, of Hamilton*, now in the possession of the author of the article referred to, it appears that the church, at its organization, consisted of the following named persons: John Chapman, Isaac Foote, Ebenezer Baker, Henry n, Elijah Sexton, Gambo Desset (colored, probably the only colored man then living in the town), Margaret Finn, Triphena Dixon, ah Talcott, Sedate Foote, and Elizabeth Brill. Joshua Knight was, on the twentieth of February 1804, ordained the first Pastor, and Abraham Raymond chosen as the first Deacon. During the ensuing twenty years, the number of communicants increased from eleven to three hundred and twenty-six; after which, gradually diminished, owing to removals and internal dissensions. Great "revivals" took place in 1816, 1820, and 1821.

As before intimated 'unruly members' gave some trouble to the church, and one brother was arraigned on charges of a violation of

"the Sabbath; conduct which gave rise to, 'a suspicion of a design to wrong a creditor;' for 'imposing pork upon a brother which is said to be not good;' for selling unwholesome meat, etc. The controversy was long; and one of the pleas in justification of selling meat 'not good' was that the price was very low! This defence, however, was not satisfactory, and he was expelled.

"The relations between Pastor and people were harmonious and pleasant, for a period of about twenty years; but, in 1823, a serious difficulty arose. The wife of the Pastor had died and he had married a widow, with a daughter, then a child. The second wife died; and, in 1823, Mr. Knight married his step-daughter. The ceremony was performed by a Justice of the Peace, also a member of the church. The occurrence very naturally shocked the church and community; and, on the eighth of July, 1823, Mr. Knight so far yielded to public opinion as to resign his place as Moderator of the church-meetings. Mr. Knight made a confession, as did his young step-daughter wife, and it was voted to accept them; but the scandal could not be thus wiped out, and the case was sent to a Council, for advisement. During a part of the time, before a final decision, the late Rev. Lyman S. Rexford occupied the pulpit. The record does not give the result; but Mr. Knight was deposed from the ministry and, we believe, he removed to Herkimer-county. The Justice who performed the marriage ceremony was also expelled.

"The Rev. Samuel Manning was next called as a Pastor. He proved an excellent choice, and gave great satisfaction there, and, afterwards, in Smyrna, to which place he removed, in 1827, where most of the members of West Hill-church, who resided in Smyrna, followed him. He was a brother-in-law of the venerable Benjamin Chapman, of Norwich village, and died, we believe, at Chenango Forks. When the request of Smyrna members was first presented for their dismission and recommendation, in 1824, there was a good deal of feeling and a renewal of the strife of 1803, when the West Hill-church was formed; but the request was granted 'upon condition that they all pay such sums as are due from them, severally, to settle with Mr. Knight, and such certain individual or individuals as have gone astray shall make satisfaction.'"

"Sabbath Schools were, about this time, beginning to be established; and on the seventh of May, 1824, one was formed, on West Hill, with Mr. Manning as Moderator and the following District Managers, viz: 1st.—James Thompson, James I. Gifford; 2d.—Alfred

“Raymond, William G. St. John; 3d.—Samuel
“Clemens, Gardner Kenyon. Isaac Foote, Ju-
“nior, Joseph Collins, and Israel Farrell were ap-
“pointed ‘Managers of the concerns of said
“‘Society,’ and James Thompson ‘to clean the
“‘Meeting House, for one year at \$3.50’—rather
“a low salary for a Church Sexton.

“For a period of three or four years, there
“was a constant decrease in the membership,
“and very few additions. Those living East of
“the Hill and West of the river, went to Sher-
“burne; those living West, going to Smyrna;
“and, in 1831, the large families of Isaac, Amasa
“and Hiram Foote, Joseph Collins, and others
“took letters. In 1834, at a church-meeting,
“it was decided to give letters to all the re-
“maining members, numbering at that time only
“seventeen, with leave to unite where God
“might call them. Thus, with only a few more
“members than when it was organized, in 1808,
“the church on West Hill became extinct. For
“a score of years, it was a light literally set up-
“on a hill, and did not go out until others
“rose to eclipse it. The affair of Mr. Knight
“was doubtless a heavy blow to its prosperity;
“and, not long after, the members began to
“scatter and there were few accessions to fill
“their places.

“The old Meeting-house was substantially
“abandoned, before the church disbanded, but
“was occasionally used for a funeral service,
“when deceased persons were taken for inter-
“ment by the side of friends, in the old ceme-
“tery. It was, many years since, moved from
“its original location and is used as a barn; and
“is not a bad looking one. It had the old-fash-
“ioned square pews, one of the sides having
“seats which compelled the occupants to face
“away from the minister. There were galleries;
“but, when playful boys occupied them, the
“eye of Mr. Knight was pretty often upon them;
“and it never embarrassed him to ‘speak
“out in meeting’ to them. On more than one
“occasion, he called upon his own sons to ‘come
“down and take a seat on the pulpit stairs!’”

Doctor Elial T. Foote, for many years, a re-
sident of Sherburne Hill, and who, subsequent-
ly, emigrated to Chautauqua-county, where he
long occupied the position of First Judge of the
Court of Common Pleas of that County, and now
a resident of New Haven, Connecticut, in a com-
munication to the Editor of the *Chenango Tele-*
graph, corroborates, substantially, the preceding
statement, and adds that, according to his recol-
lections, Gerritt Y. Lansing, late of Albany, and
who, at the time of his death, a few years since,
held the office of Chancellor of the State Uni-
versity, was the first merchant of Sherburne Hill;
and that Tilly Lynde was his successor.
“ANOTHER PIONEER,” however, informs the

Editor of the *Telegraph*, that “Mr. Lansing’s
“store was at the ‘Forks,’ on the road from
“Sherburne Hill to Earlville,” where he occupied
a log building, opposite the old tavern: that
Tilly Lynde, then a young man, was his clerk;
and, after remaining with Mr. Lansing, for some
time, he opened a store on Sherburne Hill, in
connection with an extensive Ashery, under the
management of Joseph Plumb, a mile West of
his store, where the turnpike crosses Pleasant
Brook, and there laid the foundations of his
future fortune. This store remained in exist-
ence, until a very recent period, on its original
site; and has been removed to make way for a
new building, erected by D. J. Fairchild of that
neighborhood.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS.—Mr. Newton, in
his *Reminiscences*, gives us a list of descendants
from the early settlers of Sherburne and their
successors, who had received a liberal education,
specifying at what College or other Seminary,
and their subsequent calling or profession: from
which we abstract the following items:

Among the graduates from Yale-college were
the Rev. David Raymond Dixon, in 1807; Ly-
man S. Rexford, Esq. Attorney-at-Law, in 1809;
Abram Dixon, Attorney, in 1813; Samuel Se-
bins, teacher, in 1816; John H. Lathrop, College
Professor and teacher, in 1818; Watts S. Lynde,
Attorney, 1837; Rev. William Robinson, in 1841;
Carolus R. Lynde, Attorney, in 1844; Charles
J. Lynde, Attorney, in 1838; William Pitt Lynde,
Attorney, in 1838; Isaac L. Cushman, Attorney,
in 1845; Isaac S. Newton, Attorney, in 1848;
Hubert A. Newton, Teacher, in 1850; Doctor
Homer G. Newton, in 1859. Of those gradu-
ated from Union-college, were Rev. E. Raymond,
Benjamin F. Rexford, and Christopher C. Fos-
ter: from Hamilton-college, Rev. Ebenezer
Lathrop, Alvin Lathrop, Rev. Watson Adams,
Rev. Homer Adams, Rev. Isaac F. Adams, Doc-
tor Hiram Adams, Julius Hatch, Esq., De Witt
C. Rexford, Esq., Caleb Johnson, Charles Pratt,
John Babcock, Esq., Israel Foote, (a soldier by
profession, and who died in the Army), Rev. S.
Curtis, Rev. Lewis Foote, William Lathrop,
and Hascal Hatch—the two latter, grandsons of
two of the original settlers. From Oneida In-
stitute, were graduated Z. W. Fox, Shadrach
Carver, Miles Carver, and Hiram Lee, all clergymen.
Among those who completed only a
partial course, at Hamilton-college, were Jacob
Guthrie, Esq., Rev. Blackledge B. Gray, Maria
Lathrop, (who died while in college), Doctor
Charles Babcock, and the Rev. Nathaniel Smith.
Nathaniel Foote, Joseph and Oliver Benedict,
Demas Hubbard, Junior, George P. Avery, Henry
Davidson, A. N. Sheldon. Warren Newton,
Julius H. Rose, William Hopkins, and Dr.
L. Follett, received an Academical education.

and entered the legal profession; Doctors Samuel Guthrie, Elial T. Foote, Devillo White, E. S. Lyman, Doctor Israel Farrell, Junior, Alfred, John and Patrick Gray, Scovill Lee, Ralph and William Lord, Doctor Castell, Erastus King, Thomas and George Avery, George Lawrence, Doctors Gritman and Bresee, John Knapp, Elbert Somers, Franklin Lyman, Lyman Rose, Doctor Rose, (a son of Joseph Rose), Spencer Blodgett, Henry Lyman, Henry Graves, and James Thompson, were respectively educated to the medical profession.

At a later period, Joseph Benedict, Junior, and his brother, Oliver, Milo Hunt, Roswell Judson, Eleazer Williams, Philander B. Prindle, Alvin Lathrop, Rufus S. Rose, Stephen Holden, Charles A. Fuller, Thomas Randall, D. L. Atkins, M. E. Milliken, Rev. Samuel Miller, Rev. T. P. Halstead, Rev. J. L. Bennett, and many others became enrolled in the list of citizens, in various capacities, as lawyers, clergymen, physicians, editors, etc.

Joseph and Oliver Benedict, after a successful course of law-practice, at Sherburne, transferred themselves to Utica, where they distinguished themselves in their profession. The former represented the County of Oneida, in the Legislature of 1850. Milo Hunt represented Chenango-county, in the Legislature of 1834; was Deputy Sheriff of the County, for several years; prominent member of the Board of Supervisors; and, in all respects, an estimable and enterprising citizen. Roswell Judson was an able and successful Attorney, and, in 1843, was promoted to the position of First Judge of the County Court and, *ex-officio*, Surrogate. Mr. Prindle has already been sketched in the reminiscences of Norwich. Rufus S. Rose served as Deputy Sheriff, for a long series of years; and sustained high and reputable character as a citizen. Thomas Randall, Editor and Proprietor of the *Sherburne News*, was a highly intelligent and worthy colored man. His father, Amos Randall, most estimable man, was a citizen of Norwich, and came thither, as a boy, attached to the family of Elder Jedediah Randall—assuming his name.

Clark Burnham represented the County in the Legislature of 1842, and was, subsequently, appointed one of the State Canal Commissioners. In 1872, six only of the settlers who succeeded the original twenty, remained in the South-west quarter of the town, on the places occupied by their forefathers; and nine only survived, on the old homesteads their fathers occupied, in 1812, in the remaining three-quarters of the town. Of the pioneers, with the exception of three, were members of the Congregational-church, and, without exception, attended upon its ministrations, and gave it their hearty support. All

lived to be old men of from sixty-five to ninety-six years of age; and twelve of their number remained in the town until their death. They were, in all respects, pious, worthy, liberal-minded, and benevolent men—contributing, generously, of their means to the exigencies and enterprises of the church, domestic and foreign,—useful, honored and respected in their generation, and tenderly and kindly remembered by their successors on the theatre of active life.

Such was Sherburne, in its earliest days, at the close of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth century, as depicted by the venerable octogenarian who survives worthily to commemorate its annals. A pleasant picture of primitive simplicity, energy, piety and moral worth—deserving of perpetuation and, as far as, may be attainable in these modern days of progress, of imitation by their successors! To reclaim from the rapidly accumulating dust which gradually overspreads the past, these kindly mementos of a by-gone age, is surely a "labor of love" and cannot fail of appreciation by those whose footsteps, in the busy crowd of to-day, tread in those of eighty years since.

The Sherburne of fifty years ago presented a very different appearance from its flourishing successor of to-day. It was then a quiet, rambling, pleasant little hamlet, with its one solitary church-steeple, its two or three small stores, its public-house, and scattering dwellings and offices. Its wealthy men—land-owners, money-lenders, and holders of innumerable bonds and mortgages and other securities, were Tilly Lynde and Elias Babcock; its merchants, Joshua Pratt and William G. Fargo; its Supervisor, Joseph Benedict, Senior; and its lawyers, Lyman S. Rexford and Smith M. Purdy.

Judge Lynde was a portly, grave, and dignified State Senator, and "walked gowned," with his eyes and ears ever open, with lynx-eyed vigilance, to the enhancement and preservation of wealth, in which pursuit, his rival, Babcock, contrived not to fall far behind. Messrs. Pratt and Fargo were estimable, enterprising, and worthy men, and on the high-road to subsequent wealth and distinction, as merchants and financiers. Both the elder and younger Benedict were distinguished for strict integrity and great ability for business; and both possessed the entire confidence of the community. Lyman S. Rexford, as well in his capacity of lawyer, as, subsequently, of clergyman, was a shrewd, able, and humorous man; and possessed sterling traits of character. Smith M. Purdy was originally a student in the law-office of James Birdsall, of Norwich, whence he emigrated to Sherburne, where, at the period of which I speak, he was distinguished as a wise counsellor,

and a skillful advocate, and he subsequently transferred himself, again, to Norwich; entered into partnership with Abial Cook, Esq.; and became one of the leaders of the Chenango Bar. He was afterwards appointed First Judge and Surrogate; represented the district in Congress; and died, some two or three years since, at his residence in Norwich.

Philo Robinson, appointed, in 1841, an Associate Judge of the County-court, was also a resident of Sherburne.

V.—THE ORIGINAL INVENTION OF THE ELECTRO-MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH.

DEPOSITION OF DOCTOR CHARLES T. JACKSON, OF BOSTON.

COMMUNICATED FOR PUBLICATION BY ITS AUTHOR.

[Deposition of Dr. Charles T. Jackson concerning the original invention of the Electro-magnetic Telegraph.

Case tried in Kentucky where the documents mentioned in this deposition are now on file & where corroborative evidence of Horatio Bigelow Esq., of Francis & Cyrus Alger are also filed in the Office of the Clerk of the Court. I do not know in which County.

The original draft of my letter to Professor B. Silliman Senr. & the book by Ampere &c are now in the Archives of the Kentucky Court & beyond my reach & I have no duplicate copies of them. This I much regret as I ought not to have allowed them to have been taken from me as they are important documents in proving my just claim to the credit of devising the first Electro Magt Telegraph.

The case in trial was the Morse Company vs the proprietors of the Columbian telegraph. O'Reilly & others I believe—

This deposition I gave without asking for or taking any pay for my time. I gave it as information due to the public & to the cause of science & the truth.

CHARLES T. JACKSON.

This deposition was given before Commissioner George S. Hillard of Boston who gave me this copy at my request. C. T. J.]

DEPOSITION OF CHARLES T. JACKSON.

1 Please state your age, occupation and residence; and what opportunities, if any, you have enjoyed of becoming acquainted with Chemistry and Electro-magnetism? Please state fully your course of study and examination of these subjects, prior to the Fall of 1832?

Answer. I am forty-four years old. I was educated a physician and am engaged in scientific pursuits, Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology. I reside in Boston. I have been employed, as State Geologist, by the State of Maine; by the State of Massachusetts, for the the public lands in Maine; as State Geologist, by the States of New Hampshire and Rhode Island; and am now United States Geologist, for the mineral lands of the United States in

Michigan. I was early interested, while a boy, in the study of Electricity. Between my thirteenth and sixteenth years, I had constructed electrical machines, and had performed most of the experiments described by Doctor Franklin. I engaged in the study of Chemistry, at the same time; and have pursued it, with ardor, ever since. Between 1823 and 1825, I became practically acquainted with the subject of Electro-magnetism, having read and repeated the experiments of Oersted and Soemmering, of Electro-magnetic coils. With the assistance of Elisha Develle, a mathematical instrument-maker of Boston, I constructed a number of pieces of apparatus and repeated the experiments described. I continued the study of Chemistry and Electro-magnetism, as I could find time, till I went to Europe. After I had received my degree, as Doctor of Medicine, in 1829, I went to Europe, for the purpose of improving myself in medicine and in the collateral branches of science. While there, I attended the lectures in the School of Medicine, in the College of France, one of the courses in the Ecole Royale des Mines, and in the Academy of the Sorbonne all in Paris. I became deeply interested in Pouillet's lectures on Electro-magnetism at the Sorbonne. I was in the habit of frequenting the shops of instrument-makers, especially that of Pixii, where electro-magnetic instruments are manufactured, and of examining every new instrument produced. I purchased, of Pixii, an excellent electro-magnet and two small galvanic batteries, used in putting it in action. I brought them home with me, in the packet-ship *Sully*, which left Havre for New York on the sixth of October, 1832.

2 Please state whether or not you are acquainted with Samuel F. B. Morse? If yes, when and where did you become acquainted with him? What communication or conversation, if any, did you have with him, or others in his presence, on the subject of Electro-magnetism and its application in the transmission of intelligence?

Answer. I am acquainted with Samuel F. B. Morse. The first time I ever saw him was on my voyage home, in the *Sully*, as above mentioned, he being one of my fellow-passengers. While on the voyage, one day, at table, I introduced the subject of Electricity and Electro-magnetism, describing an experiment of Pouillet, of sending Electricity a great distance without any perceptible loss of time. There being some expression of incredulity, I endeavored to enforce the fact, by alluding to Franklin's experiment of transmitting an electric spark to a great distance, using a wire and water as conductors. Mr. Morse asked in what

Franklin's works it was contained; and said he had never read it. I stated I believed it was in his Autobiography. After some discussion, on this point, one of the passengers said, "It would be well if we could send news in this rapid manner." This was a casual remark, allusion to our earnest desire to hear from home, as there was some apprehension of a War with France. Mr. Morse said "Why can't we?" I immediately replied "We can. There is no difficulty about it;" and then proceeded to describe various methods by which I conceived that intelligence might be transmitted by Electricity and Electro-magnetism. *First*, I proposed to count the sparks in a disjoined wire circuit, counting the sparks in time—that is, counting noting the sparks and the intervals between the sparks. *Second*, by producing colored marks on prepared paper; the paper being saturated with an easily decomposable neutral salt and stained with turmeric or some other easily changed vegetable colors. *Third*, by saturating the paper with a solution of acetate of lead or carbonate of lead, the paper being moistened, while the electric current was passed through or over its surface, between points of platinum wire. *Fourth*, I proposed to make use of the electro-magnet, which is formed by coiling copper wire, insulated by being wound with silk, around soft iron, bent in the form of the letter U., the iron being rendered temporarily magnetic, by the passage of a galvanic current through the copper wire, a keeper or armature of soft iron being placed across the poles, and attracted, firmly, against them during the time a galvanic current is passing. I proposed to connect with this keeper the short arm of a lever, and to fix a point of steel in the long arm of the lever, so that, when the keeper was drawn to the electro-magnet, the point should perforate holes in paper. The paper was to be fed from one reel to another, by clock-work machinery, so that, in intervals of space, these holes might be punctured and telegraphic indications be produced thereby. When I mentioned the word Electro-magnetism, in the presence of Mr. Morse, during this conversation, he asked me the meaning of the term, saying, "Electro-magnetism! How does that differ from any other magnetism?" I explained to him, making drawings of electro-magnet and a galvanic battery, for that purpose. He did not appear to be acquainted with the subject.

During a part of this conversation, Mr. Rives, Mr. Fisher were present, and two Messrs. Gardner, of New York, and Captain William Pell. They were present at the beginning of the conversation, and heard a considerable portion of it, and they all seemed to consider my project

visionary. Mr. Morse, at that time, made inquiries, and suggested difficulties, and seemed to regard the thing as impracticable. My earnestness increased in proportion to their apparent incredulity.

The next morning, Mr. Morse came to the breakfast-table and said that he had not slept during the night; and had been thinking about what I had told him, about telegraphing; and he was satisfied it could be done. I said "To be sure it can; there is no difficulty about it." We discussed the subject, for some time; and, during this conversation, I spoke of having an electro-magnet on board and two galvanic batteries, which were stowed away, between decks. I made drawings—rough sketches, as I do not profess to be a draughtsman—of the electro-magnet, which I gave to Mr. Morse, who copied them into his note-book, in an artistic manner, asking of me explanations, as he made the drawings.

Either on this, or a subsequent, day, I also described to Mr. Morse a method of making signals for light-houses, by the sudden ignition of charcoal points, after the method discovered by Doctor Hare. I made drawings and showed them to Mr. Morse; but upon this method we had very little conversation, afterwards.

During the rest of the voyage, Mr. Morse appeared very much occupied with the idea of a magnetic telegraph, and followed me about the vessel, asking me questions, and taking notes in his memorandum-book. I grew tired of his questions, as they were purely elementary and had reference to the details of an instrument and process which I thought I had already sufficiently and clearly explained; and I may have occasionally manifested some indifference, when interrogated by him.

On one or two occasions, I manifested some impatience, when interrupted by Mr. Morse, with questions, while I was engaged in researches in regard to the circulatory organs of porpoises and fishes. These were the only times in which I was engaged in any researches in natural history, while on board the vessel; and to these, I was led, partly, by the request of the Captain, who wished to understand the structure of the heart and to see the valves. I told him, if he would catch a porpoise, I would show him; as the heart of a porpoise resembles closely the human heart.

Within a few days after my first conversation, above mentioned, I think the third day after, I had a conversation with Mr. Morse as to the practicability of devising a system of signs which could be readily interpreted. I proposed an arrangement of punctured points or dots, to represent the ten numerals. Mr. Morse proposed to reduce it to five numerals and a zero,

saying that all numbers could be represented, thereby. Mr. Morse took a dictionary, and numbered the words, and then tried our system of dots against it. We assigned to each word, selected for that purpose, a separate number; and the numbers were indicated by dots and spaces. We took our respective places at the opposite sides of a table. He would send me dispatches, written in numerals, which I would examine by the aid of the marked dictionary, which I held in my hand, and I found no great difficulty in reading them; and then we would change, he taking the dictionary, and I sending the words. Mr. Morse took the principal part in arranging the system of signs, and deserves the greatest credit for it. Mr. Morse made notes of the system of signs, so far as we had completed it, in his note-book, either fully or partially. We had absolutely concluded on no complete system before the termination of the voyage.

I saw Mr. Morse's note-book, in which he made his plans and observations, from his first entries in it, in regard to the telegraph, until the end of the voyage. He would often bring it and show it to me, and show me the notes and plans in it; but I never had it in my possession. I saw nothing in it which I had not explained and given him rough draughts of, except the system of signs, which was the result of our joint action, as before stated.

We gave the name of electro-magnetic telegraph to the instrument proposed and explained, as above; and this was the name by which it was known and called in our conversations.

After our arrival, in New York, Mr. Morse brought to me, in New York, a plate of copper and a plate of zinc, each about two inches square, connected by a strap of copper, more than a foot in length and about half an inch in width, and asked me if that would do for an elementary battery. I told him, "No"—that it would make no battery, at all; that the plates must be near each other, and not connected, for an elementary battery, which he proposed to make. His producing a contrivance like that showed that he was not acquainted with the subject of Galvanism; not even knowing how to construct a galvanic battery, which is essential to produce the electric current. I explained to him how it should be made.

In a few days after my arrival at New York, I returned to Boston. Afterwards, I went to Philadelphia, to attend the medical lectures; and, in the Spring of 1833, I commenced the practice of my profession, in Boston. Soon after, my circumstances became embarrassed, through the loss of my property, from the failure of my agent; and I was obliged to devote myself assiduously and almost exclusively to

support of myself and my family, having been married in February, 1834; so that I gave little attention, comparatively, to the magnetic telegraph. In the Spring of 1833, soon after my return from Philadelphia, an article was shown to me, in the *Newark Railroad Journal*, wherein an account was given of a Caveat filed at our Patent-office for a magnetic telegraph, by an Englishman. This instrument resembling, in some of its details, that which I had described to Mr. Morse, I wrote to him, requesting him to ascertain who this Englishman was, and if he had got possession of our plan. I think Mr. Morse replied to this letter; but I cannot say, positively, as many of my letters were destroyed by a fire in my house, in 1845.

Subsequently, Mr. Morse visited me, in Boston, and told me he found this Englishman boarded at Bunker's Hotel, where Captain Pell also boarded; and that he had probably heard Captain Pell talk about it, at table. Up to this time, Mr. Morse had not set up any exclusive claim to the telegraph; but, in his conversation with me, he had always spoken as if he regarded me as the originator of the idea of transmitting intelligence by Electro-magnetism, and the contrivance, for that purpose, devised on board the *Sully*, as the fruit of our joint consultations. He claimed no share in anything which was not mechanical.

During this visit, Mr. Morse requested me to put up an experimental telegraph between Boston and Cambridge, for the purpose of testing its practicability. I declined, on account of the embarrassed state of my affairs, the expending more than I could afford, and my time being very much occupied with medical business. I told him that the batteries required for the purpose would be very expensive; that a steady current would be required, in order to maintain a steady current, no constant battery having been introduced, at that time. Mr. Morse wished to know who had powerful galvanic batteries; and I referred him to Doctor Hare and Professor Silman. We had a great deal of conversation about our invention of the telegraph; and I think I showed him the electro-magnet of Peltier, which I had given him a description and a rough draft, on board the *Sully*.

He subsequently visited me, I think in 1836 or perhaps in 1837, sometime before he went to Europe; and we had much conversation upon the mode of conveying information by means of the electric telegraph. The most friendly relations subsisted between Mr. Morse and myself at that time, and continued till he attempted to appropriate to himself the exclusive merit of having invented the telegraph, with the view of obtaining a patent. In all our investigations, I had not regarded it in the light of a com-

al enterprise, but as a matter of scientific interest. My object was, and I supposed Mr. Morse's was, up to the time I learned he was applying for a Patent, to establish a new application of science to the arts, of which I deemed the community at large should have the benefit. I always expressed, among my acquaintances, my views, freely, upon the impropriety of scientific men's taking out Patents for their discoveries; but do not remember any particular conversation with Mr. Morse upon this subject, though I think he could hardly have been unacquainted with my sentiments on this subject.

3 Please state whether or not, after your return from Europe, you constructed any telegraphic apparatus; and if any, what?

Answer. In 1834, I took the electro-magnet which I brought home in the *Sully*, which I have now before me, and fixed it firmly inside a wooden box, having a hole sawed in the side, for the passage of a lever beam, the short end of which was to be attached to the armature of the magnet; the fulcrum being an iron wire passing through the side of the box and the lever. A pin was inserted in the long arm of the lever, for the purpose of puncturing letters, in paper. A weight was placed under the armature, for the purpose of drawing the armature away from the magnet, when it ceased to be magnetised. The wires from the electro-magnet came through holes, in the side of the box, and were connected with long wires which traversed the apartment and communicated with a small galvanic battery, at the other end of the apartment. This was a rough and expensive contrivance, for the purpose of testing the practicability of working a lever beam by electro-magnetism, so as to produce, by the pin-point, attached to the end of it, punctures on paper, or other permanent markings or impressions. I proposed, at this time, not only to effect punctures for the purposes of telegraphic communication, but, also, to attach actual type to the lever, or double boxes made so as to contain a sponge dipped in ink, which would produce numbers or letters through a stencil plate, which formed the bottom of the box. In this plan I proposed to use a number of electro-magnets corresponding to the numbers or letters employed. But this plan of printing, I never recurred to practice. I had not thought, at this time, of any other signs than those which are above referred to, namely chemical markings and punctures or impressions on paper, as above described; but the contrivance, as above detailed, which would give these signals, would, it is obvious, produce any desired signs, on any system, which might be devised or used by an operator.

4 Please state whether or not, after your return from Europe, you had any communications or conversations in regard to the electro-magnetic telegraph with others, besides Mr. Morse? If so, with whom, and what was it?

Answer. Immediately upon my arrival at New York, I spoke freely upon the subject, especially at Bunker's hotel, where I was staying, with such of the boarders as I knew, among others, with Horatio Bigelow, Esq. now of Boston. I wrote a letter to Professor Silliman, dated "New York, December 25, 1832," announcing my return home and giving a brief account of my observations, abroad. I gave him an account of the most recent electro-magnetic machine which had been invented in Paris, namely Pixii's magneto-electric machine, by which sparks were drawn from a magnet. I also described the experiments which I performed with this, at Pixii's. An extract from this letter was published in the *American Journal*, of January, 1833, I believe. I also referred to the invention of the electro-magnetic telegraph, as follows. "On my voyage home, I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Mr. S. F. B. Morse, a distinguished American artist, who is very ingenious in mechanical inventions. We employed our weary hours, at sea, in contriving various things, among which we invented an electric telegraph, lighthouse, etc. As we intend to make some experiments before we say anything about these products of our speculations, I forbear troubling you with a description of the machinery, until it shall be matured and proved, on a small scale, by actual trial."

I have the letter from which this extract is made, before me, which is identified by my initials and those of the magistrate; and it is the rough draft of the letter which I sent, at that time, to Professor Silliman. It is injured by the fire already referred to.

After my return to Boston, I had repeated conversations with Cyrus Alger, Esq., of South Boston, and his son, Francis Alger, Esq., on the mode of telegraphing by Electro-magnetism and the contrivances for that purpose, as herein before described. I showed Francis Alger, in 1834, the electro-magnet, with the lever-beam attached, as heretofore described; and put it in action, in his presence. At the same time, I described to him Pixii's magneto-electric machine, for drawing sparks from a magnet; but I had not this last machine before me. I constantly exhibited this electro-magnet in my lectures, both here and in the State of Maine; and spoke of it as applicable to the transmission of intelligence.

5 Please state, if you are able, by whom the idea of transmitting intelligence by Electro-

magnetism or by Electricity was first conceived; and what information or means of information you possessed, when on board the *Sully*?

Answer. So far as I know, the idea of transmitting intelligence by electro-magnetism was first suggested by Ampère of Paris, as appears in a work, entitled *Exposé des nouvelles découvertes sur l'électricité et le magnétisme*, de Mm. Oersted, Arago, Ampère, H. Davy, Biot, Erman, Schweiger, de la Rive &c. par Mm. Ampère and Babinet, published in Paris, in 1822. I had this book on board the *Sully*; but had not read it. At that time, from my own experiments and those of Pouillet, I had become perfectly familiar with all that could be done by Electro-magnetism, so far as then known. The telegraph was an application of well-ascertained principles; and my familiarity with the subject enabled me to suggest plans and details, at once, without premeditation, as soon as my attention was called to it.

The book above-mentioned is identified by my name and the initials of the magistrate on the cover.

6. Please state at what time Mr. Morse's claim to the exclusive invention of the electro-magnetic telegraph first came to your knowledge; and what steps, if any, you took in regard to that claim?

Answer. In 1837, in August, I first heard that Mr. Morse had set up a claim to the exclusive invention of the magnetic telegraph. It was in a letter to me, from him, dated twenty-eighth of August 1837, in which he spoke of it as his telegraph. Afterwards, I saw a short paragraph in a New York newspaper, stating that the credit of the invention was wholly due to their townsman, S. F. B. Morse. I wrote Mr. Morse a strong remonstrance; and claimed the invention as principally belonging to me. He replied, and I rejoined; and several letters passed between us. I heard that Mr. Morse had sent an article on the subject, to the *American Journal of Science and Arts*; and I wrote to Professor Silliman that I should make a reply, if it appeared; and I understood the article was withdrawn. I also wrote a letter to a member of the Academy of Sciences, Mons. Elie de Beaumont, denying Mr. Morse's exclusive claim, having heard that he had set it up, before that body. An article appeared, in 1838, in the *Boston Post*, from memoranda furnished by me, in defence of my claim. To this, Mr. Morse replied, in the same paper. I prepared a rejoinder; but the Editor dissuaded me from printing it, saying that the controversy would be long, and that, as I did not seek a Patent, I had no object to engage in it. He offered to publish the article, however, if I desired it; but I thought best to withdraw it. From the time I first heard of Mr. Morse's ap-

plication for a Patent, up to the present time, I have constantly and publicly denied his right to it, upon the ground that he was not the original inventor.

7 Please state any other matters you may know material to either party to this suit, in relation to the invention of the telegraph!

Answer. At the time that these conversations took place, and for some years afterwards, I was aware that the electro-magnetic telegraph could not be rendered commercially valuable, for want of a sustaining battery, or one that would keep up a steady and uniform current of Electricity—no such battery being at that time known. Professor Daniels of London invented the first constant or sustaining battery, about 1839; and Grove's platinum constant battery, which is still better, was not invented until a year or more after that of Daniels. These similar batteries are essential to the economical use of the electro-magnetic telegraph, so as to make it available for common purposes, although the practicability of such a telegraph could be and was demonstrated with the aid of the batteries previously in use. I would add, that I neither have nor have I had any disposition to deny to Mr. Morse great credit for mechanical ingenuity and facility in applying the successive inventions in the arts, such as the batteries above-mentioned to the purposes of the telegraph. He matured and put into operation a telegraph, either by his own ingenuity or with the aid of others; and improved the system of characters or signs for an alphabet. I only mean, in the deposition, to assert that he is not the original and exclusive inventor.

I wish to add, that my experiments with Deville were not made with the iron electro-magnet, which was not then invented, but with copper helices and coils, rendered magnetic by a galvanic battery.

Mr. Morse, as an apology for not knowing anything about Electro-magnetism, said that he had paid no attention to the subject, being wholly occupied with Painting and the Fine Arts.

The following are the names of the passengers who were with me on board the *Sully*: William C. Rives and family; Mrs. Palmer; Miss Palmer; Mr. Charles Palmer, Mr. William Palmer; Mr. Frederic Palmer; Mr. S. F. B. Morse; Mr. and Mrs. Barge and child; Daniel Hazlitt, U. S. N.; Mr. L. Rogers, of Virginia; Mr. J. F. Fisher, of Philadelphia; Mr. C. Post of New York; Mr. Constable, of New York; Mr. J. de la Lande; Mr. Chazal; and Mr. A. F. Scheidler.

8 Please state whether or not you are acquainted with the Columbian telegraph at

what patented by Mr. Morse? If you are, state whether any, and if any, what differences exist between them?

Answer. The instrument for which Mr. Morse holds a Patent is an iron electro-magnet, attracting by means of Electro-magnetism, produced by a galvanic battery attracting an iron keeper, which connects the poles of the electro-magnet; and the power which separates the keeper from the electro-magnet, when it is not rendered magnetic, is a steel spring, but was originally a weight.

In the Columbian telegraph, permanent magnets are employed as a power; and these permanent magnets are not dependent on Electro-magnetism produced by chemical means or by any galvanic battery; for the magnetic power may be derived directly from the earth's native magnetism, by induction, or be taken from native magnetic iron-ores. The only use made

of Electro-magnetism, or Magnetism derived from a galvanic battery, in the action of this instrument, is in annulling or neutralizing the power of the native Magnetism of the steel permanent magnets upon the armature, while a steel spring draws it away. This description applies to the mutator of the Columbian. In the register, the electric currents of two local circuits are employed to change the polarities of the armature moving between the two opposite magnets, so as to enable them to work it and the marker by the alternate attraction and repulsion of permanent Magnetism. This instrument is, in its principles and construction, altogether different from that patented by Mr. Morse; and the power operating is permanent magnetism and not Electro-magnetism. Electro-magnetism is employed as a check or opposing force to temporarily neutralize the permanent magnetism of the steel magnets. This opinion I have derived from an examination of the drawings of the instruments laid before me, which are identified by my initials and those of the magistrate. I am informed that the Columbian telegraph is not so liable to be affected by atmospheric Electricity, as that patented by Mr. Morse. If such is the fact, then this is, on that account, superior to that of Mr. Morse.

CHARLES T. JACKSON.

—In a window in the Treadwell House, so called, near Newmarket Junction, is a pane of glass on which is written with the point of a diamond, "*S. Treadwell. 1817.*" Mrs. Newhall Greenland, who is a daughter of the late Charles Treadwell, is of the opinion that the pane was brought from England to Portsmouth, and there kept in the family, until her grandfather, Nathaniel Treadwell, moved to Newmarket about sixty years ago.

VI.—GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY.*

The following matter of fact, relating to the disinterment of the remains of General Montgomery, is unquestionably authentic. In the year 1818, a request having been made to the Governor-in-Chief, Sir John Sherbrooke, for leave to disinter the remains of General Montgomery, in order that they might be conveyed to New York, and there re-interred, His Excellency acceded to the request, which came to him on the part of Mrs. Montgomery, the widow of the General. Mr. James Thompson, an old gentleman of respectability, serving in the Engineer Department, at Quebec, (a Sergeant under General Wolfe, at the conquest,) who bore arms, during the siege of the Winter of 1775-6, in defence of the city, and, on the morning after the attack, had found the body of the deceased General, and afterwards saw it interred in one of the bastions, near St. Lewisgate, by order of the British Commander, was now ordered to explore the place of interment and dig up the remains. This he accordingly did, in the presence of one of His Excellency's Aides-de-camp, Captain Freer: and, although the spot where the body had been deposited was entirely altered in appearance, from the demolition of an old building or powder-magazine which was near it, and the subsequent construction of a range of barracks, he hit upon the foot of the coffin, which was much decayed, but of the identity whereof there could not be a doubt, no other body having been interred in its immediate neighborhood, except those of the General's two Aides, M'Pherson and Cheeseman, which were placed on each side of their master's body, in their clothes, and without coffins.

Mr. Thompson gave the following affidavit of the facts, in order to satisfy the surviving relations and friends of General Montgomery, that the remains which had been so disinterred, after the lapse of forty-two years, by the same hand that had interred them, were really those of the late General:

"I, James Thompson, of the City of Quebec, "in the Province of Lower Canada, do testify "and declare—that I served in the capacity of "an Assistant Engineer, during the siege of this "city, invested, during the years 1775 and 1776, "by the American forces, under the command

* The following papers were communicated by Doctor W. J. Anderson, the distinguished President of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society. They have been already published, in that city; but, as they are not generally accessible, in the original publications, we have copied them for the information of our readers.—EDITOR.

"of the late Major-general Richard Montgomery. That, in an attack made by the American troops, under the immediate command of General Montgomery, in the night of the thirty-first of December, 1775, on a British post, at the southernmost extremity of the city, near *Près de Ville*, the General received a mortal wound, and with him were killed his two Aides-de-camp, M'Pherson and Cheeseman, who were found, in the morning of the first of January, 1776, almost covered with snow. That Mrs. Prentice, who kept an hotel, at Quebec, and with whom General Montgomery had previously boarded, was brought to view the body, after it was placed in the Guard-room, and which she recognized, by a particular mark which he had on the side of his head, to be the General's. That the body was then conveyed to a house, (Gobert's)* by order of Mr. Cramahé, who provided a genteel coffin for the General's body, which was lined inside with flannel, and outside of it with black cloth. That, in the night of the fourth of January, it was conveyed by me from Gobert's house, and was interred six feet in front of the gate, within a wall that surrounded a powder-magazine, near the ramparts bounding on St. Lewis-gate. That the funeral service was performed, at the grave, by the Reverend Mr. de Montmolin, then Chaplain of the garrison. That his two Aides-de-camp were buried in their clothes, without any coffins; and that no person was buried within twenty-five yards of the General. That I am positive, and can testify and declare, that the coffin of the late General Montgomery, taken up on the morning of the sixteenth of the present month of June, 1818, is the identical coffin deposited by me on the day of his burial; and that the present coffin contains the remains of the late General. I do further testify and declare that, subsequent to the finding of General Montgomery's body, I wore his sword, being lighter than my own; and on going to the Seminary, where the American officers were lodged, they recognized the sword, which affected them so much, that numbers of them wept, in consequence of which, I have never worn the sword since.

"Given under my hand, at the city of Quebec, Province of Lower Canada, on the nineteenth of June, 1818.

"JAMES THOMPSON."

The following, from the Journal of Mr. James Thompson, late of the Seventy-eighth Highland-

* Gobert's house was at the corner of St. Lewis and St. Ursule-streets, on the site of the house now numbered 42 St. Lewis-street.

ers, as dictated to his son James, at Quebec, in 1828, further illustrates this subject:

"CAPTAIN MONTGOMERY.

"AFTERWARDS GENERAL IN THE AMERICAS

"SERVICE, 1759—1775.

"I knew Montgomery at the taking of Quebec, in 1759; he was then a Captain, and commanded a Fencible Corps, of which I do not recollect the name. He was posted just on the off-side of the Falls of Montmorency, and was sent, by General Wolfe, on some particular business, down towards Ange Gardien. As he advanced, some of the people turned out and fired upon his advanced party, and this brought on a more general action. Amongst the number that opposed him, in this way, was the Priest of the Parish, as commanding officer. Montgomery defended himself obstinately; and killed most of the Canadians, including the Priest himself.*

"This exasperated them so much, that they became frantic, and scarcely knew what they were about, and, from want of discipline and order, they exposed themselves to Montgomery's mercy.

"Montgomery knew how to take advantage of this; and his party killed every one who came in his way, without any mercy. He fell in with one of his Sergeants, having under his charge a young Canadian gentleman who had been placed with the Priest, for his education, and who, after having lost his teacher, had placed himself under the protection of the Sergeant, in order to save himself from the butchering work which he had witnessed. Montgomery, after finding out that he was a Canadian, had him shot that instant.

"General Wolfe was very much vexed at Montgomery's conduct. It afterwards appeared that the cause of his resentment towards the Canadians was, his having lost a brother who had been killed, and his body afterwards cruelly mangled by the *savages** in ~~the~~ *with the Canadians* that were in alliance with the savages.

"After the war, Montgomery's Corps was disbanded, and he went back to New England, where he engaged in the Revolutionary War against Great Britain; and, from his previous

* Notwithstanding the version of Mr. Thompson, I am inclined to believe, with Lieutenant Fraser, who was present at the St. Joachim butchery, that the officer in charge was Lieutenant Richard Montgomery, of the Seventeenth Regiment, but Captain Alexander Montgomery, of the Forty-third Regiment. *Vide Fraser's Journal*, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, page 13.

* The word "Canadians" is written above those words in manuscript.

"knowledge of Quebec, he was, no doubt, considered the best qualified to head the army that came to the attack of the place, in the year 1775, on which occasion, he and many of his army lost their lives, on the night of the thirty-first of December. It was I who found his body, in the snow, and afterwards had the direction of burying it, privately, by order of General Carleton. The remains were, about the year 1820, taken to the States, by his nephew, Mr. Lewis, who obtained the permission of the Governor to that effect. He was the only officer of that army who wore a sword, that ever I discovered; and that self-same sword is in my possession to this very day. It is silver-mounted, but, altogether, but a poor-looking thing. It has, however, been the means of my receiving the visits of a great number of American ladies and gentlemen, who put so many questions to me, that I am heartily tired of answering them, now that old age has got the better of me."

The above was related by my father, in August, 1828, says Mr. James Thompson Junior.

"This sword," adds the latter gentleman, "is now (18th March, 1831,) in my possession, at the Cedars; together with a detailed account of the manner in which Montgomery met his death; the particulars of his burial and of his disinterment, the whole certified by my father's own signature."

The following, from Hawkins's *New Historical Picture of Quebec*, relates to the same subject:

"GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY—HIS SWORD, ETC.,

"AS RELATED BY MR. JAMES THOMPSON, OVERSEER OF WORKS FOR THE GARRISON OF QUEBEC, WHO, FROM HIS PUBLIC SITUATION, HAD A PARTICULAR KNOWLEDGE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

"General Montgomery was killed on the occasion of his heading a Division of American troops, while moving up to the assault of Quebec, on the night of the thirty-first of December, 1775, or, rather, the morning of the first of January, 1776, during a heavy snow-storm from the North-east; under the favor of which, as also to avoid the exposed situation to which his men would have been subjected, had the attack been made on the land side, where there were lantern and composition-pots kept burning, every night, during the absence of the moon, he expected the better to carry his point.

"The path leading round the bottom of the rock on which the garrison stands, and called *Près de Ville*, was then quite narrow; so that His Mag. Vol. II. Sig. 20.

"the front of the line of march could present only a few files of men. The Sergeant* who had charge of the barrier-guard, Hugh McQuarters,—where there was a gun kept loaded with grape and musket-balls, and levelled every evening, in the direction of the said foot-path—had orders to be vigilant, and, when assured of an approach by any body of men, to fire the gun. It was General Montgomery's fate to be amongst the leading files of the storming-party; and the precision with which McQuarters acquitted himself of the orders he had received, resulted in the death of the General, two Aides-de-camp, and a Sergeant, at least, these were all that could be found, after the search made, at dawn of day, the next morning. There was but one discharge of the gun, from which the General had received a grape-shot, in his chin, one in the groin, and one through the thigh, which shattered the bone. I never could ascertain whether the defection of Montgomery's followers was in consequence of the fall of their leader, or whether owing to their being panicked, struck,—a consequence so peculiar to an unlooked-for shock, in the dead of night, and when almost on the point of coming into action; added to which, the meeting with an obstruction (in the barrier) where one was not suspected to exist. Be that as it may, he or rather, the cause in which he had engaged, was deserted by his followers, at the instant that their perseverance and intrepidity were the most needed. I afterwards learnt that the men's engagements were to terminate on the thirty-first of December, 1775.

"Considering the then weak state of the garrison of Quebec, it is hard to say how much further the enterprise might have been carried had Montgomery effected a junction with Arnold, whose Division of the storming party, then simultaneously approaching by the Sault-au-Matelot extremity, was left to carry on the contest, alone, unaided, and which was left to sustain the whole brunt of the battle. But, as I do not undertake to give a detailed history of the whole of the events, I return to the General and the sword. Holding the situation of Overseer of Works in the Royal Engineer Department, at Quebec, I had the superintendence of the defences to be erected throughout the place, which brought to my notice almost every incident connected with the military operations of the blockade of 1775; and, from the part I had performed in the affair, generally, I considered that I had

* There were other Canadian worthies, who could legitimately share the credit of this *fait d'armes*—Chabot, Coffin, and the Captain of an English transport, *Barnsfare*.

"some right to withhold the General's sword, particularly as it had been obtained on the battle-ground.

"On its having been ascertained that Montgomery's Division had withdrawn, a party went out to view the effects of the shot, when, as the snow had fallen, in the previous night, about knee deep, the only part of a body that appeared *above* the level of the snow was that of the General himself, whose hand and part of the left arm was in an erect position, but the body itself much distorted, the knees being drawn up towards the head; the other bodies that were found, at the moment, were those of his Aides-de-camp, Cheeseman and McPherson, and one Sergeant. The whole were hard frozen. Montgomery's sword (and he was the only officer of that army who wore a sword, that I ever perceived) was close by his side; and, as soon as it was discovered, which was first by a drummer-boy, who made a snatch at it, on the spur of the moment, and no doubt considered it as his lawful prize; but I immediately made him deliver it up to me, and, some time after, I made him a present of seven shillings and sixpence, by way of prize-money.

"The sword has been in my possession to the present day (16th Aug. 1828). It has a head at the top of the hilt, somewhat resembling a lion's or a bulldog's, with cropped ears, the edges indented, with a ring passing through the chin or under jaw, from which is suspended a double silver chain communicating with the front tip of the guard, by a second ring; at the lower end of the handle there is, on each side, the figure of a spread eagle. The whole of the metal part of the hilt is of silver. About half an inch of the back part of the guard was broken off, while in my possession. The handle itself is of ivory, and undulated obliquely, from top to bottom. The blade, which is twenty-two inches long, and fluted near the back, is single-edged, with a slight curve towards the point, about six inches of which, however, is sharp on both edges, and the word "HARVEY" is imprinted on it, five and a half inches from the top, in Roman capitals, in a direction upwards. The whole length of the blade is two feet four inches (when found it had no scabbard or sheath; but I soon had the present one made, and mounted in silver, to correspond). As it was lighter and shorter than my own sword, I adopted it and wore it, in lieu. Having some business at the "Seminaire," where there was a number of American officers, prisoners of war, of General Arnold's Division, I had occasion to be much vexed with myself for having it with me, for the instant they ob-

"served it, they knew it to have been the General's; and they were very much affected by the recollections that it seemed to bring back to their minds,—indeed, several of them wept, audibly! I took care, however, in mercy to the feelings of those ill-fated gentlemen, that, whenever I had to go to the Seminary, afterwards, to leave the sword behind me. To return to the General: the body on its being brought within the walls the (garrison) was identified by Mrs. Widow Prentice, who then kept the hotel known by the name of 'Free Mason's Hall,' by a scar on one of his cheeks, supposed to be a scar, and by the General having frequently lodged at her house, on previous occasions of his coming to Quebec, on business. General Carleton, the then Governor General, was satisfied as to his identity, ordered that the body should be decently buried, in the most private manner; and His Excellency entrusted the business to me. I accordingly had the body conveyed to a small log house, in St. Lawrence street, (opposite to the then residence of Mr. Dunn,) the second from the corner of Ursule-street, owned by one Francois Gaudet, a cooper; and I ordered Henry Dunn to prepare a suitable coffin; this he completed in every respect becoming the rank of the deceased, having covered it with fine black cloth and lined it with flannel; after the job was completed there was nobody to indemnify the dollars that Dunn gave to the six men who bore the body to the grave; he wished to insist upon my paying his account, as the orders for the other work had been required and paid by me; but, as I could not spare my own men (having enough soldiers of my own) I contrived to put him off, from time to time, and I really believe it remains unpaid to this day; however, Dunn is long since dead, and as he could well afford to bear the loss, it was, perhaps, after all, only owing to him to a generous action towards a friend. He deserved, in some measure, to bear the loss, for I gave him no directions as to the six men, as I had a party of my own going, at the Chateau, to carry the corpse to the grave, at the moment that General Carleton conceived proper; and when I did according to his wishes to that effect, I proceeded to Gaubert's, where I was told that Mr. Dunn had just taken away the corpse; this was about the setting of the sun, on the 17th of January, 1776. I accordingly posted up to the place where I had ordered the grave to be dug, (just alongside of that of my first wife) within, and near, the surrounding wall of the powder-magazine, in the gorge of the Lewis-bastion,) and found, in addition:

six men and Dunn, the undertaker, that the Rev. Mr. De Montmollin, the military Chaplain, was in attendance, and the business thus finished before I got there. On satisfying myself that the grave was properly covered up, I went and reported the circumstances to General Carleton, who expressed himself not too well pleased with Dunn's officiousness. It having afterwards been decided to demolish the powder-magazine, and to erect a case-mated barrack in its stead, I took care to mark the spot where Montgomery was buried (not so much, perhaps, on *his* account, as from the interest I felt for it, on another score) by having a small cut stone inserted in the pavement, within the barrack square; and this precaution enabled me, afterwards, to point out the place to a nephew of the General, Mr. Lewis, who, learning that the person who had had the direction of the burial of his uncle's corpse was still living, came to Quebec, about the year 1818, for the laudable purpose of obtaining the permission of the military commander, General Sherbrooke, to take away the remains. I, of course, was called upon for the purpose of pointing out the spot; and, having repaired thither, with young Mr. Lewis and several officers of the garrison, together with Chief-justice Sewell and some friends of the deceased, I directed the workmen, at once, where to dig, and they accordingly took up the pavement exactly in the direction of the grave. The skeleton was found complete, and, when removed, a musket-ball fell from the skull; the coffin nearly decayed. No part of the black cloth of the outside nor the flannel of the inside were visible; a leather thong, with which the hair had been bound, was still in a state of preservation, after a lapse of forty-three years; there is a spring of water near the place, which may have had the effect of hastening the decay of the contents of the grave.

The particulars attending the removal of the remains, through the several towns of the United States, to their ultimate place of deposit (Broadway, New York) were published in all the public papers, in that line of communication.

"JAMES THOMPSON,
"Overseer of Works.

QUEBEC, 16th August, 1828."

The following in addition, was related on Friday evening, the nineteenth of December, 1828:

While engaged in giving directions in respect of the burial of the General's two Aids who were both put into the same grave, just as they had been found, a little in advance of

"the spot where the General was interred,) there were sent seventeen dead soldiers of General Arnold's Division, brought up from Sault au Matelot, for the purpose of being buried; these were all put into one pit, dug in the slope of the rampart, just in the rear of the powder-magazine, also without coffins, as is the practice on the battle-field, but no particular mark was left to show the place; many of the American soldiers that were killed in their attempt to force the barrier at Sault au Matelot, were buried on the beach, in front of the property of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Racey, both brewers.

"The foregoing particulars were committed to writing in consequence of the frequent visits of American ladies and gentlemen to obtain a view of Montgomery's sword and a recital of the circumstances attending his death and burial; and in a view, also, of averting the fatigue occasioned by the repeated recital, at my father's very advanced age—ninety-five years.

"JAMES THOMPSON, JR.

"A Mr. Ford and a Mr. Gibson, two American gentlemen, the former a historian and the latter a painter, called upon my father, in 1828, to be permitted to participate in the information which he possessed, in regard to the American attack on Quebec; the particulars of General Montgomery's death and burial; his sword; etc., etc.; and Mr. Gibson begged to be allowed to take my father's portrait, for the purpose of being appended to an historical work then in a state of progress, which being acquiesced in, he (Mr. Gibson) continued some time in contemplating the outlines of his features, and expressed his ability to design a portrait from the impression alone which he had framed of his features, on inspection.

"JAMES THOMPSON, JR."

VII.—GENERAL CHILDS, U. S. A.

EXTRACTS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS FAMILY.*

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

[Without any intention to write a history of the Florida War, it may be proper to notice its origin; and to give, from time to time, very briefly, such statements of current events as may be necessary to the comprehension of the letters.

In 1821, Florida was ceded by Spain to the United States. The Indians, who had maintained the most friendly relations with the Spaniards, were then in possession of the best portions of the country—their villages extending from St. Augustine, on the East, to the Appalachian-river, on the West. In 1823, by the Treaty of Fort Moultrie, they relinquished all claim to the

* Some years since, while we were engaged on another historical work, we received from the widow of General Childs a package of extracts from the correspondence of that excellent soldier with his wife and children, embracing all of that corres-

upper part of Florida, and bound themselves to live within certain southern and interior boundaries.

Difficulties arose and continued. The white man looked with a covetous eye and, sometimes, laid a depredating hand on the Indian "reserve"; while the red man too often came out of his limits to steal—sometimes to murder. Had the Indians lived in an open country, hemmed in by dense settlements of the whites, it would have been very easy to control them; and this fact would have given a feeling of security to their neighbors. But of all places on this continent, Florida stands foremost as a strong hold for the hostile savage.

It was soon perceived that Florida could never fully belong to the dominant race, so long as the wild man retained any footing in the country.

In 1832, the Indian Chiefs were induced to enter into another Treaty—that of Payne's Landing—by which they bound themselves to emigrate to the western border of Arkansas; but the people refused to ratify the acts of their Chiefs—they resolved not to emigrate: and the Chiefs, as the only means, probably, of retaining their power, denied their own acts and announced their fixed determination to live and die in the land of their forefathers.

All was done that could be done, by Indian Agents and military officers, in Florida, to induce the Chiefs to fulfil the Treaty. The latter, with the characteristic cunning of their race, pretended to yield to these persuasions until they had secured a large supply of ammunition and of all the implements of war used by them.

A few days before the period fixed for emigration, the Indians opened the drama by a terrible act; and the long Florida War began.

On the 28th of December, 1835, two Companies of Artillery,

pondence which was considered proper to be placed before the world, concerning the operations of the army in Florida, from 1836 to 1841; and we propose to publish them, for the benefit of those who shall desire to look into the hidden records of that remarkable war.

"General Childs was in the habit, when absent from his family, of writing, daily, in familiar letters to his wife and children, a narrative of passing events;" and, as will be seen, those letters sometimes assumed the form of diaries, in which, without noticing the merely professional characteristics of the operations of the army, he described very much of men and events, which was not officially referred to, in any Report and not generally known by those who were not actual eye-witnesses of the scenes referred to. The exact character of those letters will be evident to every reader. They were not written for the public eye; nor were they intended to promote the advancement of anybody's desires or interests. They merely exhibit a Christian soldier, in places of considerable responsibility, in actual war, faithful to his country and his God, "jotting down a history of passing events, with the occasional comments of a thoughtful, religious man," for the information of loved ones, at home; and the testimony of such a man, written under such circumstances, completes the record of events, which was left incomplete, by those who participated in those events, when they merely reported, officially, their official acts, to those, at the seat of government, to whom they were officially accountable for their doings. For this reason, we regard these letters as extremely important to students of the military history of the country and to all who are especially interested in the history of the war in Florida.—EDITOR.]

under Major Dade, on their way from Tampa Bay to Fort King, five miles East of the Wahoo-swamp, were ambushed and surrounded by a large body of Indians, and all but two killed on the spot. Two, desperately wounded, returned to Fort Brooke.

On the same day, a party of Indians, under the celebrated Oseola, murdered General Thompson, the Indian Agent at Fort King, and Lieutenant Constantine Smith, who happened to be in his company. To punish this last act, General Clinch, then commanding the troops in Florida, advanced rapidly towards the Withlacoochie; crossed it, two days after the massacre; and, on the thirty-first of December, with two hundred Regulars, met and dispersed two hundred and fifty Indians under Oseola and Alligator. The loss, however, of the Indians was small—three killed and five wounded; while the Americans had four killed and forty wounded. Self-preservation is a cardinal point of Indian tactics. He seldom stands his ground after the danger becomes imminent.

Nothing was known, that day, of the fate of Dade and his party; but terrible apprehensions were excited by the glimpses of savages decorated with parts of the American uniform and by the sound of the American musket, mingled with the hootings of the Indian rifle.

The news of this battle was received on the Atlantic seaboard before anything was known of "Dade's Massacre." The news of this last event, slowly communicated from Tampa Bay after a long period of profound peace, acted like an electric shock upon the people of the United States. Orders were immediately issued by the War Department for the more vigorous prosecution of the War, then begun. Our small regulars scattered along the western frontier and the sea-board were required to take up the line of march for Florida. On the first of January, 1836, General Scott was ordered to report to the seat of war, with power to call out the Militia of Florida and neighboring States. General Gaines, without orders, left New Orleans for Tampa Bay, with one thousand men, Regulars—and Louisiana Volunteers; arrived at Fort Brooke, on the tenth of February; marched, with ten days provisions, to Fort King; reached that post on the twenty-second of February; and, finding but a small quantity of provisions, began his return to Fort Brooke, by a detour. He met the enemy, on the Withlacoochie, so strongly posted as to prevent his crossing that stream; began to fortify his position and waited for reinforcements. General Clinch arrived in relief, on the seventh of March. The Indians fled without giving battle.

General Scott hastened to the scene of action: and with the best preparations that could be made, on so short a notice, met the field, on the twenty-second of February; and continued his operations, with great energy, until the thirtieth of May. The Indians played their part with great skill—finding large numbers of twelve or fifteen hundred men, in the field, they separated into small bodies; and easily eluded pursuit.

The object of the war was not simply to defeat the enemy, but to catch him and carry him off to another country. In this General Scott did not succeed; nor have his successors, to this day, accomplished that object. Indians still remain in the country secure in consequence of their diminished numbers. At the

* This introduction was written, several years ago, when the papers were sent to us, by Major Childs's family. We believe the Indians no longer trouble the inhabitants of Florida.—EDITOR.

inning of the Florida War, 1835, there were about two thousand warriors, including negroes, in Florida. Now, 1859, at the end of a Second War, there are about one hundred warriors still remaining. They have the extensive "Everglades," with its high grass and numerous islands, to hide in, when pursued, and cannot be removed by force.

General Scott was relieved of the command, in Florida, by Governor Call; but, during the Summer of 1836, no very active operations were undertaken. A few months later, General Jesup came into the country, and carried on operations, nearly two years, with great zeal and energy, but without accomplishing the impossible object, the removal of all the Indians from the country.

Without further explanations, we shall take up the letters; marking that the Company of the Third Artillery, which the latter then commanded, left Eastport, Maine, early in July, 1836, for the seat of war.

It will be learned from these letters, that the Indians were scattered over the country, destroying plantations, murdering women and children, wherever they could be found, attacking small detachments, etc., etc., while the troops, prostrated by disease, were powerless.]

EXTRACTS.

July 24th 1836. At anchor at the mouth of Black-creek.* On the other bank of the river, a house is now smoking, which the Indians fired, at night, having killed the owner, a month since. They have burned and destroyed, in every direction. It is melancholy to see the splendid plantations in ruins, all around us. The people of Jacksonville are much alarmed, and they have burnt within ten miles of them. In coming up, this afternoon, we have been easily engaged in planking up the bulwarks of the boat, as we expect to be fired upon, to-morrow, in Black-creek. The stream is very narrow; and the banks are high. I have planked the upper deck, and intend to conceal my men, making them lie down, so that, if we are attacked, we may draw the enemy from their hiding-places and return their fire, with effect. I understand that the communication between Fort Drane† and Micanopy‡ is now cut off; and, until more troops arrive, the sick and well, amounting to three hundred men, can not be moved from that post.

July 29th. GAREY'S FERRY.§ We arrived at this place, in safety, a few moments since, without being fired upon, as we expected. We saw the place where the Indians had made fires, at night, in order to watch us. I find, here, two Companies (one-hundred and fifty men) prepared for defense. My Company is in ex-

About twenty-five miles above Jacksonville, on the St. Johns-river, Florida.

An interior post, about sixty-five miles Southwest from the mouth of Black-creek.

Ten miles from Fort Drane.

On Black-creek, twenty miles from its mouth.

cellent health. The Indians are all through the country. A movement will probably be made, in ten or twelve days.

You have seen by the papers that a great deal of sickness prevails at this place—the truth is not half known. The people have come here, for protection, from all quarters—in all, seven hundred or eight hundred. They left comfortable homes, to escape the Indians. Here, they have built shelters which keep out neither wind nor rain—at this season of the year it rains violently, every afternoon—and their subsistence is the ration of the soldier. The measles have broken out among them; and their insufficient shelters have given them colds.

To-day, I have been in the huts of many of these unfortunate people. My heart bleeds at the sufferings I have witnessed and the tales of woe I have heard.

In a hut, ten feet square, were three or four places for beds:—that is, four sticks would be driven into the sand, and poles laid across them, for boards to rest upon. On these, some had beds and others nothing but blankets. But, Oh! the emaciated objects that lay upon them—some with raging fevers;—others with diarrhoea;—others, again, having taken cold with the measles, were swollen, frightfully. Sometimes, father, mother, children, all lay, prostrate. In one instance, the father and mother died, leaving five children, all sick; and the oldest only thirteen years old. These poor little creatures were obliged to help each other, as well as they could. I found some that were religious, and left tracts with all. All appeared grateful; and many asked me to call again.

As to the Indians, they are in complete possession of the country. They have cut off all communication between this place and Micanopy and between Micanopy and Fort Drane; and we are not strong enough, at any of these places, to attempt to send supplies from one to the other. This is the great depot for supplying these posts. They are now living, at Micanopy, on corn and pork. At Fort Drane, it is very sickly.

I am now waiting for one hundred and fifty Florida horsemen. When they arrive, I shall, with my Company and Capt. G's,—together, one hundred and ten men,—take supplies to Micanopy; and then remove the garrison of Fort Drane.

It is very hot; the living coarse—pork, beans, and hard bread. I should like you to see us sitting under a bower, made in front of two log-houses, some on heads of barrels, some on chairs, some standing—eating, for breakfast, cold boiled pork, hard bread, with tea. We sleep in a log-house; and the worms in the wood make as much noise as a swarm of bees. When it rains, I look for a dry place in which I

may put my blankets; and think myself fortunate if I can find one.

GAREY'S FERRY, July 30th 1836.

Yesterday, at three o'clock, news came that a party of sixteen soldiers, who had come here from St. Augustine, to bring some horses, on their return, under Lieutenant H., stopped at the mouth of Black-creek, at a steam-mill, to look about. Immediately on landing, they were fired upon by forty Indians: the fire was returned, and kept up, an hour and a half. Lieut. H. having three men wounded, retreated; but, before the steamboat could get out of rifle-shot, two others were wounded,—one mortally.

On the arrival of this news, I volunteered, with my Company, to go down in the steamboat, Captain Galt, with his, to go on horses, by land, and try to surround them. When we reached the place, the mill and the boards were in a blaze, lighting up the water and the space around. I went ashore, in the first boat, with thirty men. We expected the Indians to fire upon us, every moment—our boat grounded—we jumped into the water, immediately formed in one rank; ascended the bank; and there awaited the arrival of the balance of the men, under Lieutenant P. with the Doctor. It was now dark; and, being entirely unacquainted with the ground, we could do nothing but form the Company, as Light Infantry, in open order; place the sentinels, ten feet apart, in front and on our flanks, having the river in the rear; and, there, wait until day-light. We had nothing on but our summer clothes. Wet up to our knees; dripping with perspiration; supperless; we lay down in the sand until day-light.

No Indians appearing, we commenced scouring a hammock, on our right, in open order. These hammocks are thick underbrush and woods, on rather higher ground than that which surrounds them. We then went through the country, about six miles, to a place where we expected to find the Indians. There we met Captain Galt, with his Company, mounted; but no Indians. After eating some meat and bread, and drinking some very warm and very bad water, we scoured some other parts of the woods and hammocks, under a broiling sun, until one o'clock; when we returned to the boat, completely exhausted. Captain Galt, with the assistance of citizens accustomed to hunt Indians, found a trail where they had passed with cattle, the night before, and followed it, fifteen miles. It is supposed the Indians left that part of the country, with their plunder, immediately after the fight of yesterday. We are safely back, having marched, on foot, fifteen or sixteen miles.

MICANOPY, August 6th 1836.

By the blessing of God, we have accomplished the march to this place in safety. To-morrow, at four o'clock, A. M., I leave with two hundred men, to bring off the sick and the public property from Fort Drane.

I am sorry to make this movement, on Sunday, but it is an act of mercy and necessity to get the troops from that place, as soon as possible. My prayer is for wisdom and guidance from above to direct me.

August 9th. I returned, yesterday, from Fort Drane, with all the troops and public property. It was a beautiful and romantic sight—forty wagons, with from three to six horses each winding through the pine-barrens.

When I arrived there, with my wagon-train escorted by one hundred horsemen and eight foot, I found every officer sick, with the exception of the Surgeon. Of eighty-three soldiers only forty-two were fit for duty. The wagons were loaded, on Sunday evening; Monday morning, we started back; expecting a fight with the Indians, at every hammock, supposing they would make a desperate effort to cut some of the train which reached more than a mile.

You would probably like to know how we march through the Indian country so as to give surprise. [*Here we omit a sketch, representing a line of mounted flankers, on each side of the train.*]

MICANOPY, August 18th 1836.

We are living a wild, romantic, and singular life. I will tell you something of it. You know we are surrounded by pickets: outside of these, a wily, savage foe watches for the moment when we are off our guard to pounce upon us. We can not see him; but there is no doubt that he is, every night, within one hundred yards of us. The Sergeant of the Guard has orders to visit each sentinel once in fifteen minutes, and report if he hears any "sign" as it is called. About half past two, this morning I awoke. All was still. I felt uneasy. At the time the Indians generally select for an attack I got up (my clothes have been laid aside for two nights, since I have been in Florida) and went to one of the sentinels nearest the hammock to see, listen, and enquire for "signs." While standing there, I heard, through the stillness, the tramp of a horse which I knew to be the express from Garey's Ferry. Thirty minutes, I heard him sing out "Express—Express—" to prevent his being fired on. We did not ask—"Who is there?" but the first salutation is a ball and three buck-shot. As I was saying, he sang out "Express, Express."

dians, Indians in the hammock." As soon as Indians were mentioned, all the troops, in a moment, were at the loop-holes. The express came in, safe, and said he saw an Indian at the side of the road, within two hundred yards of the picket: he put spurs to his horse, and ran. The Indians having alarmed the garrison, we knew they would be off, immediately. So the troops were sent back to their quarters; and I sat down to our despatches. It was a curious sight—five or six officers, some in soldiers' clothes, some with morning gowns, others half-dressed, reading letters, at three o'clock in the morning, surrounded by Indians. We sleep but little at night. Some one is constantly on the look-out; and, as there are six of us, in one room, we appear like troubled spirits, going in and out.

I feel comforted by the assurance which your letter gives me, that so many Christian friends are interceding at a Throne of Grace for me and my companions-in-arms. My faith in prayer is constantly strengthened; and my Christian hope, I would fain hope, grows brighter and brighter; and why should it not, when I feel that God is around and about me—that my prayers, for my own health and safety and for my dear wife and children, appear to be answered so soon? I would not be a prayerless man for worlds. Pray for me that I may, by my walk and conversation, glorify my God and be instrumental in promoting the highest good of those around me.

The following is an extract from a letter to Colonel Crane, in which he urgently recommends an attack upon Fort Drane; the planning of which he was afterwards brevetted to the rank of Major.]

I am anxious to make an excursion, on the morning of the train, with the horsemen that may accompany it, together with such men as I can mount on the wagon-horses, to several resorts of Indians, within ten or twelve miles. I believe I can, with good guides, come upon them suddenly, and drive from this vicinity those we do not kill or take *** I am, therefore, the more anxious that you should send me the horses you have at St. Augustine. They will be of great service, as nothing can be done without them.

August 21st. The horses came and with them Major Pierce, who took command. We started at two o'clock in the morning, with one hundred mounted men and a howitzer. Half of the men were my own men, most of whom I had scarcely ever before felt the saddle. We rode for an hour or two, in the darkness; and, as daylight discovered them, the figure they cut, like ragoons, was ludicrous in the extreme. I saw one go over his horse's head and presently appear *under* instead of *over* him: another,

having lost his cap, had made a bandanna supply its place: eight or ten, upon some unexpected movement of their horses, found themselves measuring their length upon the ground: and Shryack, whom you may remember as a very tall man, had fastened his stirrups close to the saddle, so that, from his knees, his head barely emerged to learn for itself the way his horse was going. To go on with my story.

Lieutenant Irwin, with his men, was to go to the right, I to the left, as we approached Fort Drane; and so surround it. Having heard by a spy that a fire had been burning there, the night before, as soon as we got in sight, we started on a run.

Lieutenant Irwin's command had to pass some negro-quarters, out of which ran two Indians, who were killed. We then discovered a large number of Indians coming through a corn-field. It is supposed they had got notice of our approach, and were coming down, to lay in ambush for us. We drove them back to the hammock, passing over the bodies of ten dead Indians. Here we encountered the entire Mickasukie tribe, with their negroes, women, and children. They formed a line of fire, on the edge of the hammock, half a mile in length. We maintained our fire, in half musket-shot of them, for forty minutes. We were not strong enough to charge them. Our ammunition was nearly gone. Not expecting such a fight, we had none, excepting what the men took in their boxes. So we mounted our horses; took our dead men and the wounded; and retired. Had the Indians known our weakness, they could have surrounded us, with ease, and cut us off. We had no idea of meeting more than forty or fifty; but they had come out of the swamp, with their whole tribe; and, although they number only two hundred and fifty warriors, attacking them, as we did, in their camp, the old men, boys, and negroes used rifles, and is supposed that from four to five hundred used arms, that day, with Oseola at their head; whose voice was recognized by "Jackson," a Wagon-master, whom Major Pierce mentions in his report—he having lived a long time in this nation.

[The American loss in this battle, as reported by Major Pierce, was one killed and sixteen wounded.

It became necessary to abandon Micanopy, as there were not men enough to hold it, after detaching an escort with the train of sick to Garey's Ferry.]

GAREY'S FERRY, Sept. 8th 1836.

MY DEAR—

I thank you most kindly for your letter. I received it at the end of a four days' march, worn down with heat, fatigue, indisposition, and the responsibility of a command of three hundred men, with one hundred and fifty sick, the

dead and dying laying, side by side, in the same wagon. It recalled all the pleasures of the quiet enjoyment of my own dear home; and the contrast was so striking, I spurred my horse to the head of the column, that I might more freely indulge the kind of thought called up.

I have been most delightfully employed in reading the Memoir and Journal of the Rev. Henry Martyn. When I compare myself with that eminent Christian, I feel deeply sensible of my own deficiency in that *spiritual, earnest* longing after conformity to the Lord Jesus, which so highly characterized him. I feel that you are all so closely entwined about my heart that I think more about these earthly treasures than I ought; and am making you too much the idols of my affections,—that you too often usurp the place of my Saviour—that the religion that burns in my heart is but the merest spark compared to the blaze that shone forth in all his thoughts and actions—that my distance from the Saviour is immeasurable, compared with the near access he was enabled to attain, by a life of prayer, of holiness, and of faith. Still I am comforted by the fact that many of his hopes, his assurances, his doubts, and his fears, are not entire strangers to my bosom. Oh! my dear daughter, let not the world or its pleasures separate you from God and your Saviour. Good night, my beloved child, may angels guard you.

* * * * *

[If, indeed, earthly ties pressed too closely, God spoke in the voice of warning by removing from earth his youngest boy. His next letter is written on receiving, through a friend, the sad intelligence. He acknowledges the letter; and then says:]

What shall I say to you, my dear, my afflicted, wife? I can only say you must not, we need not, sorrow as those without hope; smile, though grief rend your bosom, that another has been translated to join our angel band. Bless and praise God, while your tears flow fastest, that he has been thus merciful in taking one who knew no sin, and sparing those of riper years.—Oh! let us not repine or accuse God, lest he visit us in wrath instead of mercy. Let us call to mind his goodness, during the past Summer; yes, during our entire lives, his mercy and goodness have followed us. * * *

How often have I recalled his little endearments and childish pranks, and how fondly have I anticipated the time when I should again hold him in my arms. I can hardly realize that he is in the cold and silent tomb, and that he, who required so much care and attention, to still his real and imaginary troubles, now lies quiet, and needs not the motion of the cradle to keep him asleep. It is even so, and I pray for grace to say, from the bottom of my heart—"It is 'the Lord, let Him do as seemeth him good.'"

[This family sorrow called him home, where he remained a fortnight and then returned to the seat of war.

The operations of September, October, and November, 1836, did not lead to any important results. They were useful, however, in a negative way, as illustrating the folly of sending large bodies of troops into the Indian-country without carrying forward a base of operations—establishing military posts, depots of provisions, and other supplies.

On the eighth of December, 1836, Governor Call was relieved by General Jesup, who had under his command, according to Sprague, more than eight thousand troops, including the detachment of Marines and a Regiment of friendly Creek Indians seven hundred and fifty men. We resume the correspondence.]

GRAY'S FERRY, Dec. 24, 1836.

I find here about eighty-five friendly Indians, some thirty of them sick. I have about one hundred and thirty soldiers, recruits.

In four days, I shall leave with all the soldiers I can collect, including the friendly Indians and a small party of Florida mounted-men. My entire force will probably be about two hundred men. I shall first go to Fort Drane: my destination, then, will depend upon the information I receive of the movements of the army.

[On the second of January, 1837, he started, with his command to join General Jesup; and, at Fort Armstrong, he was ordered to await the return of troops then in pursuit of the Indians.]

FORT ARMSTRONG
NEAR DADE'S BATTLE-GROUND

January 14, 1837.

I send, for your gratification, a sketch of the ground where the Indians ambushed Major Dade, and the position of the officers, when found by General Gaines and his army. Captain Fanning had his leg tied to a tree, in the open woods. The grass grows very high, along the water, is termed the marsh. There is a trench, which was a part of the Indians, it is supposed, was concealed.

It appears that the Indians, after the first attack, in which Dade, Frazer, Mudge, and the advanced guard were all killed, withdrew for a short time. During this time our men retreated to a spot where they formed a breastwork by cutting down trees and piling them up logs high.

The other officers and twenty-eight men, all that were found in the breastwork. General Gaines, it is supposed, was wounded within the breastwork, but crawled out, as he was found outside. On the second attack, the Indians entirely surrounded the work, as is indicated by the trees; some of them having five or six holes, where our poor fellows were trying to shoot their enemy behind them.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS
OF REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D., OF
SALEM, MASS.—CONTINUED FROM THE Oc-
TOBER NUMBER.

FROM THE ORIGINALS, IN THE COLLECTION OF
MISS MARY R. CROWNINSHIELD, OF CHARLES-
TOWN, MASS.

From Hon. B. W. Crowninshield, Secretary of
Navy.

I.

WASHINGTON February 4 1815.

DEAR SIR:

I send you the inclosed, as evidence of the
we all feel here, on account of Genl.
Jackson's victory.

Very respectfully

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev. Wm. BENTLEY

SALEM

II.

WASHINGTON April 1st 1815.

DEAR SIR:

Young Mr. Everett of Boston, brother to the
Rev. Mr. Everett, & Sec'y. of Legation to Hol-
land, may be the bearer of this; and whom I
think an intelligent and amiable man, he has
been polite enough to offer to take any package
from me to my friends. I avail myself of this
opportunity to send you a lengthy publication,
written by a member of the Gov't. (Mr. Dallas,)
a State paper, which was to have been made
public; but the Peace intervened, and as it was
written in the war temper, it was thought best
to issue it, as coming from the Gov't, but
Messrs Duane found means to get a copy, I
brought from the Printer, and he has given it
to the world. I now am at liberty to send you
a copy, which I wanted to, before, but could
not from reasons of policy: it has this advantage
that every thing there alleged is supported by
public documents, and I think too, the merit of
being well written; but you shall judge for
yourself, as I am not qualified to turn reviewer.
I regret exceedingly, not being able to attend
public worship, here, with so much pleasure, or
it, as I used to do when under your in-
struction; for there is not any man, of pulpit
rank here either *methodist*, catholic, or
otherwise.—

Our first squadron will sail from N. York,
for Decatur, for Algiers; the second soon
from Boston; all we can perhaps hope to
accomplish, by way of peace with those wretch-
es, to get as good terms as are obtained
from the great powers of Europe.—I am well, and

hope to see you in the fall. My best wishes at-
tend you, and believe me to be

respectfully

yr. obt. servt.

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev. Mr. BENTLEY, Salem.

III.

WASHINGTON, May 4 1815.

DEAR SIR:

I return to you your letter enquiring about
your brother John Bentley, with such informa-
tion written upon it, as I could obtain from the
offices in Washington: and if hereafter, I can
be of any service to you in relation to the sub-
ject of it, I will do it most cheerfully.

What is to grow out of Bonypart's present
situation, are we to be again plunged in war?
Or will France & England both respect us?
England from fear of our joining our little
Navy with France, and France from having
trouble enough, without having our assistance?
Ours will be a prudent course.

It has given us pleasure in this place to see
Massachusetts returning somewhat to better
principles.

Believe me to be, respectfully,

your obt. servt.

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev. Mr. BENTLEY, Salem.

IV.

WASHINGTON, May 25. 1815.

DEAR SIR,

Knowing that you wish to possess documents
of this kind, I take the liberty to send you the
*Organisation of the military peace establishment of
the United States*; hope it will be acceptable to
you and find you in good health.

Commodore McDonough will be in Salem, in
the course of a few days, ordered to Portsmouth
N. H. I mention him to you because he is
brave, virtuous and modest, thinking at the
same time you might wish to see him; it is prob-
able he will call on my family.

I am very respectfully,

yr. friend &c.

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

Rev. Wm. BENTLEY, Salem. Mass.

V.

WASHINGTON, June 7. 1817.

DEAR SIR,

Give me leave to make you acquainted with
my learned and rev. friend Dr. Wm. Bentley;
my much respected minister.

Dr. Bentley has the honor of being the friend-

ly correspondent of Mr. Adams, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, late presidents of the U. S. and it will be a source of great pleasure to him to be made acquainted with you also; no person can give you more local and general information of that portion of our country than he, and it will gratify him to do so.

Permit me to say he has labored well in the republican vineyard.—With great consideration

I am your obt. servt.

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD.

From Hon. Jacob Crowninshield, M. C.

I.

WASHINGTON, Feby. 5. 1805.

DEAR SIR,

Your very obliging favor of the 28d Jany. came yesterday; it was the more agreeable as I had almost given up the expectation of receiving a line from you during this Session of Congress. A few days before I received it I had written you a short letter which I hope will go safe.—You have really laid me under considerable obligation, and you have given me information more in detail than I usually receive it from my nearest relations.

At this distance from Salem every thing that takes place about you is highly interesting, and I feel most grateful for the communication, and hope you will still remember, that before the 4th of March comes around you will have time to lay me under new obligations.

I consulted Dr. Mitchell this morning, and enquired of him particularly when I could procure the seed, and medical books of which you speak, and I beg leave to enclose you a note I received from him on this subject. If the books are within my reach I shall endeavor to procure them. The Massachusetts publications it is probable you have already. You will observe what he says of the American roots & plants, and I doubt if I can procure you any of them, especially while I am so much confined to the House; but if I can collect any they shall be preserved for you.

I have the pleasure to inform you that our beloved President is in fine health & spirits. I dined with him last week and never saw him look better. He is extremely sociable in conversation, he is never reserved; you would feel yourself at home with him, the first moment you saw him and heard him speak. He is a tall elegant figure of a man, his manners are graceful, and perhaps he is, the first gentleman in the U. S. I mean really so in private life, and separate from his official character. His wishes lead him to domestic scenes; and I am sure, I say sure, because I have it from his own lips, that he will retire after the next four years. I

told him his friends could not spare him, and I believed he would be almost obliged to gratify their expectations. His reply was, that it was impossible to think of it, that no injury could result; and hinted that if there was a division which he trusted there would not be as to a future candidate, it could only be among his friends, and one of two republicans would succeed, for no federal candidate could possibly succeed.

I see your friend Gallatin quite often and some time since put him in mind of preserving documents for your use, and he made favorable promises. He is most indefatigable in his official duties, high in the confidence of the President, and esteemed by all the republican members of both houses of Congress. I presume he will remain at the head of the Treasury Department during the whole of the next Presidency.

We regretted Mr. Lincoln's resignation as we presumed an advantage might be attempted to be made in Mass.—I know the President wished to retain him for the next four years, but the Judge could not remain so long from his family, and he had staid longer than he at first proposed.

If his resignation is attacked by our political opponents, it cannot injure him; in calumny and detraction they are preëminent, but they will fail in assailing his character. No successor is yet appointed, and it is doubtful who will have the office.

Judge Chase's trial came on yesterday agreeably to appointment. The Judge appeared at 11 o'clock attended by his Counsel, Messrs. Harper, Hopkinson, & Martin; the former gentleman read his defence all but the concluding part, which Judge Chase read himself. It was a small part in the middle, which Mr. Hopkinson pronounced; for it was a lengthy production (upwards of 100 pages) and Hooper was obliged to take some rest, as he could not go through the whole at one standing. It was four hours in the delivery. It is called an able production, and is the work of a whole summer. The defence is the same in several particulars, and witnesses are on the spot to dispose many parts of his statements.

The Senate Chamber was crowded; an extra gallery was built to accommodate the spectators and every part was full. The managers sat in front on the right of the Vice President, & Chase & his Counsel on his left, and to the right of the Vice President, and the Senators on each side of or side of the V. P. the members of the House of Reps. sat behind their managers, the spectators above in the galleries. The Court adjourned at 4 P. M. and did not sit to day, as the House was not furnished with a copy of Judge Chase's answer, but which will be received tomorrow. I expect the trial will take up five

twenty days at least. It is impossible to say how it will terminate. The Senate has all members present (84) which is unusual, but is expected that 2 representatives will fly the session; if they do, & two more vote with the Federalists (who will to a man, *vote to acquit either right or wrong*,) he will not be removed. I presume the republican Senators (and there are 25) never deemed it a party question at all.

You have heard of the Baron Humboldt who travelled thro' So. America; as I know you wish to preserve the likenesses of great men, I send his profile, taken by a lady of this city; it is said to be a good resemblance.—A treaty with the Indians in Georgia for the cession of about two million acres of valuable land for \$10,000, 6 per cent stock, was a few days since disagreed to in the Senate. I do not recollect ever hearing of an Indian treaty being rejected before. It was the enormous price demanded by Hawkins which alarmed the Senate; indeed had it passed that body, I am confident our House would not have agreed to appropriate so much money. Congress holds the purse strings of the nation, and not the State alone; & the House of Representatives always retain their constitutional rights.—Nothing is more settled than that the House has the power to withhold its assent to treaties involving any commercial regulation or the payment of any sum of money whatever. I think the vote in the Senate was 19 in favor to 12 against, & not obtaining the necessary $\frac{2}{3}$ the treaty fell to the ground. It is now expected the Indians will lower their demands for the land. The idea of paying them in public stock is not agreeable.

During the whole of last week we had an unpleasant discussion on the Georgia claims. The debate was *tempestuous*. I regretted it very much. When the debates come to be published they will be surprised; they will reflect no honor on the Speaker. You will observe I use the singular number.

By the deed of cession from Georgia to the U. S. 5 millions of acres are reserved to quiet and compensate all claims upon the territory, and 5 millions in all were ceded to the U. S. for \$10,000 to be paid out of the land. In 1795 Georgia sold the greater part of the same territory and rescinded her act in '96. You are acquainted I presume with the whole history. The question before us was to appropriate or rather to authorize Commissioners of our own power to arbitrate between the claimants & the States for the quantity of land not exceeding 5 millions of acres, agreed by Georgia herself, to be given them. The measure was violently opposed, and we were more divided

upon it than upon any thing which has come before us since I have been in Congress. It was no party matter, but it was attempted to be made so. All the Eastern members (but Mr. Seaver) voted in favor of the reference. A bill is now before us on the subject, brought in under the resolution, but it is very doubtful how it will pass. The resolution was carried 63 to 58.—

We are not pleased at what took place, because our motives were questioned, but I must not let my pen run any farther on the unpleasant subject. Besides it is full time to close this communication.

Wishing you health and every earthly blessing,

I am most sincerely & devotedly yours,

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Revd. W^m. BENTLEY.

II.

28 Feby. 1805.

DEAR SIR,

The arguments in the trial of Judge Chase closed yesterday at 3. o'clock. Randolph made an excellent speech. The Senate will pronounce judgment at 12. o'clock to-morrow by assignment.

A bill under debate to-day for the further providing for the government of Orleans; and the Post Office bill. I send the last document relative to the impressments:

Yours sincerely.

JACOB CROWNINSHIELD.

Revd. Mr. BENTLEY.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IX.—RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL HISTORY OF THE WAR OF 1812.

BY A CONTEMPORARY. *

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

In the lives of most men who, after having been much engaged in public affairs, have reached a certain age, there are moments in which the memory turns back upon itself; retraces the scenes of earlier years; dwelling, with fresh interest, on their leading traits; and, not unfrequently, most of all upon those on which it had hardly bestowed a second thought, at the time of their occurrence. In the depths of the night, they flit before the mind with peculiar vividness; and in the dreamy hours of the day, they still haunt it.

This habit of recalling to memory and meditating upon scenes among which, fifty years ago, the writer was not a spectator merely, but in a subordinate capacity an actor, will serve to

* Several years since, the venerable JOSEPH GALEA, the senior Editor of the *National Intelligencer* and, during the period referred to in this series of papers, the organ of Mr. Madison's Administration, was led to jot down his *Recollections of the Civil History of the War of 1812*, and to publish them, at ir-

account for the appearance of the following sketches of the hitherto unwritten History of the Declaration of War between the United States and Great Britain, in the year 1812.

The main purpose of the writer, in presenting these papers to the Public is, whilst affording to the younger classes of readers a condensed and familiar view of certain portions of actual history, which may have escaped their attention, to put upon record, for the information of readers of all classes, a variety of facts and circumstances, occurring chiefly in the early years of Mr. Madison's Administration, some of which, essentially depending upon the memory of the writer or upon evidence which he alone has it in his power to produce, would, if not now committed to paper, in all probability never meet the public eyes.

I.—THE KINDLING OF THE WAR.

What first seriously suggested to the public mind the probability, or even the possibility, of the United States becoming engaged in hostilities with Great Britain, was an incident which developed a settled purpose, on the part of that Power, then claiming the sovereignty of the seas, to employ her naval strength, not only in conflict with her wonted and ancient European adversaries, but also in enforcing a systematic proscription of the freedom of the seas to all neutral flags, including, of course, that of the United States, and asserting the right of impressment from neutral vessels, as well national as private, of all seamen claimed to be of British birth. The incident alluded to was the unprovoked and altogether lawless and wanton assault, on the twenty-second of June, 1807, off the Capes of Virginia, by the British frigate *Leopard* on the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, by which a number of the seamen of the latter were killed and wounded, and several of the remainder forcibly taken from her decks, on the plea of their being Englishmen; after accomplishing which purpose the *Leopard* rejoined the squadron of heavy-armed British vessels lying at anchor, in Hampton Roads, from which she had the moment before parted.

regular intervals, in the columns of his paper; and, inasmuch as they disclosed features in the history of that event which the world knew nothing of, and which, but for his favor, would have been lost to those who should come after, that series has been especially cherished by all unto whom its existence and peculiar merits have been known. We conceive that we can do no better service to those who care to read our country's history, in its original record, than by transferring the entire series to our pages, where it will be accessible to all who shall desire to read and study it.

In the current number, we find room for the first three of Mr. Gales's papers, embracing what he wrote concerning the policy and acts of Mr. Jefferson's Administration, bearing on the subsequent War with Britain: in our number for February, 1874, we shall continue the publication, embracing the beginning of what was written concerning the policy and acts of Mr. Madison's Administration.

We bespeak for these papers that careful perusal to which their importance entitles them.—EDITOR.

The outrage thus perpetrated, within the waters of Virginia, was itself an act of War, and would have justified the instantaneous infliction of a signal retribution. Had Fulton's invention of the Torpedo—a projected means of submarine explosion, in which Mr. Jefferson, about that time, placed more faith than the issue of the experiment justified—been a success, instead of a failure, the occasion would certainly have warranted its employment. But, as far as regarded the condition of our few vessels of war for active service, it may be assumed that the entire effective naval force of the country, at that time, had it been concentrated in Hampton Roads, would not have been adequate to the task of expelling these hostile invaders from their defiant attitude within the waters of the United States.

The intense excitement and resentment which pervaded the minds of the people throughout the country, wherever the news of this encounter spread, may be readily comprehended. It was as much as the Administration and its friends could do, by the sage expedients employed for the purpose, to calm down the spirit of the people, amongst whom, indeed, every thing like party feeling was merged in a potent and patriotic sentiment. "Nothing could have been easier"—justly remarks the *Life* of Mr. Jefferson—"than for the President to improve the present occasion into a War with Great Britain, if he had been at all actuated by the motives ascribed to him by his opponents, or if it had not been his settled policy to preserve peace so long as it could be done without dishonor. He determined, therefore, to give Great Britain the opportunity of an avowal and reparation, and to do nothing to pledge or commit the nation to War rather than to moderate measures of retaliation."

A stronger justification than this of the course of the President, in this emergency, may be found in the fact that the systematic policy of his own Administration had left him no alternative. Buffeted between the heated passions in the Republican and Federal parties, the Navy had, when Mr. Jefferson attained the Presidency, already lost some portion of its popularity. One of the first duties of the new President was to carry into execution an Act passed in the last days of the preceding Administration, directing the sale of the smaller vessels of the Navy and the dismantling of the larger half of the few frigates of which the Navy was then composed. Nothing more promptly and diligently discharged than this duty, having in his first Annual Message, less than a year after his coming into office, informed Congress that five of the seven frigates directed to be laid up had been brought and laid up by

—at Washington—where, he added—facetiously, one would say, if he had been in the habit of jesting with serious things—“besides *the safety of their position*, they are under the eye of the Executive Administration as well as of Congress,” &c. Recurring to the subject in his second Annual Message, having discovered that vessels which lie in water and are exposed to its action are inevitably subject to rapid decay, he proposed to Congress to add to the Navy-yard, here, a *drydock*, “protected from the sun,” to save them from their perishing condition—a proposition which, says his truthful biographer, was assailed by his political adversaries, in every form of ridicule and argument, with such effect that it seemed to the people, and was even conceded by the silence of his friends, to be an impracticable scheme.

The consequence to the Navy of such trifling with this, with that invaluable arm of the public service, was lamentably illustrated in the inability of the Government to make even an effort to expel the offending squadron from the waters of the Chesapeake. Nor was that other description of naval force, authorized by Congress, on the Executive recommendation, in any better plight than the Navy proper. The *gun-boat* system would have been forgotten by this time, were it not for the witticisms and allusions which it extorted. Whatever use the advantages made of the system, it proved itself, in this emergency, to be worse than useless for any other purpose. In his Annual Message, in December, 1806, the President had informed Congress that the *Gun-boats* ordered at the preceding Session would be “ready for service in the ensuing Spring.” The vernal season had come and gone, when the President, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia, concerning means for the common defence, after authorizing him to order upon immediate duty such portions of the Militia as he thought necessary for the defence of Norfolk, reported, as follows, the addition of the gun-boats for service: “We have, moreover, four gun-boats *hauled up* at Hampton, and four others *on the stocks* in Matthews-county, which *we consider in danger*,” and the Governor was requested to order “such aids of Militia to their protection as he might think adequate to their safety!” This is about the last we remember to have heard of the “gunboat-system.”

It wanted only the last trait to complete the picture of the lamentable helplessness to which, for any purpose of maritime defence, the Administration had, not designedly, of course, but inevitably, reduced the country.

Under the actual circumstances in which the Government found itself, as we have briefly sketched them, the course pursued by the Ex-

ecutive was certainly the only one within its power.

On the second of July, accordingly, the President issued his Proclamation, in which, after reciting the outrage, he interdicted all armed vessels, bearing British commissions, from the harbors and waters of the United States; all officers, both civil and military, being called upon to aid in executing these orders. Besides the large body of the Militia, already detailed for the protection of Norfolk, one hundred thousand men in the several States were required to hold themselves in readiness, under the authority of a law passed at the proceeding Session of Congress. An armed vessel was dispatched with instructions to the American Minister, in London, to ask of the British Government satisfaction for the injury received and security for the future. On the thirtieth of July—more than a month after the outrageous assault upon the *Chesapeake*—Congress was required to assemble on the twenty-sixth of October following, being three months from the date of the summons, and *four months* in all after the exciting cause of it.

These several measures, and the procrastination of the appeal, in this emergency, to the sentiment of the Representative Branch of the Government, must be regarded as conclusive proof that War, even in the distance, was not within the contemplation of the President or his official advisers. Nothing could be more unjust, to him, especially, than the imputations made by his political adversaries to the contrary.

The circumstance which left the premeditated onslaught on the American frigate without the possibility of justification, was the fact of its being perpetrated whilst the two nations were not only on terms of professed amity, but had been, for some time, engaged in negotiations having for their object the continuation and perpetuation of friendly relations between the two countries. How little the People or Government of the United States were calculating upon such an act of violence may be inferred from the language of the annual Executive Message to Congress at the opening of its Session on the third of December preceding: “I have the satisfaction “to inform you,” said the President, “that the “negotiation between the United States and “the Government of Great Britain is proceeding “in a spirit of friendship and accommodation “which *promises a result of mutual advantage*,” etc. The negotiations went on in the same spirit, until, notwithstanding the intervening death of Charles James Fox,—the Minister charged, with the negotiation, a Treaty was concluded, on the thirty-first of December, and forwarded to the United States so as to reach the President’s hands on the day before the ad-

journalment of Congress, on the third of March, 1807.

This Treaty, concluded after long and laborious exertions, on the part of Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, the American Ministers, and being as they assured the Executive, the most advantageous for the United States that could possibly be had, was most ungraciously received by the President, on its arrival at Washington. Though it reached this city in time to have been transmitted to the Senate, and acted upon by that body—(by prolonging, if necessary, the continuance of its sitting beyond the termination of the Legislative Session of Congress,)—the President took the responsibility of *declining to bring it to the notice of the Senate*; and so struck the Treaty dead!

Though that Convention, signed by the appointed negotiators of both parties, might have been, in some particulars, justly exceptionable, and especially in that it was accompanied by a note from the British Ministers, by which their Government reserved the right of releasing itself from the stipulations in favor of neutral rights, if the United States should submit to the Berlin decree of France or other invasions of these rights, by the Government of France; yet there is a way of doing almost all things, which, as it is in good taste or in bad, determines the character of the actions, as well of Governments as of men. In the instance before us, the reader will perhaps agree with us, it was due, as well to the dignity of our own country as to that courtesy which ought ever to distinguish international intercourse, if it was not also required by the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, that this Treaty should have been laid before the Senate, for its consideration, before being summarily rejected by the President. Being so submitted to that body, if by it disapproved, the fact might, without any sacrifice of principle, have been made known to the British Government, in a more respectful manner than it was.

For the attack upon the unwarned vessel of the United States, by the full-armed British frigate, in our own waters—after having lain in wait for her, for several days, with a squadron of other heavy-armed ships—we repeat, as we have already intimated, there could be neither excuse nor palliation. Yet, looking back upon the antecedents of that barbarous act, the mind is forced, involuntarily, to connect it with the angry feeling which may not improbably have been excited in the breasts of the British Ministers, if not in that of the aged King himself, by the contemptuous rejection of a Treaty which this Government had not only proposed, but which its Ministers to London—such men as James Monroe and William Pinkney—had, at

the instance of this Government, prosecuted with the most assiduous zeal, for several months until, in procuring the consent of the British Government to the measure, they achieved a success they had hardly hoped for.

Such, indeed, seems to have been the impression of the intelligent friend of President Jefferson, Professor Tucker, of Virginia, who, in his *Life of Jefferson*, thus alludes to the circumstance: "From the moment it was generally understood that the President did not mean to ratify the Treaty made by Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, commerce and shipping were made to feel the naval ascendancy of Great Britain more frequently and vexatiously than ever, until, at length, it was exhibited in an exertion of power (in the attack on the *Chesapeake*) which electrified the country to its utmost extent." Our Ministers in London, expecting the ratification of the Treaty, were much wounded by the rejection of it, and the Government of Great Britain is supposed to have been.

The objection considered insuperable by Mr. Jefferson against the Treaty—that it contained no provision against Impressment—was a sufficient reason for its peremptory rejection by this Government. It might, with propriety, have been submitted to the Senate, and ratified by that body and by the President, leaving the desired provision against Impressment to form the ground of future negotiation. The Senate might even have amended the Treaty so as to conform it to their views, as they did on a late occasion, in regard to a Treaty with the same nation. Nothing worse could have resulted from such a course than has resulted in the case just referred to. The Treaty probably have fallen through; and the negotiators would, in all likelihood, have set themselves to work to frame a new one.

Mr. Jefferson, however, not realizing the hazard to which he had, by repudiating the Treaty, exposed the commerce and even the peace of the country, instructed our Ministers to *renew the negotiation* with the new Ministry, in the view of obtaining a better Treaty than the one which he had refused to sanction. This, as the reader will readily believe, could not be a very promising undertaking, on that part.

During the time that the rejected Treaty was on its passage, to and fro, across the Atlantic, a change of the British Ministry had taken place, and Mr. Canning had become the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. That change was fatal to the idea of obtaining any better Treaty than the one which Mr. Jefferson had rejected. "the interviews which the American Ministers had with Mr. Canning, after the President

"rejection of the Treaty reached England," says Mr. Tucker, "it soon appeared that there was little probability of more successful negotiation; and from a view of the diplomatic correspondence between the two nations, we can hardly suppose their differences would have been adjusted, if subsequent occurrences had not presented new obstacles to such an adjustment."

After these premonitions of the state of feeling existing in the British Government, it is more than remarkable—it is indeed marvellous—with what equanimity and placidity the Executive members of this Government awaited the course of events. One-half of the Cabinet Ministers were absent on journeys of business or recreation, when the news of the affair of the *Chesapeake* reached the Seat of Government; and the President appears to have had for his sole aid and counsel, in this emergency, the ever-faithful Madison. We may well imagine the astonishment with which the news was received. The President, himself, in his Message to the called Congress, introducing the event of the day, gives the best idea of the state of mind in which he and his Cabinet councillors received the tidings of it. We quote from it: "The question whether a Treaty should be accepted in that form could have admitted but one decision, even had no declarations of the other party impaired our confidence in it. Still, anxious not to close the door against friendly adjustment, new modifications were framed," &c., "and our Ministers were instructed to resume their negotiations on these grounds. *On this new reference to amicable discussion, we were* REPOSING, in confidence, when, on the twenty-second day of June last," etc., etc.

Obedient to the last instructions of their Government, the Ministers of the United States, at London, did address, on the twenty-fourth of July, to Mr. Canning, a note proposing a renewal of the negotiation, and stating the principles upon which, in that negotiation, they were required by their Government to insist; the first of which was in these terms: "Without a provision against impressments, substantially such as is contemplated in your original instructions, no Treaty is to be concluded."

To this note—the affair of the *Chesapeake* intervening—no reply was received until the twenty-second of October, when, in a note to the United States Ministers, Mr. Canning "protested, in behalf of his Government, against a practice altogether unusual in the political transactions of States, by which the American Government assumes to itself the privilege of revising and altering agreements concluded

"and signed, on its behalf, by its agents, duly authorized for that purpose; of retaining so much of those agreements as may be favorable to its own views; and of rejecting such stipulations, or such parts of stipulations, as are conceived to be not sufficiently beneficial to America." He therefore informs the American Ministers that the proposal for proceeding to negotiate, anew, upon the basis of a Treaty already solemnly concluded and signed, is *wholly inadmissible*."

However the Government of the United States may have regretted or even resented this determination, on the part of the British Cabinet, it could hardly have controverted the principle of the protest upon which it was founded. Be that as it may, the note of the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs put an end, of course, to any further negotiation on the subject.

No material change took place in the position of things, within or without the borders of the United States, from the date of the President's first Proclamation up to the meeting of Congress, on the twenty-sixth of October following: the British squadron remaining, all the while, within the waters of the United States, in defiance of the authority of this Government.

II.—THE MEETING OF CONGRESS, AT THE CALLED SESSION OF 1807.

In pursuance of the Proclamation of the President, the two Houses of Congress convened at Washington on the Twenty-sixth of October, 1807; the Senate, representing then, only one-half of the present number of States,* assembling in its beautiful chamber in the North wing of the Capitol, and the House of Representatives in its splendid hall in the southern edifice, then for the first time occupied. The venerable George Clinton, Vice-president, took the chair of the Senate; and Joseph B. Varnum, of the Administration party, was chosen to be Speaker of the House of Representatives, on the first balloting, by a majority of one vote, the remaining votes of the Republican-party, as it was termed, numbering in all thirty-nine, being distributed among various candidates from other States. The Federalists voted for received, in all, nineteen votes; showing a large preponderance of the friends of the Administration in that body.

The Message of the President was, according to usage, transmitted to the two Houses on the second day of the Session. Its principal topic was, of course, the sad event which had led to the convocation of Congress, at a somewhat earlier day than its stated time of meeting, and a narrative of which was presented, something

* This paper was written in June, 1867.—EDITOR.

more particular than that which is given in the first number of this series, but not materially differing from it. The President refrained, with obvious intention, from dilating upon the occurrence as narrated in the Message. He accompanied it, however, with the following additional information: "To former violations of maritime rights, another is now added, of very extensive effect. The Government of that nation has issued an Order interdicting all trade, by neutrals, between ports not in amity with them. And being now at war with nearly every nation on the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas, our vessels are required to sacrifice their cargoes, at the first port they touch, or to return home, without the benefit of going to any other market. Under this new law of the ocean, our trade on the Mediterranean has been swept away by seizures and condemnations; and that in other seas is threatened with the same fate."

The only passage in the Message which made any allusion to legislative action, in view of the actual state of things, is the following: whether a regular Army is to be raised, and to what extent, must depend on the information so shortly expected. In the mean time, I have called on the States for quotas of Militia, to be in readiness for present defence; and have, moreover, encouraged the acceptance of volunteers, and I am happy to inform you that these have offered themselves, with great alacrity, in every part of the Union. They are ordered to be organized and ready, at a moment's warning, to proceed on any service to which they may be called; and every preparation, within the Executive powers, has been made to ensure us the benefit of early exertions."

This passage, it will be observed, is so oracular and indecisive in its terms that none but the writer himself could, with certainty, know in what was to apply it, our relations with the Government of Spain being spoken of in the Message as little less critical than those with Great Britain.

No recommendation of any particular measure was made, nor was any particular course of policy to be pursued, in regard to Great Britain or any other Power so much as hinted at in the Message. The reading of it left the members of both Houses at least as much in the dark as to the purposes of the President as they were when they left their homes to repair to Washington. Nor was any other "communication" made to Congress, till nearly two months afterwards.

Such an arbitrary silence as this would not be quietly submitted to by a Congress of the present day, from a Chief Magistrate who had, almost three months before, summoned the two Houses to Washington "to receive such communications

"as might be made to them, and determine on such measures as might be deemed meet, for the United States." For, not without it said, if, within the last half things have changed for the walls of the Capitol, more independent influence is now manifested than in former times. Nor did then adventure to unbosom himself so freely and unreservedly as in latter days.

The influence exerted by Mr. Congress, was as much personal. Besides the overpowering force of the House of Representatives, there the members, at the time spoken near relatives of the President and of Madison—his privy counsellor—and a who had been their associates in Congresses, through whom the views of the Executive were ascertained, in familiar intercourse and more or less generally diffused. There were certain individuals, among the members of the House of Representatives especially, well known to be in the confidence of the President and possessed of his views, that if one of them rose to address the Speaker, it but incidentally, upon any public question the hum of the House was at once hushed in silence, lest a word of his brief but grave discourse might be lost; for, in all probability, he had that morning seen, and even talked with the President!

* Among the Writings of Mr. Jefferson, purchased and published by authority of Congress, a few years ago, is contained a letter, addressed by that gentleman to Mr. Wilson Cary Nicholas, a distinguished citizen of Virginia and one of the oldest friends of Mr. Jefferson, which illustrates, so clearly, the manner of his latter in the management of popular bodies, that it is almost necessary for our readers to be put in possession of it, in order that they may comprehend the nature of the irresistible influence that Mr. Jefferson exercised in the House of Representatives.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 2, 1801

"DEAR SIR: Your letter of January the 2d was received in due time. But such has been the constant pressure of business that it has been out of my power to answer it. Indeed, the subject of it would be almost beyond the extent of a letter and, as I hope to see you, ere long, at Monticello, it can be more effectually done, verbally. Let me observe, however, generally, that it is impossible for my friends ever to treat me so acceptable a favor as by communicating to me, without reserve, facts and opinions. I have none of that secret reserve which winces at it; indeed, both self-love and the desire to do what is best strongly invite unreserved communication. There is one subject which will not admit a delay till I see you. Mr. T. M. Randolph is, I believe, determined to retire from Congress; and it is strongly his wish and that of all his friends that you should take his place. Never did the cause of patriotism more loudly assail you than at this moment. Adieu"

dy had occasion to remark
the whole country was up in
g the outrage of the British
waters, the President had, from
bored in his breast no thought
rily the consequence of the af-
ake. He resented it, no doubt,
ody of the people; but he and
ate were bent upon turning the
vantage of a favorite policy,
come converts to, as far back
; had been ruminating upon,
had, within the past three
ctice, as against the Govern-
ritain, in the form of sundry
ws, with but indifferent suc-
who had the reading of the
er, then still in the hands of
der, and faithfully reflecting
hts of Mr. Jefferson, would
to have covered, within the first week
ter the distressing intelligence from Hampton
ads, that the mind of the President was made
even at that early day, to avail himself of
e occasion to test, upon a grand scale, the ef-
acy of his favorite theory of counteracting the
icts of the belligerents, against neutral trade,
cutting off, from them, entirely, the supplies
awn from the United States. We find, for
ample, in the journal referred to, as early as
e third of July, an article, couched in a strain
indignant patriotism, invoking the whole peo-
e to resent the injury inflicted upon their

cepting the Federalists, who will be twenty-seven, and the
tle band of schismatics, who will be three or four, (all tongue,)
e residue of the House of Representatives, is as well disposed
body of men as I ever saw collected. But there is no one
ose talents and standing, taken together, have weight enough
give him the lead. The consequence is, that there is no one
o will undertake to do the public business; and it remains
done. Were you here, the whole would rally round you,
an instant, and willingly cooperate in whatever is for the
blic good. Nor would it require you to undertake drudgery
the House. There are enough able and willing to do that.
allying point is all that is wanting. Let me beseech you,
n, to offer yourself. You, never will have it so much in
r power again to render such eminent service.

accept my affectionate salutations and high esteem."

Nicholas yielded to the arguments and entreaties of Mr.
son; became a candidate; and succeeded Mr. T. M. Ran-
at this very Session, as a member of the House of Repre-
tives.

The careful reader will perceive that the venerable writer
se papers, in this instance, has overlooked the fact that
tercourse was the recognized remedy for violations of the
ommercial policy which "the thirteen united States of
ica" had established in 1777 and which had been subse-
ly recognized by Great Britain herself. It was, therefore,
w doctrine, introduced by Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Monroe, on
casion referred to.—EDITOR.

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country, and concluding with the following ex-
hortation: "Let the whole nation, in one un-
broken column, present themselves to the
Government, ready, as the good of our coun-
try requires, to meet our enemy in the field of
combat; to *break up all intercourse with them*, or
refuse admission to their products, or, in any
other mode that shall be deemed advisable,
make them aware that their injustice shall
not be suffered to go by with impunity."

The same journal of the tenth of the same
month, in an article the object of which ap-
peared to be to persuade the merchants, without
waiting for the tardy action of the Government,
to impose a *voluntary* embargo on their own
exports, argued the matter thus: "But little
injury," said the article, "can accrue to the
merchant from a *suspension of his export*
business, for a few months. Were Congress
in session, it is extremely probable that their
first step would be the *imposition of an embargo*.
What *they* would do, were they sitting, it
is the interest and duty of the merchant to do,
himself."

A most reasonable proposition, surely!

It is now quite apparent that the delay of the
President in "communicating" to Congress
the purpose for which he had called them to-
gether—this long non-intercourse between the
Legislature and the Executive—arose from no
intentional disrespect, on the part of the Presi-
dent, but from the discovery that the tone of
the Representatives, fresh from the People, was
pitched to a higher key than that of the Ad-
ministration. Delay had, therefore, become
necessary to allow the friends of the President,
in Congress, to take counsel with one another
for bringing about the accord required to en-
able them to carry out the plans of the Execu-
tive. Several Members of Congress, moreover,
had not yet taken their seats. Mr. Macon, of
North Carolina, Mr. Wilson C. Nicholas, of
Virginia, Mr. Jacob Crowninshield, of Massa-
chusetts, and Mr. Joseph Clay, of Pennsylvania,
did not reach the city until the third or fourth
week of the Session. With them, consultation
was advisable, if not indispensable, before the
Administration could, with any degree of con-
fidence, present its project to Congress. In
this deliberateness and precaution, the attentive
reader will perceive additional and conclusive
evidence of the resolution of the President that
the country should not be embarked in *War*,
during his Administration, if he could prevent
it.

The time, at length, came for the arising of
the curtain. On the eighteenth of December,
seven weeks after the day for the meeting of
Congress, the following Message was transmitted
to that body by the President: "The communi-

"cations now made,* showing the great and
 "increasing dangers with which our vessels, our
 "seamen, and merchandise are threatened, on
 "the high seas and elsewhere, from the belliger-
 "ent Powers of Europe, and it being of the great-
 "est importance to keep in safety these essential
 "resources, I deem it my duty to recommend
 "the subject to the consideration of Congress,
 "who will doubtless perceive all the advantages
 "which may be expected from an inhibition of
 "the departure of our vessels from the ports of
 "the United States.

"Their wisdom will also see the necessity of
 "making every preparation for whatever events
 "may grow out of the present crisis."

The above Message was immediately taken in-
 to consideration, in both Houses, with closed
 doors; and, after sharp discussion, a Bill was
 finally passed, in conformity to its intentions,
 as interpreted by members in the confidence of
 the Executive. The following is the Act re-
 ferred to:

**"AN ACT LAYING AN EMBARGO ON ALL SHIPS AND
 "VESSELS IN THE PORTS AND HARBORS OF THE
 "UNITED STATES.**

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of
 "Representatives, of the United States of America,
 "in Congress assembled, That an embargo be and
 "hereby is laid on all ships and vessels, in the
 "ports and places within the limits or jurisdic-
 "tion of the United States, cleared or not
 "cleared, bound to any foreign port or place;
 "and that no clearance be furnished to any ship
 "or vessel bound to such foreign port or place,
 "except vessels under the immediate direction
 "of the President of the United States; and
 "that the President be authorized to give such
 "instructions to the officers of the Revenue, and
 "the Navy, and Revenue-cutters of the United
 "States, as shall appear best adapted for carry-
 "ing the same into full effect: *Provided*, That
 "nothing herein contained shall be construed
 "to prevent the departure of any foreign ship
 "or vessel, either in ballast or with the goods,
 "wares, and merchandise on board of such
 "foreign ship or vessel, when notified of this
 "Act.

"SEC. 2. And be it further resolved, That,
 "during the continuance of this Act, no regis-
 "tered or sea-letter vessel having on board goods,
 "wares, and merchandise shall be allowed to

"depart from one port of the United States to
 "any other within the same, unless the Master,
 "Owner, Consignee, or Factor of such vessel,
 "shall first give bond, with one or more sure-
 "ties, to the Collector of the District from
 "which she is bound to depart, in a sum of
 "double the value of the vessel and cargo, that
 "the said goods, wares, and merchandise shall
 "be relanded in some port of the United States,
 "dangers of the sea excepted, which bond, and
 "also a certificate from the Collector where the
 "same may be relanded, shall, by the Collector,
 "respectively, be transmitted to the Secretary
 "of the Treasury. All armed vessels possessing
 "public commissions from any foreign Power
 "are not to be considered as liable to the em-
 "bargo laid by this Act."

Approved, December 22, 1807.

The foregoing Act having been, in both
 Houses, discussed with closed doors, no trace
 remains of the debate which took place upon it.
 Simultaneously, however, with the publication
 of the Embargo Act, on the morning after its
 passage, [December 23, 1807,] appeared in the
National Intelligencer, in conspicuous type the
 subjoined article, the best, and, indeed, the
 only reliable, exposition that was ever made of
 that measure. The Act not having become a
 law until the afternoon of the twenty-second of
 December, of course the article must have been
 prepared in anticipation of its passage. To re-
 sure to it from the reader all the attention which
 it deserves, and to secure it a place among the
 most valuable State Papers of the country, it is
 sufficient to state that this article was the
 production of the pen of James Madison.

"EXPOSITION OF THE EMBARGO.

"EMBARGO.—This is a strong measure, pro-
 "ceeding from the energy of the public council,
 "appealing to the patriotism of their constitu-
 "ents, and is, of all measures, the one peculiar-
 "ly adapted to the crisis. The honest judgment
 "of all parties has anticipated and called for it.
 "The measure could no longer, in fact, be
 "delayed without sacrificing the vital interests
 "of the nation.

"Great Britain, by interpolations into the
 "maritime code operating on her enemies,
 "through the violated rights of neutrals, furnish-
 "ed an occasion, which was seized by the French
 "Government, for the Decree of November,
 "1806, interdicting commerce with Great
 "Britain, which was adopted by the allies of
 "France, particularly by Spain, in her Decree
 "of February, 1807.

"The Decree of November was followed by
 "the retaliating British Order of January, 1807,
 "making war on all neutral trade usually con-

* The "communications now made" consisted only of a letter
 from M. Champigny and a copy of an Order of the French
 Emperor, subjecting to confiscation all British property or pro-
 ducts found on board of neutral vessels.

"ried on from the ports of one enemy to those
"of another.

"France, again seconded by Spain and other
"allies, is retaliating on this Order, by new con-
"structions, extending their Decrees to all trade
"from British territories or in British articles.

"And it is clear that, if not already done,
"Great Britain meditates further retaliations,
"most probably an interdict of all trade by this
"country (now the only neutral one) with the
"enemies of Great Britain, that is to say, with
"the whole commercial world.

"To these destructive operations against our
"commerce, is to be added the late Proclama-
"tion of Great Britain, on the subject of sea-
"men. This extraordinary instrument, instead
"of relinquishing the pretension with respect
"to alleged deserters on board national ships,
"extends it to all British seamen on board; vary-
"ing only the mode of process, from that used
"by Berkely, to a redress to be obtained by
"the Government itself. And with respect to
"seamen on board merchant vessels, the Proc-
"lamation has made it the duty of all her sea-
"officers to search for and seize all such as they
"may call British natives, whether wanted or
"not for the service of their respective ships.
"From the proportion of American citizens
"heretofore taken under the name of British
"seamen, may be calculated the number of
"victims to be added by this formal sanction
"to the claim of British officers, and the con-
"version of that claim into a duty.

"Thus the ocean presents a field only where no
"harvest is to be reaped but that of danger,
"of spoliation, and of disgrace.

"Under such circumstances, the best to be
"done is what has been done—a dignified re-
"tirement within ourselves; a watchful pre-
"servation of our resources; and a demonstra-
"tion to the world that we possess a virtue and
"a patriotism which can take any shape that
"will best suit the occasion.

"It is singularly fortunate that an embargo,
"whilst it guards our essential resources, will
"have the collateral effect of making it the in-
"terest of all nations to change the system
"which has driven our commerce from the
"ocean.

"Great Britain will feel it in her manufac-
"tures, in the loss of naval-stores, and, above
"all, in the supplies essential to her Colonies,
"to the number of which she is adding by new
"conquests.

"France will feel it in the loss of all those
"colonial luxuries which she has hitherto re-
"ceived through our neutral commerce; and
"her Colonies will, at once, be cut off from the
"sale of their productions and the source of
"their supplies.

"Spain will feel it more, perhaps, than any,
"in the failure of imported food, not making
"enough within herself, and in her populous
"and important Colonies, which depend wholly
"on us for the supply of their daily wants.

"It is a happy consideration also attending
"this measure, that, although it will have these
"effects, salutary it may be hoped, on the pol-
"icy of the great contending nations, it affords
"neither of them the slightest ground for com-
"plaint. The embargo violates the rights of
"none. Its object is to secure ourselves. It is
"a measure of precaution, not of aggression.
"It is resorted to, by all nations, when their
"great interests require it. All of them have
"made us, on different occasions, feel the
"effects of such a resort on our commercial in-
"terests. And it could be the less murmured
"at by those who may be incidentally affected
"by the present embargo, inasmuch as they
"have forced us into the measure, by the direct
"effect on us of measures founded in an alleged
"regard for their own eventual safety and essen-
"tial interests.

"But may not the embargo bring on war from
"some of the nations affected by it? Certainly
"not; if war be not predetermined on against
"us. Being a measure of peace and precaution;
"being universal, and therefore impartial; ex-
"tending, in reality, as well as ostensibly to all
"nations, there is not a shadow of pretext to
"make it a cause of war. War, therefore, let
"it be repeated, cannot be the result; unless it
"be in pursuance of a predetermined plan of
"hostility against this country.

"Will it not be an impediment to amicable
"negotiations with nations with which we
"have unsettled differences? Not more than any
"other precaution; not more, certainly, than
"military preparations, with which depending
"negotiations are frequently accompanied and,
"sometimes, professedly armed. The policy of
"President Washington sent Mr. Jay into
"negotiation with an embargo in his hand.
"Would the Treaty he made have been the
"worse if the embargo had not been res-
"cinded?

"Might not the embargo have been better
"modified? Might not, particularly, the vessels
"of the several foreign nations have been al-
"lowed to carry on trade from our ports?

"The plausibility of such an exception van-
"ishes, at once, when tested by its inevitable
"and inadmissible consequences:

"1. It would have given so decided and ex-
"clusive an advantage to one of the belligerent
"parties that it would have been difficult to
"justify it to the others. Great Britain, having
"the command of the sea and the means of
"conveyance, would have supplied her wants,

"whilst her enemies, having neither, would be left destitute.

"2. Having the monopoly of our market, her agents would obtain supplies at half their value.

"3. The competition to sell to them would have made every purchase a favor, and consequently a source of dreadful influence.

"4. Our mariners, thrown out of employment, would have been easily enticed into foreign service, never, probably, to be regained. Our ships might, perhaps, be bought up, at the same time, for half their value, and be lost to the nation.

"5. In fine, the exception, thus operating in favor of Great Britain, would have done what, above all things, she would have wished. It would have given her a monopoly of the trade of the world; would have secured all her supplies, on the best terms, whilst her enemies and rival would go without, altogether; and, to crown the whole, it would, without the benefit of more than a very scanty market for our produce, have given her the greatest possible interest in persevering in those regulations and prolonging that state of things, which forms the present afflicting crisis to this country.

"The embargo, then, is the best expedient in its best form. It has been recommended by the President, who has the best means of knowing the policy of foreign Governments; and it has been adopted by Congress, who are alone able to provide, in such cases, for the security of the public rights and interests; adopted, almost unanimously, by the Senate, and by as large a majority in the House of Representatives as is to be expected in any case where an honest difference of opinion may be added to the habitual opposition of party spirit.

"All that remains, then, for a people confident in their Government, is to rally round the measure which that Government has adopted for their good, and to secure its just effect, by patiently and proudly submitting to every inconvenience which such a measure necessarily carries with it."

III.—CLOSE OF MR. JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

"The Embargo system had now become the established policy of the Government, as being, not only a measure of safety to the merchantships of the United States, with their cargoes, but also a means of coercion to justice, on the part of the belligerents, by depriving them of the products of the United States. The question of War with either of the belligerent Powers was, to all appearances, indefinitely postponed.

Defeated in their opposition to the measure of remedy and redress for the wrongs of foreign Powers which the Administration had devised and to which a large majority of Congress had given its sanction, the Federalists and Schismatics, as Mr. Jefferson characterized the Opposition, in Congress, to his Administration, —obliged also to abandon their charge against the President of a design to involve the country in War with Great Britain—now turned about, and planted themselves upon a ground of hostility to the Republican Administration yet more absurd than the other; the gist of which was that the Administration had, in laying the Embargo, acted under the dictation of the Emperor of France, or, at least, in collusion with him. This charge, which was first blurted out in one or more of the unscrupulous party papers in the city of New York, found utterance in the House of Representatives, in a debate on one of the several Bills which it became necessary to pass, for the purpose of enforcing the Embargo law.

In that debate, which took place on the twentieth of February, 1808, Mr. Gardiner, a talented young member from New York, ambitious of party distinction, either stimulated by this ruling passion or acting under the advice of associates older than himself, reiterated the charge referred to, in the following passages of a set speech made on the occasion: "Why we passed the Embargo law itself, I have been always unable to tell. Why we have passed the subsequent laws for the purpose of rendering the original evil more perfect and more universal, God only knows. It does appear to me, Sir, that we are led on, step by step, but by an unseen hand. We are urged forward, by a sort of spell, to the ruin of our country. Under the name of an Embargo, we are, in truth and in fact, passing non-intercourse laws."

"The more the original measure (of the Embargo) develops itself, the more I am satisfied that my first view of it was correct: that it was a sly, cunning measure; that its real object was not merely to prevent our vessels from going out, but to effect a non-intercourse. Are the nation prepared for this? If you wish to try whether they are, tell them, at once, what is your object; tell them what you mean: tell them you mean to take part with the Great Pacificator; or else stop your present course. Do not go on forging chains to fasten us to the car of the Imperial Conqueror."

"Wherever we can espy a hole, if it be no bigger than a wheat-straw, at which the industry and enterprise of our country can find vent, all our powers are called into requisition to stop it up. The people of the country shall sell nothing but what they sell to each other. All our surplus produce shall

"rot on your hands. God knows what all this means! I, Sir, cannot understand it. I am astonished—indeed, I am astonished and dismayed. *I see effects; but I can trace them to no cause.* Yes, Sir, I do fear that *there is an unseen hand which is guiding us to the most dreadful destinies; unseen, because it cannot endure the light.* Darkness and mystery overshadow this House and this whole nation. We know nothing: we are permitted to know nothing. *We sit here, as mere automata: we legislate without knowing—nay, Sir, without wishing to know—why or wherefore. We are told what we are to do; and the Council of Five Hundred do it.* We move, but why or wherefore, no man knows; we are put in motion, but how, I for one cannot tell."

These broad assertions and groundless imputations upon the Administration could not, of course, pass by, unnoticed. Prompt rejoinders to them followed from several members, of which the one that attracted most attention was the speech of Mr. G. W. Campbell, one of the Representatives from the State of Tennessee, who occupied the important station of Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means; and who had distinguished himself in debate, at the preceding Congress, in support of the measures of the Administration. On the present occasion, he addressed himself directly and somewhat personally to Mr. Gardenier, in a course of remark of which a few excerpts will serve to give the reader some idea: "For there is no medium in this case; the accusers or the accused must be guilty—must be enemies to their country—and it is high time the nation, the people of America, should know their friends from their foes. The crisis calls for it; and *the honor and dignity of this House demand that the guilty should be exposed.* If the charges can be supported, that any portion of the members of this House are acting under foreign influence, let the people know it; let them change their representation; let them send men of integrity, who are superior to the secret influence of a foreign Power. But if, on the contrary, those allegations are found to be false and unfounded, then let the nation know this; and *let the finger of scorn point at those who have published such groundless falsehoods; and render them the objects of public contempt and detestation.*"

* * * * *

"No man of sense can suppose that France would wish or dictate a measure that would produce as great, if not greater, injury to herself than to her enemy. Such a supposition would be next to madness. From these considerations, it would be supposed

"that no man who had made himself in any degree acquainted with the situation of this country in regard to the belligerent Powers, and had considered the effects that this measure would have on them, could, for a moment, entertain the opinion or even hazard a conjecture, that it was adopted under the influence of any foreign Power, much less under that of France. The allegation is so wild, so inconsistent, in itself, so destitute of the least semblance of probability, and, altogether, unsupported by the least shadow of proof, that *nothing but the basest malignity of heart could engender and publish so shameless, foul, and infamous a falsehood; and yet, Sir,*" said Mr. Campbell, "it has been echoed, on this floor; sounded in your ears, in the frantic strains of a raving maniac, and in the discussion of a subject noways calculated to excite such extraordinary passions. Hence it may be supposed *it was a premeditated scheme to seize on that occasion, in order to give vent to those vindictive passions against the Government and the Republicans of this nation which seem entirely to occupy and engross the minds of certain persons.* In noticing what was said, by the member from New York, I beg to be understood as not considering these statements as deriving any sort of consequence or importance from him who made them here. It is not, on that account, that they merit or receive the least notice. That person can only be considered as the mere conduit used by those behind the screen to convey these groundless slanders to the public—the common trumpeter, who gives no importance to what he makes public, except what is derived merely from the place he occupies or the duties assigned him to perform."

After this interchange of compliments, between these young prominent members, it was no surprise to any body that a challenge, on the part of Mr. Gardenier, followed; that it was promptly accepted, by his opponent in the debate; and that a duel was forthwith fought, at Bladensburg, between these gentlemen, the event of which was that Mr. Gardenier was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life.

This incident put a stop, for the time, to these unseemly criminations and the retorts and other consequences which would certainly have attended their repetition.

The Second Session of the Tenth Congress commenced on the seventh of November, 1808, and terminated with the existence of that Congress, on the third of March, 1809. This Session was, from its beginning to nearly its close, occupied with debates on the merits of the Embargo system, to which the numerous propositions,

to enforce it, to repeal it, to relax it, to modify it, gave rise. The Embargo was not repealed, nor modified; but it was enforced by stringent enactments, to the utmost tension of the powers of Congress. So strenuous was the conflict of debate, in the House of Representatives, on the day of the passage of the latest and strongest of the enforcement Acts, that it lasted until five o'clock of the morning of the next day, the seventh of January. Well must the scene of that morning be remembered by every one of the survivors of those who witnessed it. Snow had fallen, during the night, to more than a foot in depth. In those days, there were very few carriages in Washington; and such as there were, had, early in the night, sought shelter from the storm. The venerable men, of whom there were, at that day, a greater proportion in Congress than at present, staggered down the steps of the Capitol—many having more than a mile of snow to thread to reach their lodgings, suffering under every circumstance of exhaustion and fatigue, which were, indeed, so general that no attempt was made by Congress to meet at all, on the following day.

Yet, notwithstanding the stubbornness of determination thus manifested to sustain and enforce, to the utmost, the Embargo policy, a few weeks only had intervened, when, lo! without any previous warning or premonitory symptom, **THE EMBARGO WAS REPEALED!**

In Mr. Tucker's *Life of Jefferson*, so succinct and candid an account is given of the circumstances under which this sudden and unexpected retreat was made from the restrictive policy, that the writer adopts it for the information of his readers rather than himself attempt to unfold them:

"In the meanwhile, the Embargo was pressing, with increased severity, one very class of the community, whether producers or consumers; and this pressure, joined to the political opposition, in the Federal party, drove the people of New England, where that party was most numerous, and where the Embargo was most felt, to a point of disaffection which had never before been witnessed in the United States. Many, therefore, entertained strong hopes that some course would be taken, during the present Session, by which the industry and enterprise of the country would be again put into activity; its vessels be once more suffered to venture on the ocean; and, perhaps, be permitted to arm in their own defence, if not to make reprisals. Indeed, there was no one who did not admit that War would be preferable to the continuance of the Embargo, beyond a time not very distant; and every day was adding to the number of those who believed that time already arrived. Among the

"many objections to it, there was one which operated strongly on its friends; and that was the frequency with which it was violated. There were also many cases in which the law was clandestinely evaded. The majority of Congress, who were willing to try it longer rather than resort to War, passed a law, during the Session, which armed the Executive with new powers for enforcing it; and these powers, so much at variance with the spirit of our institutions and the general lenity of the laws, afforded further materials for exciting popular odium against the Administration, which was then charged with being as ambitious of arbitrary power, at home, as it was submissive to the will of Napoleon, abroad.

"The Administration and the majority who supported it were, before Congress rose, turned from their purpose of trying the Embargo a few months longer, from fear of the growing disaffection of the New England States, which they had reason to believe, was producing sequences not only subversive of the authority of the laws, but dangerous to the continuance of the Union. It has appeared, by subsequent disclosures, that, in the month of February, Mr. John Quincy Adams, who had supported the Administration, in the Embargo and its measures of policy, ever since the affair of the *Chesapeake*, and who, finding his course not approved by the Legislature of Massachusetts, had resigned his office of Secretary, made to the President the following communication: That, from information received by him, and which might be relied on, it was the determination of the ruling party, in Massachusetts, and even New England, if the Embargo was persisted in, no longer to submit to it, but to separate themselves from the Union at least until the existing obstacles to foreign commerce were removed; that the plan was already digested; and that such was the pressure of the Embargo on the community, that they would be supported by the people. He further said, that a secret agent of Great Britain was then in New England, by whose intrigues every aid would be proffered by that Government, to carry a project into execution which would, at once, render the restriction on the commerce between the United States and Great Britain nugatory and all future opposition unavailing.

"The danger thus threatening the Union was deemed paramount to all other considerations; and the President, with his Cabinet, concluded that it would be better to modify their interposition of commerce in such a way that, while employment was afforded to American vessels, Great Britain and France should still feel the loss of American commerce. Congress secret-

“ingly passed a law for repealing the Embargo, after the fourth of March, as to all nations except France and Great Britain; and interdicting, with them, all commercial intercourse whatever, whether by exporting or importing, either directly or circuitously. This measure has always since gone under the name of ‘the non-intercourse law.’ It passed on the twenty-seventh of February, by eighty-one votes to forty.”

It is a singular coincidence that, as almost the last official act of President Jefferson was to “approve” and sign the death-warrant of the Embargo, to which he stood in the relation of parent, this unnatural Act was even preceded by his signing and approving an Act “authorizing the employment of an additional Naval force,” the provisions of which were that, in addition to the frigates now employed, in actual service, there be fitted out, officered, and manned, as soon as may be, the four following frigates, to wit, the *United States*, *Essex*, *John Adams*, and *President*;” and, moreover, the President of the United States was “authorized and empowered to equip, man, and employ, in actual service, so many of the public armed vessels now laid up in ordinary as, in his judgment, the public service may require; and to cause the frigates and other armed vessels, when prepared for active service, to be stationed at such ports and places on the sea-coast as he may deem most expedient, or to cruise on any part of the coast of the United States;” and, further, in order to man these vessels, the President was “authorized and empowered, in addition to the existing number of petty officers, and seamen, and boys, to appoint and cause to be engaged and employed, as soon as may be, three hundred midshipmen, three thousand, six hundred seamen and boys,” etc., etc.

Thus, in the last days of the existing Administration, was the *coup-de-grace* given to the two favorite systems of the President: first, that of lying-up, dry-docking, and otherwise ignoring the Navy; and, secondly, the substitution of Embargo and Commercial Restrictions, generally, as the most effective armor in all controversies, offensive and defensive, with foreign powers.

An Epitaph upon the policy of Commercial Restrictions was pronounced, a year or two after the period above referred to—and, of course, after the repeal of the Embargo—in a debate in the House of Representatives, founded on a Bill for forcing certain merchants’ bonds, exacted under one or other of the several Embargo-laws. The elder readers of these *Recollections* will not be displeased to have this passage recalled to their memory; and the younger of them will,

we trust, thank us for making them acquainted with it. We therefore reproduce it, as follows: “I never hear the word ‘restriction’ named in the halls of Congress,” said Mr. CHEVES, “without being alarmed. It is greatly to be lamented, for the sake of the country, that this subject is so frequently agitated. Now, the farmer is threatened; then, the merchant. The country had not yet recovered from the alarm which was caused by the Resolution of the honorable gentleman from New Hampshire, to prohibit the exportation of the great productions of the soil—a Resolution which, like the comet that lately visited our region, affrighted and dismayed the wondering people, but which, like it, had passed away, we hoped, not again to appear, in our time—when the Resolutions of my honorable friend from Virginia, numbers one, two, three—I forget how many—followed, in rapid succession, and, like the tail of that great meteor, hung over us, giving signs of dire and ominous portent. These, to your farmers, are as pernicious as the plagues of Egypt. To your cities, the proposition on your table is more terrible than the pestilence with which they were, not long since, smitten by the judgment of God, inflicted in his wrath, but by his justice; which made the dwelling, where health, and joy, and gladness, and general prosperity had blessed the inhabitants, a charnel-house; and sent forth ‘the frequent corpse’ through the deserted streets, accompanied by no living creature, save the patient drudging animal which bore it and the lone Sexton who committed the dust of the body to the repose of the tomb. Yes, Sir, even this was a more tolerable calamity to your cities than would be that plague upon your table.”

The whole country, East and West, North and South, was jubilant at the almost unlooked-for repeal of the Embargo. The farmers and planters, the merchants and shippers, and the land-locked seamen vied with one another in the promptitude with which they resumed their long-suspended right, to labor for their living. A gleam of reviving prosperity shone over the whole horizon. Before the change of policy, above referred to, the periodical election of President of the United States had taken place; and Mr. Madison had been designated as the successor of Mr. Jefferson. The influence of the approaching inauguration of a new President, already generally and favorably known, pierced through the gloom which had brooded over the country; and the expiration of this political year found the people more tranquil and hopeful than they had been for the two years preceding.

[TO BE CONTINUED, IN THE FEBRUARY NUMBER.]

X.—*FLOTSAM*.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. *H.M. MAG.*]

THE REBEL FORCES. In the November numbers of the *Eclectic* and the *Land We Love*, 1869, an interesting and important correspondence was published between Dr. Joseph Jones, Secretary of the Historical Society, and General S. Cooper, ex-Adjutant General of the Confederate States. From that source, we glean the following facts for the benefit of those who are not so fortunate as to have preserved a file of the magazines. Such facts are startling even to those who participated in the Southern struggle.

1. The available forces of the Confederate army did not, during the war, exceed six hundred thousand men.

2. The Confederate States never had, in their defence, more than two hundred thousand men in the field, at one time.

3. From 1861 to 1865, the Confederate forces actively engaged were only six hundred thousand.

4. The total number of deaths during that time, were two hundred thousand.

5. Losses of prisoners, counted as total losses, on account of the United States policy of exchange, two hundred thousand.

6. The loss of the Confederate States Army, by discharge, disability, and desertion amounted to one hundred thousand.

7. At the close of the War, the force of the Confederate Army was less than one hundred thousand.

8. Out of six hundred thousand men, five hundred thousand were lost to the service.

These facts are taken from calculations made with great care by Doctor Joseph Jones, submitted to and approved by General S. Cooper, Adjutant-general of the Confederate Army.—*Mobile Register*.

THE FIRST STEP.—Forty years ago, in one of the Academies near Boston, a number of girls went along with a set of their schoolboy friends in the entire preparation for Harvard University. The girls knew Mathematics and Greek as well as the boys did; and formed a plan for going to the University with them. We cannot say whether the plan grew out of a keen zest for knowledge or out of an unwillingness to break off the very pleasant companionship—probably from both. The girls did not think

there could be much objection to admitting them to the University; they thought the reason there were no girls at the Universities was that none had wanted to go or had been fitted to go. They proposed to live at home, so there would be no difficulty on the score of College-residence. However, as their request was new, it occurred to them that a little diplomacy might be required in presenting it, so they deputized the most prudent of the party to do the talking, and imposed strict silence upon the youngest and most impulsive one, from whom we have the story. The girls called upon Mr. President Quincy; told him what they had done in their studies; that they had passed the examinations, with the boys; and wished to be admitted to the University. President Quincy listened to their story, and evinced so much admiration for their work and aims, that they at first felt sure of success. But he seemed to waver in coming to the point. He talked of the expense and difficulties of the scheme, and pointed out other opportunities of study for them. At length, this youngest one, forgetting in her impatience, her promise to keep silent, said, "Well, President Quincy, you feel sure?" "Trustees will let us come, don't you?" "By no means," was the reply, "this is only for men." The girl of sixteen burst into tears and exclaimed, with vehemence, "I could annihilate the women, and I will." "Men have everything to themselves." This, so far as we know, was the first effort made by women to get into an American University. The incident was too trifling to make any impression, and we narrate it only as marking the beginning of the demand for university advantages for women.—*Westminster Review*, October.

AN INTERESTING REMINISCENCE OF THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION OF 1860.—If Senator Blaine of the United States House of Representatives insists upon his right to know what a member will do, when he gets the floor, he will grant him the privilege of the same. Then the only remedy will be to cheat and deceive him.

We know of a memorable instance in point which has never yet been made public. It was which, in its result, had a great effect upon the destiny of the country. It occurred at the Charleston Democratic Convention of 1860, which was the immediate forerunner of the threatened dissolution of the Union.

Caleb Cushing was President of that Convention. He was elected by, and was thorough in the interests of, the South and the extreme men of the North, who were opposed to

nomination of Stephen A. Douglas, the popular choice for President of the United States. The fight against Douglas was made upon the every part of the platform, which was to be adopted before any presidential nomination was made. The Convention, though close, contained a small majority of Mr. Douglas's friends. They could adopt their platform if they could get a vote upon it. But how to do so was the point. Cushing would not give any man the honor whom he suspected of an intention to move the Previous Question. Thus the debate went on, altogether upon one side; and the convention bid fair to last for weeks, if not for months. The funds of many northern men were giving out, western whiskey was exhausted, and there were reports of the yellow-fever having made its appearance.

Things looked desperate, when all was saved by the tact of a distinguished member of the Ohio delegation. He went to the late C. L. Vallandigham, also a member, and who was on the most intimate terms with Cushing. Said he: "Val, can't you get the floor for my friend, Governor King of Missouri, who has been endeavoring, for a long time, to attract Cushing's attentions to his seat?" "What does he want with it?" says Mr. Vallandigham. "Why, they have, I believe, a little difficulty in the delegation as to how the vote shall be cast, and they want Mr. Cushing to settle it." This was true. "All right," says Val; "I will see Cushing." See him he did; and when our friend saw Mr. Vallandigham nod his head, in assent, he proceeded to the Missouri seats and informed Governor King that, as soon as the man who then had the floor sat down, the President would recognize him; but he must be quick on his pins. Governor King arose; explained his difficulty; was answered by Cushing; when, lo! to the consternation of the South and their northern allies, he moved the Previous Question on the platform. The Delegates from the North-west rose in one mass and vigorously seconded the motion of the gentleman from Missouri. Cushing, one of the very best parliamentarians in the country, saw he was floored; and when the confusion subsided, he had to put the question, which the Douglas men carried, and the fight was over. Then came the secession of the southern Delegates, who left the Convention in the precise order they did the Union, after the election of Lincoln—South Carolina leading off, closely followed by Mississippi and the remainder of the cotton States.

But for this deception of Cushing, Mr. Douglas would not have been nominated, and there would have been a compromise candidate, who might have kept the Democratic party, North

and South, intact, and defeated Lincoln, and so averted the war.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

A CAVE OF DEAD INDIANS—MAMMOTH REMAINS.—A Virginia paper says: "The following information is given us by gentlemen of the highest character and credit, who have seen with their own eyes, touched and tested with their own hands, the wonderful objects of which they make report.

"The workmen engaged in opening a way for the projected railroad between Weldon and Garrysburg, struck, on Monday, about a mile from the former place, in a bank beside the river, a catacomb of skeletons, supposed to be those of Indians of a remote age and a lost and forgotten race. The bodies exhumed were of a strange and remarkable formation. The skulls were nearly an inch in thickness; the teeth were filed sharp, as are those of cannibals, the enamel perfectly preserved; the bones were of wonderful length and strength—the *femur* being as long as the leg of an ordinary man, the stature of the body being probably as great as eight or nine feet. Near their heads, were sharp stone arrows, some mortars, in which their corn was brayed, and the bowls of pipes, apparently of soft soapstone. The teeth of the skeletons are said to be as large as those of a horse. One of them was brought to the city and presented to the officers of the Pittsburgh Railroad.

"The bodies were found closely packed together, laid tier on tier, as it seemed. There was no discernible ingress or egress to the mound. The mystery is, who these giants were, to what race they belonged, to what era, and how they came to be buried there. To these inquiries, no answer has yet been made; and, meantime, the ruthless spade continues to cleave skull and body asunder, throwing up, in mangled masses, the bones of this heroic tribe. We hope some effort will be made to preserve authentic and accurate accounts of these discoveries, and to throw some light, if possible, on the lost tribe whose bones are thus rudely disturbed from their sleep, in earth's bosom."

LETTER FROM G. B. LAMAR, ON SECESSION.

BANK OF THE REPUBLIC,
NEW YORK, April 15, 1861. }

HON. C. G. MEMMINGER, Montgomery Ala:
SIR:

I have yours, 11th inst., received this morning. The National Bank Note Company will forward to-day 1,000 impressions of \$50 and \$100 Treasury notes, and they will print and send you hereafter any more you require at their

own risk and hazard. Hence I have told them to keep the plates here.

The American Bank Note Company has sent you three books: Nos. 1C. 750 50s; 3 do. No. 1C, 750 \$100; 1 book No. 1C. 250 500a.; 4 books 1C. 1,000 of 1,000a, and will forward to-day 1 book 751C. 1,000 of 50a, and 2 books No. 251C. 750 of 500a, certificates. They will send what 1,000s they have printed, and print no more of that denomination, but will fill up the number originally ordered (3,000) in a larger number of 100s. I think I wrote you that both companies took the hazard of delivery of all, including the plates in Montgomery. The latter company will forward the plates of the certificates to their present branch in New Orleans as soon as the order is filled.

Yours, G. B. LAMAR.

No check received as stated in your letter.

The fall of Fort Sumter has excited the strongest animosity of the Republicans with whom all the corrupt Democracy have united to make war on the South. Lincoln's call for 75,000 volunteers will be responded to by more than twice that number, but very few of them will ever go South as far as Charleston.

The expedition against Fort Sumter exhibits the greatest folly ever committed by men in power. A Lieut. Fox, who had been spying out in Charleston and around, instigated it and planned it, and Capt. Porter said he would go into Fort Sumter or to hell. Hence he got the command of the naval forces, putting Capt. Mercer aside without cause or explanation—all this against the advice of Gens. Scott and Potter. And the fleet remained inactive spectators in sight of the bombardment for thirty hours!!!

Providentially no lives were lost, and but for the madness of the Republicans, a recognition would be made. But they are to propitiate the anti-slavery and abolition feeling of the North by a campaign against the South. I hope this excited feeling will subside into more sober counsels, and a reaction may result and war be restrained.

Two telegrams, one from Richmond and one from Lynchburg, say *Virginia will secede*, and that if the Convention do not, a revolution will be initiated in Richmond, to that end. I suggest most respectfully that *a strictly defensive policy will be the best for the South*. Let all aggressions be avoided, and if they invade the South, it will be to such great disadvantage that an easy victory will be the consequence. I venture to assure all the rampant warriors that they shall have a *quantum suffices* of fight if they will but go South to get it, and I hope you will keep a full supply on hand ready for them.

Allow me to say that my nephew and namesake, G. B. Lamar, Jr., of Augusta, now acting Adjutant at the Arsenal at Augusta, has an application on file for a commission in the service of the Confederacy. Anything, from First Lieutenant, up, will be gratefully acknowledged by me. He is as fine-looking and as able as any man in the service, and will make a first-rate officer—strong and healthy. If you can aid him please do so. I have directed all letters and prints for you to be addressed to H. W. Carter, Esq., Cashier, to avoid difficulty, and this will go to the same address. I think you had better send your despatches to some one else besides myself, on the exterior envelope—say to R. H. Lowry, Cashier—and they will not be suspected by the Post Office Department.

I think Congress should proclaim free trade and levy a tax of one per cent. on all property to pay expenses and interest on the loan.

It would discommode New York effectively, and either bring her into the Southern Confederacy or make her decided in her enmity, which cannot be much worse than it is now.

Very respectfully, G. B. LAMAR

A POETICAL RELIC—THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.—Mr. I. S. Lyon, of Boonville, New Jersey, contributes to the *Newark Register*, a lively song, entitled "The Retreat of the English," written after the battle of New Orleans in January, 1815, by Captain Abram Redwood Ellery, and never before published.

Mr. Lyon says Captain Ellery was a son of a distinguished patriot, William Ellery, of Rhode Island, and removed to New Orleans early in the present century, and settled there. At the breaking out of the War of 1812, he was Captain of a Company of New Orleans Militia. He served, with distinction, under Jackson in the several battles that took place in the vicinity of that city, in 1815.

The song, several stanzas of which are given below, was written by Captain Ellery under the inspiration of the moment, merely for the entertainment of his friends, and not intended for publication.

THE RETREAT OF THE ENGLISH.

A Yankee Song.

The English mustered mighty strong,
And bro't their choicest troops along,
And thought it but a little song,
To take the town of Orleans.

From Plymouth and the Chesapeake—
From Portsmouth, too, and Cork so sleek—

All came, to take a Christmas freak,
In our gay town of Orleans.

They entered Bayou Bienvenu,
Where there were traitors * not a few,
To help them on and bring them thro',
To this, our town of Orleans.

They to the levee quickly come,
And made as tho' they were at home;
Indeed, they were but eight miles from
The very town of Orleans.

The news at last to Jackson came;
His mighty soul was in a flame;
He swore an oath, I dare not name,
He'd save the town of Orleans.

The town was in a mighty rout;
He ordered all the forces out;
His troops so steady and so stout;
To fight and bleed for Orleans.

Away went Jackson at their head,
And many a gallant man he led;
All swore they'd fight till they were dead,
To save the town of Orleans.

The English camp he's soon among;
And found them near five thousand strong—
From swamp to river, stretched along,
Against the town of Orleans.

Repulsed!—on New Year's next they came,
But on that day, were served the same,
And met a loss they dare not name,
From those who fought for Orleans.

But 'twas the Eighth they tried their might,
And brought their army all in sight,
And swore our men would, at the sight,
All fly toward New Orleans.

That morning's sun did rise in blood,
For all our men right valiant stood,
As every honest Yankee ever should,
Against the foes of Orleans.

The muskets and the cannons roar;
Our men most deadly volleys pour
Rolling fire, unknown before,
Upon the foes of Orleans.

Sir Edward led the eager crew,
And pointing to the town in view,
Have them to sack and pillage too,
If they would get to Orleans.

But see! His threatening spirit's fled;
And Gibbs, too, lies among the dead,
With many more who, boasting said,
They'd dine, that day, at Orleans.

Alluding to the fishermen who piloted in the English boats.

Such carnage ne'er was known before,
More than three thousand stain our shore,
And some assert a thousand more,
Of the proud foes of Orleans.

Soldiers! you've had no vulgar game!
Wellington's troops here yield their fame;
Invincibles! was once their name,
But this they've lost near Orleans.

A bloodless victory, on our side
May well increase our General's pride;
For, see! the field is only dyed
With English blood, near Orleans.

The proud, but disappointed foe,
Is now well taught our worth to know;
And all they ask is but to go
Far—far away from Orleans.

See how these heroes scour the plain!
Their boats can scarce their haste restrain,
So anxious now their fleet to gain,
And get away from Orleans.

On board! and sick of Yankee sport,
They're dressing up a long Report,
To suit their gracious Sovereign's Court,
Of their great feats at Orleans.

Now, here's to the Eighth! a brilliant day!
'Tis fame enough to have been in the affray,
That drove these Englishmen away,
From this our town of Orleans.

Here's to the gallant General! who
Has saved our town and country too;
A braver man the world ne'er knew,
Than he who fought for Orleans.

Brave sons of Tennessee!—a toast!
Of you, your country well may boast,
She cannot find a braver host,
'Mong those who fought at Orleans!

NEW ORLEANS, January, 1815.

SCRAPS—The famous sayings of great men are, one by one, dropping from sight. The last to suffer is the "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." Nearly eighty years ago, General Pinckney, then Minister to France, was informed that the payment of a certain sum might settle the diplomatic dispute between the two countries; and history says that General Pinckney indignantly replied: "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute." And now comes a respectable citizen of Charleston, S. C., and shows, by indisputable authority, that, at a meeting of the Cossack-club, of which General Pinckney was a member, the latter was

asked by another member whether he ever made such remark, and replied: "No: my answer was not a flourish like that, but simply, 'Not a penny, not a penny.'"

—A Philadelphian of the last century presented a box of maple sugar to General Washington, who returned thanks as follows:—

"NEW YORK, June, 1790.

"SIR:—Mr. Morris has presented me, in your name, with a box of the maple sugar, which I am pleased to find of so good a quality. I request you to accept my thanks for this mark of attention; and being persuaded that considerable benefit may be derived to our country from a due prosecution of this promising object of industry, I wish every success to its cultivation which the persons concerned in it can themselves desire.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"G. WASHINGTON."

—The *Carthage Republican*, in a statistical article, prints the following scrap of history. If the epizootic had raged at the time mentioned, Monsieur Bossout would have been obliged to leave a larger sum in Utica, in exchange for four oxen, a yoke, and a wagon. The record runs:

"John Baptiste Bossout, who died at Champion, at the age of ninety-three years, was with Pharoux and Des Jardines, *Commissaire overland*, in 1794, from Utica to High (Lyons) Falls. One hundred and thirty-nine dollars and fifty cents had been paid at Utica, for four oxen, a yoke, and a wagon. In two days, they reached Baron Steuben's. Hence, on the nineteenth of June, 1794, the expedition was twenty-two in number, for High Falls, twenty-four miles distant, Des Jardines and Bossout being with the four ox-team. The French road, then cut, is still so called.

"On the twenty-third of June, the French agency house was built at High Falls. Carthage (ancient 'Long Falls') was founded by Pharoux, 1794. A mill was erected, in 1795, by Geoffrey Des Jardines and Pharoux, who both came down from High (Lyons) Falls, where the Castorland (or Chassim's) Company had, from 1794-96, its trading house, with Simon Des Jardines for chief *Commissaire*. The Company's lands were in Jefferson and Lewis-counties, on which the city (Castorville) was laid out, in '96, by Des Jardines, on Beaver-river, East of the Black-river, at Castorland-station, and another, 'Niaure,' on Black-river-bay. Ure farm, now D. A. Stewart's residence, New Bremen, was one of the cultivated farms of the Company."

XI.—BOOKS.

1.—PRIVATE PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*School Histories and Some Errors in Them*. By SAMUEL A. GREEN, M. D. Boston: For private distribution. 1872. Octavo, pp. 7.

In *The American Educational Monthly*, for June, 1872, Doctor Green fearlessly and intelligently exposed some of the errors which our school-book-makers, in their superlative ignorance, too often repeat, like parrots, in edition after edition and version after version of their so-called "Histories," for the use of our children in the schools throughout the United States—Worcester's, Swinton's, and Anderson's volumes, especially, falling under his admirable criticism.

The work which Doctor Green has thus commenced, so well, may be continued, and it should be continued, until every one of these school-histories, shall have been examined: and we hope that, since the Doctor has put his hand to the plow and turned the first furrow, he will not look back and seek to cease from his labors.

The tract—a very handsome one—was printed only for private circulation; and we thank our friend, the Doctor, for the copy of it which he has put before us.

2.—*Early History of Georgia, embracing the Embarkation of Alexander Cumming to the country of the Cherokee, in 1730*. With a Map of the Cherokee Country, from a Description by the Indians. A paper read in substance before the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, February, 1872, by SAMUEL G. DRAKE, M. A. Re-printed, with additions, from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, for July, 1872. Boston: 1872. Small quarto, pp. 20.

Whatever bears the name of SAMUEL G. DRAKE, as its author, always commands our respectful attention and highest respect; and we have consequently received and examined this handsome tract, with much pleasure, not only because it relates to the early history of a State which has not yet seemed to care, very much, for that history, but because it tells of that hidden subject, what we are pleased to learn in a manner which we are pleased to accept.

In this tract, as preliminary to the main subject, Mr. Drake notices, successively, the original occupants of Georgia; the colonization of the territory, by Oglethorpe; the policy, concerning their lands, of the Indians; and the origin of the Cherokees, as stated by Mr. Drake; and disbelieved by Mr. Drake; and these are followed with a description of the Cherokee country and notices of the outrages inflicted on the Cherokees, by the white settlers in Georgia, and by the United States authorities, and of the successive historians of Georgia, in their dealing with this subject, from Montgomery to Smith. The principal object of the paper is, however,

tail an embassy to the Cherokees, in 1730, by Sir Alexander Cuming, Bart., in behalf the British Government and as a kind of a counter-movement to those, in the North and North-west, which France was then engaged in, in extending the area of her empire.

The record of this mission is not altogether complete; but Mr. Drake recently secured an ancient manuscript descriptive of what occurred on the arrival of the embassy at Charleston; and he has made excellent use of the information which he thus secured, in minutely describing the movements of Sir Alexander and his party, from their departure from "Charles Town" in March, 1730, until his return to that city, some weeks afterwards, and subsequently, to Europe; and in his description of the result of that mission—the confirmation of the British authority over the Cherokees of Georgia.

It will be seen that this is, indeed, a very important contribution to the early history of Georgia and South Carolina; and as such, it will be welcomed both by students of that history and collectors.

—*Occasional Paper of the Russo-Greek Committee. New Series, No. 1. Report of the Joint Committee on communication with the Russo-Greek Church.* Presented to the General Convention, Baltimore, October, 1871. Privately printed. Since 1872. Octavo, pp. 25.

—*New Series, No. 2. A List of all the Sees and Bishops of the Holy Orthodox Church of the East.* Translated and compiled from Russian Official Documents. By the Rev. Charles Hale, M. A. Privately Printed. Since 1872. Octavo, pp. 16.

There is a Committee of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Convention

"Communication with the Russo-Greek Church," whose duty it has been, among other matters, to take steps for the acquisition and communication of such information as may be mutually important and interesting to both the churches referred to; and the first of these two acts is the Report of the Secretary, presented to the General Convention, at its last Session, and second, a list of the Sees and Bishops of the Greek Church—both of them privately printed, by the Secretary, for private distribution.

The Report presents, in detail, a narrative of action, in both Europe and America, tending to a closer union of the Eastern and the Anglican Churches; and to all who are interested in that subject, it will be exceedingly interesting, inasmuch as it is very minute in its narrative and abundantly supported by documents, cited at length.

The second tract contains a list of all the Patriarchs, Metropolitans, and Bishops of the Greek Church, throughout the world, with their respective Sees, drawn from official

sources, furnished to the Committee by the Prince Sergius Ouronsoff, Secretary of State of Russia—certainly a very interesting list, to every one who cares anything for the ecclesiastical history of that venerable Church.

These tracts have been printed at the expense of the Secretary of the Committee, and privately circulated—rather an expensive amusement, by the way, for a country Pastor—and as specimens of handsome printing they are entitled to high praise.

4.—*Our English Ancestors.* By Thomas C. Amory. Boston: David Olapp & Son. 1872. Octavo. pp. 35.

In June, 1872, Mr. Amory read a paper before The New-England Historic, Genealogical Society of Boston, which was published, with some slight changes, in the October number of the *Historical and Genealogical Register*; and "a few copies" were subsequently printed, in separate form, for private distribution by the Author. The handsome pamphlet now before us is a copy of that private, amended edition of Mr. Amory's paper; and we have examined it with great pleasure.

"Our *English* ancestors" is a subject which appealed to the sympathies of a wider circle, in Boston, than it could possibly have found in New York; and, consequently, Mr. Amory's paper is better adapted to the latitude of the former than to that of the latter city. Nevertheless, some portion of every section of the country has had "*English* ancestors," even if they have, also, descended, more or less, from the Dutch or the Palatines; and the well-written paper before us, therefore, will be welcomed, generally, both within and without New England.

Mr. Amory considers England, "for most of us, in America, the father-land," to which "most of us" are and must continue to be affectionately bound by ties, which "time can neither weaken nor political differences disturb." He compares that stock—"the Anglo-Saxon"—with other stocks; seems to consider New England, because of the assumed superiority of its *English* ancestry, as more peculiarly favored and more conspicuously pure than others are; glances at "the interest which is taken by our people in their progenitors," when they know who those progenitors were, and gives what he supposes to be the reasons for it; analyses the character of "our British ancestors"—which are not necessarily *English*—and compares it, very often, with that of their European descendants; reviews the immigration from England of "our fathers;" alludes to the character and occupation of those who thus abandoned their old homes, prior to 1700; discusses the subject of "social distinctions," in England and America; refers to the growing taste for genealogi-

cal research, among Americans; offers some useful suggestions concerning the sources of genealogical research; and promises to return to the latter portion of his subject, at some future day.

From this brief description of Mr. Amory's argument, our readers will perceive the character of this paper; but the skill with which he handled his subject and the elegance of his style can be understood only by those who read it. It is the work of a close observer and careful writer; and as it was written by a New-Englander, for a New-English audience, and printed, mainly, for New-English perusal, the peculiarities to which we have alluded are reasonable and excusable.

5.—*Paul Lunt's Diary. May—December, 1775.* Edited by Samuel A. Green, M. D. Boston: For private distribution. 1872. Octavo, pp. 19.

Paul Lunt was a Lieutenant in the Massachusetts Line of the Revolutionary Army; and this is the *Diary* which he kept, while in the service, before Boston. It covers the period between the tenth of May and the twenty-third of December, 1775,—during the whole of which period, as we have said, the Lieutenant was before Boston; and he was not, as seems to have been Doctor Green's opinion, a portion of that time elsewhere—in fact, the *Diary* itself clearly indicates that he was *not* with the party which crossed the wilderness of Maine, under General Arnold, against Quebec, notwithstanding Doctor Green, on page 4, singularly states that, "as an officer, "Paul Lunt joined Arnold's famous expedition "for the siege of Quebec, which sailed from "Newburyport, in September, 1775, for the Ken- "bec," as the Editor might have seen had he compared the entries on the thirteenth of September, with those made subsequently.

We do not perceive anything in this *Diary* of special importance, although all such papers are very useful to the student of the history of that period: we regret that Doctor Green has modernized its spelling and punctuation and made changes in the arrangement of some of the dates—changes which, we think, no mere Editor ought to have made, in any case.

The typography of the tract is very handsome; and, as the title-page indicates, the work was printed for private circulation only.

6.—*The Story of a Famous Book: An Account of Dr. Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography.* By Samuel A. Green, M. D. Boston: For private distribution. 1871. Octavo, pp. 14.

Doctor Green prepared for the *Atlantic Monthly*, and published in the number for February, 1871, a paper narrating the history of Franklin's *Autobiography*, and describing the various editions of the work, in French and

English, which have been given to the world. He, evidently, had not looked into the subject as carefully as he generally looks into such matters; and, while he unduly belittled the version of the *Autobiography* which William Temple Franklin published, in London, in 1818, he quite as unduly extolled the version which Mr. Bigelow published, in 1868—an exactly opposite result from that which we produced, on a careful examination of both. As our opinions and the reasons for it are before the public (*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* for May, 1868—III, 814–816) we need not repeat the story.

The author will accept our thanks, notwithstanding, for his kindness in sending a copy of the work to us.

B.—PUBLICATIONS OF SOCIETIES

7.—*Œuvres de Champlain publiées sous le patronage de l'Université Laval* Par l'Abbé C.—H. Laverdière. M. A. Professeur d'Histoire à la Faculté des Arts et Bibliothécaire de l'Université. Second Edition. Quebec Imprimé au Seminaire. Geo.—E. Desbarats, 1870. Quarto, I. [Préface; *Discours de Champlain*] lxxv, [Bref Discours de Champlain remarquables que Samuel Champlain de Brébeuf revint aux Indes Occidentales] 48; II. [Introduction] 1. [Des Sauvages; ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain à Paris fait en la France Nouvelle, l'an mil six cents trois, et le 15.] [Introductory Note] iii; [Les Voyages de Sieur de Champlain saintongeois, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy, en la Nouvelle France en deux tomes] xvi, 337; IV. [Préface] 1. [Voyages et Découvertes faites en la Nouvelle France l'année 1613, jusques à la fin de l'année 1618.] vii, 337; [Préface] vii, [Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, d'ice Canada, faits par le Sr de Champlain saintongeois, Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Port de toutes les Découvertes qu'il a faites en ce pays depuis l'année 1613, jusques en l'an 1629. la première Partie] 338; VI. [La seconde Partie.] 343, [Traité de la Marine et de tout ce qui concerne le Marinier] 55, [Table pour cognoistre les lieux remarquables de cette carte] 8, [Doctrines Chrestiennes du R. P. Lejeune de la Compagnie de Jesus. Traduite en Langue Canadienne par celui des Montagnars, pour la Conversion des Indes du pays.] 20; [Pièces Justificatives] 36; [Table des lieux mentionnés dans les Œuvres de Champlain] 50; [Liste des personnes ouvrières qui ont travaillé à cette seconde édition de l'Œuvre de Champlain] 1.

Although not exactly a "recent publication," *The Works of Champlain*, a copy of which was sent to us by our lamented friend, Abbé Laverdière, only a few days before his death, is entitled to notice in *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE* both for their own sake and for that of their learned editor.

Of the great importance of the writings of Samuel Champlain, descriptive of his explorations, in Canada, and of the aborigines, their history, and geography of that country, our readers are already well-informed; and all who have attempted to find those writings, in

original published editions of them, know, too, how difficult it is to find them and just how expensive they are, when found. To afford an opportunity for scholars possessing ordinary fortunes to enjoy the benefit of these rare volumes, Abbé Laverdière—who was, also, Professor of History and Librarian of the Université Laval, at Quebec—undertook, under the auspices of that University, to re-produce them; and he had the pleasure of seeing his great work completed and the volumes on the eve of publication, when a fire swept the entire edition, with, we believe, the exception of a single copy, into utter ruin. With that patient resolution which distinguished him, however, the Professor, in addition to his two-fold duties in the University, resumed the editorial labors which he had just before supposed were ended, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the disaster to remedy some defects which had crept into the volumes which had been destroyed, and to make some improvements therein which his experience suggested, and safely conducted, through the press, again, the only complete collection, extant, of Champlain's Works,—a series of volumes which are, at once, a God-send to all students of American Colonial history and a fit memorial to the patient industry, the ripe scholarship, and the unusual good taste of our excellent friend.

The first volume opens with a Biographical Notice of Champlain, occupying seventy-six pages; and that is followed by a faithful copy, in the original French, of the hitherto unpublished *Brief Discourse of the most remarkable events which Samuel Champlain experienced in the West Indies*, during the years 1599-1603, by Champlain, himself. As this Discourse has been so sturdily withheld from the public, these many years, by those who have owned the manuscript, and now sees daylight, the first time, it is peculiarly welcome and will be received by students of the early history of America, with great pleasure.

The second volume contains a reprint of *The Savages, or Voyage of Samuel Champlain of Brouage, made to New France, in 1603*, which was originally published, in the same year, in Paris, by Claude de Monstreuil, and is now the rarest of any of the published works of this distinguished explorer. It contains descriptions of the manners and customs of the Canadian Indians; of the discoveries, made by Champlain, in the interior of the Continent; of the natural history of the country; and of the mines with which it was said to abound.

The third volume contains a re-print of *The Voyages of the Sieur de Champlain of Saintonge, a Captain in the Marine Service of the King*, which originally appeared in Paris, in 1613—including

the journals of the second, third, and fourth voyages of the author, in, respectively, 1604-5, 1607-9, and 1610-11, and minute descriptions of the country, with copies of the many maps and plates with which the original edition was illustrated.

The fourth volume embraces a re-print of the *Voyages and Discoveries made in New France, from the year 1615 until the close of the year 1618*, which was originally published by Claude Collet, in Paris, in 1619. It forms a continuation of *The Voyages*, published in 1613, and last referred to; and contains, besides, the narrative of the author's later explorations, in America, a repetition of his descriptions of the country and of its inhabitants, productions, etc. Like *The Voyages*, it is carefully illustrated with copies of the original plates.

The fifth volume is divided into two Parts, the first of which contains a narrative of all the voyages and discoveries, in New France or Canada, by Captain Champlain, from 1608 until 1629,—those already described, in the preceding volumes as well as those which are first noticed in this volume—and the second, a description of the map of the country, which it contains, together with Father Ledesme's *Catechism of the Doctrines of Christianity*, translated from the original into the Canadian language; an index to the five volumes; and a list of the names of those principal workmen who, as editors and artisans, executed the elegant volumes forming the work now before us.

As we have said, the writings of Samuel Champlain necessarily possess unusual interest to all who desire to learn American history from the original authorities; and the great care with which this edition of them has been conducted through the press, the completeness of the collection of Champlain's writings, which it contains, and the beauty of its typography, all serve to increase the attractions which have hitherto clustered around the less comely original volumes.

We have pleasure, therefore, in commending the work to the attention of our readers, hoping that it will receive at their hands that generous support to which it is so eminently entitled.

8.—*Then and now.* A Discourse delivered in Christ Church, Philadelphia, December 23rd, 1870, on the Centennial Anniversary of the Ordination to the Diaconate of Rt. Rev. Wm. White, D. D., the First Bishop of Pennsylvania: And on the Occasion of the Removal of his Remains to the Chancel of Christ Church, by Wm. Bacon Stevens, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: 1871. Octavo, pp. 56, xxii.

The distinguished Prelate, who, in the dis-

course before us, commemorated the life and times of the venerated William White—the latter of whom, thirty-four years before, had occupied the same office, in the same Diocese—discharged the duty to which he was invited, on that occasion, with excellent taste and marked ability.

Opening with references to, respectively, the occasion which called forth the Discourse, and that, a hundred years before, which was also to be, then, commemorated, the learned author introduces young William White, only twenty-two years of age, a candidate for Orders; carries him to England, for ordination; returns him, vested with priestly authority, to Philadelphia; and seats him, in pastoral office, as Assistant Minister of the United Churches of Christ and St. Peter's, incidentally referring, while doing so, to the entire absence, *then*, of all Theological Seminaries for the education of students designed for the ministry; to the necessary resort, in such cases, *then*, to private tutors; to the text-books which were, *then*, used, in such studies, compared with those which are, *now*, used, in such cases; to the master-minds of those days and their teachings; to the effect, on the Church, in America, of the absence of a Bishop; to the opposition which had been raised to the creation of an American Bishop, in the days of the Colonies; to the unhealthy condition of the Mother Church, in England, when young White went to that country, for ordination; and contrasts 1770 with 1870, in the Philadelphia of *then* and *now*, the Pennsylvania of *then* and *now*, and the Republic, *now*, compared with the Colony, *then*. He contrasts the facilities of travelling, a hundred years since, with those of 1870. He contrasts the school-books, bibles, and newspapers of America, then, with those of 1870. He compares the Church, too, in 1770, with the Church, in 1870; and he contrasts the thirteen Colonies, *then*, as dependent on the British Crown, with the United States, *now*, as a Republic. In conclusion, he shows, briefly, but clearly, what the young Deacon, of 1770, subsequently did for the Church in America, tracing his progress, through life, and describing the leading part taken by him in the establishment, in the ecclesiastical law of America, of the entire independence of the Church from secular control; of the introduction of the laity, as joint councillors and the legislators, with the Clergy, in all Conventions; the right of Dioceses to elect their own Bishops—the laity and the clergy jointly acting in the election; and the independence of each branch of the Church to organize itself and its forms of worship and discipline agreeably to its own judgment. He also describes Bishop White's opinions, on various leading subjects bearing on doctrines and practices among Churchmen of our own times;

and he illustrates this portion of his subject by describing just what Bishop White did and what he did not do, in different portions of the church-service, clearly indicating the absence of all sympathy, both in Bishop White and in Bishop Stevens, with those strange practices which are serving, very often, to make the services in modern Episcopalian churches unintelligible to those who, half a century since, worshipped with Episcopalians.

We have read this admirable *Discourse* with great satisfaction; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to its many excellences, both as a biography and as a history.

It is a very handsome specimen of typography, as far as the mere *taste* of the compositor and the skill of the pressman were concerned; but we have seldom seen a back country newspaper pretending to be respectable, which can compare with this beautiful tract in faulty proof-reading.

9.—*An historical Discourse, delivered in St. John's Church, Providence, R. I., on St. Barnabas's Day, June 11. 1872, in commemoration of the One hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Parish.* By the Rt. Rev. Thomas M. Clark, D.D., Bishop of Rhode Island. Published, with an Appendix at request of the Vestry, with a photograph of the old church. The Church Press. Hartford. 1872. Octavo, pp. 2.

This is an admirable paper, illustrating not only of the history of the particular Church of St. John's Parish, but of the origin and progress of Episcopacy, in Providence and Rhode Island, without that surplussage of meaningless words, in irrelevant sentences, which our papers are too often encumbered with; and our good Bishop is entitled to the thanks of not only every Rhode-Islander but every other reader of Rhode Island history, for so useful and so elegant an addition to Rhode Island's historical literature.

The Appendix, extending over nearly one-half the volume, also contains a mass of historical material, the value of which will be evident to every reader.

The volume is a beautiful specimen of typography, from the Church Press, at Hartford, whose good taste and skill, as workmen, are well known.

10.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College, with a Statement of the Course of Instruction in the various Departments.* 1873-74. New Haven: Tuttle, Morgan & Taylor. 1873. Octavo, pp. 90.

The annual Catalogue of Yale, with her six hundred and fifty-five students and eighty-two instructors, and presenting the inducements which she offers to those who incline to resort to her for instruction.

**Trial of the Officers and Crew of the Privateer
Savannah, on a charge of Piracy, in the
United States Circuit Court, for
the Southern District
of New York.**

Hon. Judges NELSON and SHIPMAN, Presiding,

Reported by A. F. WARBURTON, Stenographer,

And corrected by the Counsel.

OCTAVO pp. viii, 385. NEW YORK, 1862.

**This very celebrated trial involved the principles which control the rights of those who are
insurrection and resort to the seas, in the prosecution of their purposes; and it is probable that
no other work have those principles been so thoroughly or so ably discussed.**

**The arguments of Counsel, both those for the United States and those for the prisoners, and
the Charges of the Court, were corrected by their respective authors; and this volume was pub-
lished at the joint expense of the United States and the friends of the prisoners.**

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MORRISANIA, N. Y.**

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Commencing with Volume I.

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{ VOL. XXII, No. VI.

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AND
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CONCERNING
The Antiquities, History, and Biography
OF
AMERICA.

Dec., 1873.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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TO OUR READERS.

I.—The opening number of the new volume, January, 1874, is ready and will be sent as quickly as we can mail it: the second number of the same volume, February, is now half in type, and will follow, in about a fortnight: we expect to issue three numbers in the succeeding two months—our printers' assure us of their ability and willingness to execute those good intentions.

II.—The four numbers—September, October, November, and December, 1871—now sent to our subscribers of that year, of sad memory, are again in motion; and we are preparing a new number per month, commencing with the first of August next, until that gap shall have been filled.

III.—We very much need copies of the Magazine, dated September and October, 1872. If any of our friends shall have duplicates, or know where copies can be obtained, we shall be grateful for the information; and, if in good order, we will give any other subscribers which we may have in stock for each copy thus returned to us.

 BUT, IN THIS CASE, THE COPIES RETURNED MUST BE FIT FOR BINDING.

THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

II. THIRD SERIES.]

DECEMBER, 1873.

[No. 6.]

THE ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

THE FREE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE, OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

It has often been said, in our hearing, that the political organization which has been so widely known as the **REPUBLICAN PARTY**, originated in this and that among this and that class of political agitators; and that more than one distinguished politician have floated into notoriety and acquired fame and wealth on capital derived from one or other of those assumed "origins of the Republican Party."

It is a contribution to the political history of the country, and in order to draw out whatever hidden material there may be, from which history may be accurately written, we submit the following, *knowing it to be perfectly true, in every respect.*

The scattered remains of the Free Soil Democracy—and far between, when such men as Benjamin F. Butler and Salmon P. Chase faltered—united with some of the more radical anti-slavery men of the city; and, on the nineteenth of September, 1853, they held a "First Preliminary Meeting," avowedly "for the purpose of forming a Free Democratic League," at the office of John Jay in the building known as No. 90 Nassau-street, in the City of New York.

Among those who were then present, were D. D. T. Marshall—now President of the Homoeopathic Life Insurance Company; John Jay—now United States Minister to Russia; Minthorne Tompkins—lately a Senator in the New York Legislature; John P. Hale—lately Senator of the United States from New Hampshire; George W. Rose, of Boston Hall, Monroe B. Bryant, William McDermott, John Stansbury, William E. Whiting, Doctor Thomas W. Samuel Leeds, and Henry B. Dawson, all well-known in the city of their residence and none of them connected with any bad associations, either as politicians or men.

At this meeting, Mr. Marshall was made the Chairman, Mr. Rose the Secretary; and Mr. Jay stated the object of those who had assembled, moving, in conclusion, the appointment of a Committee "to report a plan for the organization of the Party," which was agreed to; and Messrs. Jay, Dawson, and Hall were appointed such Committee.

A public meeting was ordered to be held to take action on the State Ticket which had been nominated at Syracuse, on the thirty-first of the preceding month, by the Free Democrats; and the requisite Committees for carrying

into effect that Resolution, were appointed—Mr. Stansbury being at the head of the Committee of Arrangements; Mr. Jay at the head of that of Finance; and Mr. Hale at the head of that for preparing an Address to the Electors and Resolutions, appropriate to the occasion.

Two days later, [September 9th] the "Second Preliminary Meeting" was held, also at Mr. Jay's office, that gentleman being in the Chair and Monroe B. Bryant acting as Secretary; but the only formal action taken was the appropriation of one hundred dollars "to compensate General Henry Wilson" [now Vice-president of the United States] "for One week's service in this city," and the instruction of the Committee of Arrangements "to procure a room for the daily use of the Party."

The "Third Preliminary Meeting" was held "at the new head-quarters, room No. 15, Stuyvesant Institute," on the thirtieth of September, Mr. Stansbury being in the Chair and Mr. Bryant acting as Secretary.

General Henry Wilson and Doctor Stearns, of Boston, were present, and addressed the meeting; the eleventh of October was designated as the date on which to hold the public meeting, authorized by the first of these "preliminary meetings;" and Messrs. Hale, Waters, and Dawson were appointed "a Committee to endeavour to procure the use of one or more columns of the *Tribune* or *Evening Post*, for the use of the Free Democracy."

On the fifth of October, 1853, "the fourth preliminary meeting" was held at the Head-quarters of the party, in Stuyvesant Institute; Mr. Stansbury being in the Chair and Mr. Bryant acting as Secretary.

At this meeting, as the minutes state, "Mr. Dawson, from the Committee on plan of organization, reported a Preamble and Constitution for the 'Free Democratic League of the City and County of New York.' The general plan of organization was approved, and the whole matter re-committed to the Committee, for final completion."

Two days later, [October 7th] "the fifth preliminary meeting" was held at the Head-quarters of the party; Mr. Stansbury being in the Chair and William S. King, Junior, acting as Secretary.

At this meeting, "the Committee to report a Constitution for the government of 'The Free Democratic League, reported' a form, "which was adopted, unanimously. The Preamble was read and referred back for alteration."

On the fourteenth of October, "the sixth preliminary meeting" was held at the Head-quarters of the Party; Mr. King occupying the Chair and Mr. Bryant acting as Secretary.

Mr. Jay, "of the Committee on organization, reported " a " Preamble to the Constitution, which was unanimously " adopted." The Preamble thus adopted was, in its general features, similar to the following; but, in some of its expressions, it was, subsequently, regarded as open to objection, because of its seeming disregard of the constitutional rights of the slave-holding States.

Having thus completed the plan of organization of the Party, a Committee was appointed "to report a list of " officers, for the Government of the League," on whose Report the following were duly elected:

President.....JOHN JAY,
First Vice-president.....E. A. STANSBURY,
Second Vice-president.....HIRAM BARNEY,
Third Vice-president.....ISAAC H. BAILLY,
Recording Secretary.....WILLIAM S. KING, Jr.,
Corresponding Secretary.....MONROE B. BRYANT,
Financial Secretary.....LAURISTON HALL,
Treasurer.....ANDREW LESTER,
Executive Committee.....JOHN P. HALE,
D. D. T. MARSHALL,
WILLIAM A. HALL,
DR. ALONZO S. RALL,
THOMAS S. BERRY,
Financial CommitteeWILLIAM E. WHITING,
GEORGE W. ROSE,
DAVID MARSH,
WILLIAM I. DAWLEY,
ANDREW LESTER,
Corresponding Committee.....HENRY B. DAWSON,
WILLIAM McDERMOTT,
J. E. HAMBLIN,
J. G. HAVILAND,
MONROE B. BRYANT.

Having thus perfected its organization, the League was, then, a full-fledged institution; and its first regular meeting was held on the eighteenth of October, with President Jay in the Chair.

The "history of the Wilkesbarre Case, before Judge " Grier, of the United States Court, at Philadelphia," was laid before the League; and, on motion of Mr. Dawson, it was referred to Messrs. John P. Hale, Hiram Barney, and Henry B. Dawson "to take it into consideration and advise the League what should be its measures, concerning " the decision " relative to the matter involved.

Mr. Barney failing to concur in the publicity which the League gave to its principles and its action, declined to serve as Vice-president; and, for reasons connected with his business, Mr. Lester declined to accept the Treasurer-ship. Both these matters were referred to a Special Committee, of which Mr. King was the Chairman.

A Committee was also appointed to nominate County and City officers, to be submitted to the Electors, at the ensuing election.

On the twenty-first of October, the second regular meeting was holden at the Head-quarters of the Party, the First Vice-president in the Chair; when, "on motion of " Mr. Dawson, the vote on the adoption of the Preamble " was re-considered; and, on motion of Mr. Hale, the " following Clause was stricken out: 'to seek, by all constitutional and proper means, for their ' " [*Slavery and the Slave-trade*] " 'abolition, in every State and Territory,

" ' as a system that has no valid sanction in human legislation.' "

On motion of Mr. Hale, the whole of the Preamble to the Constitution were " re-committed to the Committee who " prepared it "—Messrs. Jay, Dawson, and Hall—evidently for the purpose of still further freeing it from the obnoxious doctrines of the old "abolitionists," which, notwithstanding its general adherence to constitutional requirements, seemed to lurk in some of its provisions.

At the same meeting, the Government of the League was perfected by the election of the following members: its vacant officers:

Second Vice-president.....HENRY B. DAWSON,
Treasurer.....MONROE B. BRYANT,
Corresponding Secretary.....JAMES F. BOWEN.

On the twenty-fifth of October, the League held its first regular meeting, President Jay in the Chair, when an elaborate Report was made on the Wilkesbarre *Ex parte* Slave Case; and a series of Resolutions adopted.

On the twenty-eighth of October, the League held its fourth regular meeting, President Jay in the Chair, when "the Committee on Preamble and Constitution submitted " a clause to be inserted in the Preamble, also a Clause " to be inserted in the Sixth Article of the Constitution, but no action was taken thereon by the League.

On the thirty-first of October, the League held its fifth regular meeting, President Jay in the Chair, when "on motion of Mr. Dawson, the following words were " proposed to be inserted in the Preamble, in place of the " words stricken out, at a previous meeting: 'expressly " claiming, however, the existence of any " " 'the Congress, to abolish or modify the same " ' [*Slavery and the Slave-trade*] " ' within the several " ' 'that power being reserved to the States, respectively. " Also changing the word 'National' to 'Federal' " wherever it occurs in the Preamble or Constitution.

No further changes were made in the Preamble to the Constitution of the League; and, in its perfected form, was copied into a book appropriated thereto and distributed by the greater number of the members.

It is the only platform with which we are acquainted which was consistently "States'-rights" in its fundamental principles—it insisted that Slavery was a local institution; that the Congress possessed no authority whatever "to abolish or modify the same except by " several States that power being 'reserved to the States, respectively;" that slave-catching was not constitutionally, a Federal, but a State, duty; and the elucidation of that subject should be had, on constitutional and moral grounds. On this platform, the League took the Kansas and Nebraska Bills and organized the powerful auxiliary Committee of Citizens, of which Gen. Avezzana, the distinguished Italian republican, was the Chairman; and we have the original correspondence, in which Mr. Chase and other great leaders were to the League the distinction of having originated and organized the wide-spread opposition to the Kansas and Nebraska Bills, from which opposition—the League organized the "Anti-Nebraska Committee" having acted in concert and through the same agency—subsequently arose the "Republican Party."

It is interesting, in this connection, to know that of the League, its President is an Ambassador to a foreign Congress.

its Second Vice-president, Mr. Barney, was, subsequently, made the Collector of the Port of New York; its Third Vice-president, Mr. Bailey, was, subsequently, made a Collector of Internal Revenue, and is a favored one, among the dispensers of fat offices; the Chairman of its Executive Committee, Mr. Hale, was, subsequently, a Senator of the United States and Ambassador to a foreign Court; the second member of the same Committee, Mr. Marshall, was, subsequently, Naval Store-keeper, in the Brooklyn Navy-yard; the third member of the same Committee, Mr. Hall, was, subsequently, a favored contractor for the supply of shoes and boots for the Army; Samuel Leeds, was, subsequently, in the Custom-house; Minthorne Tompkins was, subsequently, a Port-warden of the Port of New York; William E. Whiting was connected, subsequently, with the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau; General Henry Wilson, one of its employees, was, subsequently, a Senator of the United States, and is, now, Vice-president of the United States; Salmon P. Chase, one of its guests and co-laborers, was, subsequently, Senator of the United States, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; and its Second Vice-president, Mr. Dawson—appointed to fill the seat which Mr. Barney preferred not to fill, *when he could be seen in it, by the wide world*—is the well-abused, ill-paid Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE—who shall say, hereafter, that "Republics are ungrateful?"

The perfected Constitution of this League, with the signatures of the members, is in our collection of materials for history; and we imagine it will not be an unwelcome addition to the literature of the history of political parties, within the United States.—EDITOR.]

FREEDOM NATIONAL. SLAVERY SECTIONAL.

CONSTITUTION of the

FREE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF THE CITY & COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

Whereas "the People of the United States" have solemnly declared to the world that "all men are created free and equal," and entitled to the blessings of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and did ordain the Federal Constitution with the express intent "to establish justice, to insure domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of Liberty;" and whereas the slave-power of the South has obtained the control of the Federal Government, and devoted its powers to extend, nationalize, and encourage Slavery, in derogation of the claims of humanity, the sovereignty of the States, the principles of the Common Law, and the dignity and good faith of this Republic; and whereas, the two great political parties of this country have aided and abetted the slave-power, in its encroachments upon the rights of the people,

The undersigned, citizens of the State, and residents of the city of New York, remembering the example and the precepts of their fathers

and the duty they owe to God and their country, repudiating alike the platforms of the Whig and Democratic parties, and forgetting past political differences in a common resolve to rescue the Federal Government from the control of Slavery, and to restore it to its original and rightful position before the world, *do hereby* associate themselves together, not for a sectional warfare on any part of their common country, but for the advancement of the interest of the whole, in the attainment of the following objects:

To procure the practical recognition by the Federal and State Governments of the truth that "FREEDOM IS NATIONAL AND SLAVERY SECTIONAL;" to prevent the existence or continuance of Slavery and the Slave-trade, wherever Congress has constitutional power to legislate on the subject; expressly disclaiming, however, the existence of any authority in the Congress to abolish or modify the same within the several States, that power being "reserved to the States," respectively; to demand the instant repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act as altogether unconstitutional and wicked; and to procure, when occasion shall admit, an adjudication upon its validity, and also upon the whole relation of the Federal Government to slavery,—not upon the authority of precedent but upon the original and fundamental principles of natural and constitutional law,—and thus to place our country in a position where it may consistently, as duty shall require, exert, by her voice and her example, a powerful influence in encouraging freedom and in rebuking oppression in every quarter of the globe.

To promote, among other objects of general interest, the construction of the *Pacific Railroad* in such manner and by such a route as may best benefit the country at large, and not a geographical section.

To promote the establishment of *cheap ocean postage*; and thorough reform in the *Post Office Department*.

To procure the abolition of unnecessary offices and privileges under the Federal Government, and the reduction of the Federal patronage.

To encourage emigration from abroad and to provide homes for the homeless, by free grants, to actual settlers, in the public domain at the West.

To encourage the diffusion of general education, and the establishment of equal rights among all classes of our fellow citizens.

To promote the interests of agricultural science. To hasten the development of the resources of the State by a wise and prudent system of internal improvements, in strict accordance with Constitutional requirements.

To reduce Taxation and Crime by proper and stringent legislation against the causes of taxation and crime.

To attach to the soil of the State, those who may be born upon it by recognizing, in all its policy, the high destiny to which a gracious Providence has manifestly invited it, by becoming the first among the States of the earth.

And, generally, to extend the principles and advocate the policy declared by "THE FREE DEMOCRACY" of the United States, in Convention assembled, at Buffalo, in 1848, and at Pittsburg, in 1852, adopting, for the better accomplishment of these purposes, the following

CONSTITUTION.

I. This association shall be known as "THE FREE DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK."

II. The object of this association shall be the support and promulgation of the political principles referred to in the preamble of the Constitution, by the circulation of tracts and documents relating thereto, by the public discussion of their merits, before assemblages of the people, and by the nomination and support of candidates for office in the State and Federal Governments who are known to be firm friends of those principles and who are openly and entirely pledged to use all just means to secure their adoption and a faithful discharge of their requirements.

III. Any citizen, without regard to color or condition of life, may become a member of this association, by election, after he has complied with the By-Laws regulating the admission of members, and shall be entitled to all the privileges of membership: *Provided, however,* the League may suspend or expel any member who may have violated or failed to comply with its laws or orders.

Honorary members may be appointed from among the friends of the cause residing in other Counties of this State, or in other States of the Confederacy.

IV. Every member shall pay such monthly dues as he may specify on his admission to membership, and all necessary By-Laws may be adopted to secure their regular collection.

It shall be the duty of every member, as far as his circumstances in life will permit, to devote a portion of his time and personal attention to the distribution of tracts, tickets, and other printed matter; to the organization of public meetings; or to other services in promoting the objects of the League, when called for by its officers or a vote of its members.

V. Meetings for the transaction of business shall be held, monthly, as the By-Laws may direct, on the last Monday in each month; and meetings for the discussion of the objects of the League may be held wherever and whenever the League, by a vote of its members, may direct.

VI. The officers of the League shall be a

President; three Vice Presidents; Recording, Financial, and Corresponding Secretaries; a Treasurer; an "Executive Committee" of five members; a "Finance Committee" of five members, of whom the Treasurer shall be one; and a "Committee on Correspondence" of five members, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one, all of whom shall be elected annually at the regular meeting in November. The President and Vice Presidents shall be members of all Committees, standing and special, *ex officio*.

VII. Auxiliary societies to this association may be formed in the several wards of the city, and, on being recognized by this body, the Presidents of such auxiliary societies shall become members of the Executive Committee of this association, *ex officio*.

In case similar bodies to this are organized in other Counties of the State, delegates may be appointed from this body, at any time, to meet similar delegations from them, for the purpose of securing concert of action and greater efficacy in the work.

VIII. This Constitution, except the preamble, may be amended at any "regular" meeting by the vote of two-thirds of the members present. *Provided,* two months notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given

JOHN JAY, Fifth-avenue, above Thirty-first-street.
E. A. STANSBURY, 9 Amity Place.
WILLIAM S. KING, JR., 473 Eighth-avenue.
MONROE B. BRYANT, 18 Cottage Place.
LAURISTON HALL, 184 Twelfth-street.
JOHN P. HALE, St. Nicholas Hotel.
D. D. T. MARSHALL, 218 Thirty-first-street.
WM A. HALL, 144 Fifth-avenue.
ALONZO S. BALL, 43 West Eleventh-street.
W. E. WHITING, 124 Pearl-street.
DAVID MARSH, 640 Hudson-street.
HENRY B. DAWSON, 897 Sixth-avenue.
J. G. HAVILAND, 71 McDougal-street.
W. McDERMOT, 175 West Seventeenth-street.
S. BRONSON, 84 King-street.
D. M. GRAHAM, 215 Varick-street.
JOHN S. MERRICK, 200 Mulberry-street.
JAMES F. BOWMAN, 20 Varick Place.
WILLIAM JAY, * 32 West Twenty-third-street.
DAVID GRIFFITHS, 361 Sixth-avenue.

* When the venerable Judge William Jay signed this instrument, we stood by the chair on which he sat: and after he had completed the signature and the address he said to us, as he arose from the chair, "Mr. Dawson, these are strange doctrines for a Jay to sign."

When the ultra States'-rights doctrines set forth in the Preamble shall have been compared with either the declared opinions of Chief-justice John Jay, concerning the relative constitutional rights of the States and of the United States, or the equally open declarations of Judge William Jay, concerning the status of Slavery and of

S. T. RUSSELL, 102 West Thirteenth-street.
 J. A. SHIELDS, 186 Wooster-street.
 JOHN PULLMAN, 49 East Twenty-fourth-street.
 JAMES ALLISON, 47 East Twenty-seventh-street.
 THOMAS HAMILTON, 279 Hudson-street.
 CHARLES B. RAY, 153 Orange-street.
 J. MORTIMER HALL, 184 Twelfth-street.
 C. R. FORD, 15 Laight-street.
 R. F. HIBBARD, 93 John-street.
 RICHARD MARTIN, 321 West Twenty-third-st.
 WM. G. WEST, 84 Beach-street.
 SAMUEL LEEDS, 11 Great Jones-street.
 J. B. HACKLEY, West Twenty-third-street.
 E. N. BENT, 163 East Twenty-fifth-street.
 WILLIAM CRONON, 29 Clark-street.
 LUTHER LOBDELL, 50 Vestry-street.
 J. V. VANDERBILT, JR., St. James Hotel.
 THOMAS RITTER, 104 Cherry-street.
 NATHAN PARKHURST, 108 Essex-street.
 AUGUSTUS NORRIS, 48 Hudson-street.
 N. S. BENTLEY, 1 Bridge-street.
 CHARLES SCHOLEY, 122 Barrow-street.
 J. E. SNODGRASS, 15 Laight-street.
 JAMES A. JOHNSTON, 105 East Twenty-second.
 JOHN MAC MULLEN.
 CHARLES R. MILLER, 195 Broadway.
 LUMAN SHERWOOD, 146 West Twenty-fifth-st.
 WM. ERVING, 59 Jane-street.
 JULIUS C. OBERBAUER, 1014 Broadway.
 W. W. LINFIELD, Collins Hotel, Canal-street.
 SAMUEL M. COLE, Collins Hotel, Canal-street.
 C. B. LE BARON, 167 Broadway.

— HISTORICAL AND PERSONAL
 REMINISCENCES OF CHENANGO
 COUNTY, NEW YORK.—CONTINUED
 FROM THE NOVEMBER NUMBER.

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—WESTERN TOWNS: PLYMOUTH, PRES-
 ON, MCDONOUGH, SMITHVILLE, OTSELIC,
 HARSALIA, PITCHER, LINCKLAEN, AND
 ERMAN.

PLYMOUTH.—Directly South of Smyrna, and
 east of North Norwich, lies Plymouth; formed
 from Norwich, in 1806. Its first settlement, ac-
 cording to Mr. Child, was made as early as 1794,
 when a part of Norwich, by several French fami-
 lies, among whom were John Raynor, G. D. Jef-
 fers, James Bamford, and René D. Dellay. The

the force of that exceedingly significant re-
 sult will be fully understood.

Judge Jay never receded from the political platform to
 which, notwithstanding its peculiarity, he then, formally,
 adhered.—EDITOR.

present village of Plymouth was then, and for
 several years afterward, known first as the "French
 Settlement," and, afterwards, as "Franklin-
 ville." Soon afterwards, and prior to 1806,
 Nathaniel Wales, John Miller, Benjamin Pren-
 tiss, James Prentiss, Thomas Brooks, James Ger-
 man, Judah Bement, Robert Gallup, Deacon
 Tower, a Mr. Taylor, Colonel William Munroe,
 (afterwards Sheriff) Silas Holmes, James Purdy,
 Charles Babcock, (the first inn-keeper,) Nathaniel
 Prentiss, John Thorp, and the Rev. Mr. White,
 Pastor of the first Methodist-church, organized
 in 1806, removed to the town.

Among the first deaths which occurred in the
 town, was that of Elizabeth Bowdish. Clarissa
 Brooks taught the first school, in 1801; and
 John Raynor opened the first store. Nathaniel
 Prentiss built the first mill; and John Thorp the
 first woolen-factory.

The village of Plymouth is situated a little
 North of the centre of the town, in a pleasant
 valley formed by the intersection of two hilly
 uplands; and contains three churches, several
 mills, shops, and stores, and about one hundred
 inhabitants.

South Plymouth is a small hamlet, with about
 a dozen houses, in the South-east part of the
 town. The Canassawacta-creek, with its East
 and West branches, flows south-easterly, through
 deep and narrow valleys and ravines; and, in
 the South-west, Plymouth and Reservoir Ponds
 cover an area of about a hundred acres each.

Silas Holmes, René D. Dellay, Judah Bement,
 Thomas Brooks, Colonel Munroe, and Levi Dim-
 mick were the principal representative men of
 the town, fifty years since: men of sterling in-
 tegrity, and moral and social worth, and enjoy-
 ing the full confidence and extended regard of
 their fellow-citizens.

Silas Holmes was the owner and occupant of
 a large farm, which, during the greater part of
 a long life, afforded an ample support for him-
 self and a large family. He represented the
 County, in the Legislature of 1823; and filled,
 at different periods, reputably and faithfully,
 various of the most important town offices.

René D. Dellay was an emigrant from France,
 of polished manners, excellent intellectual abili-
 ties, and unexceptionable morals. Prior to his
 arrival in this County, he had accumulated con-
 siderable wealth, which, as a merchant and land-
 ed proprietor, he was enabled rapidly to aug-
 ment.

Judah Bement was also an extensive farmer
 and merchant, as well as an inn-keeper: stern
 and puritanical in his demeanor and religious
 observances; but exerting a great and deserved
 influence on the community.

To Thomas Brooks and Colonel William Mun-
 roe we have already referred, in the sketch

of Norwich. Mr. Brooks specially prided himself on the classical nomenclature of his large family of sons—Cassius, Caius, Brutus, Marcus, Antony, Socrates, etc. Colonel Munroe represented the County in the Legislature of 1816; and was, for many years, Sheriff.

In Plymouth also resided Captain Zadock Adams, who, for many years subsequently to 1820, was distinguished as the veteran and skilful commander of the Preston and Norwich Rifle Company. The Semi-annual and Annual parade of this favorite Company was looked forward to with intense interest; and its evolutions, under the direction of its experienced Captain, were greeted with the liveliest pleasure. The Company was subsequently attached to the Rifle Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-general Peter Sken Smith, and contributed, essentially, to the brilliancy of its appearance and its high discipline. Captain Adams, in the intervals of his military services, cultivated a small farm and taught a private school, in the neighborhood. Peace to his memory! He was a genuine soldier; thoroughly versed in the science of military tactics; and, had he lived to confront the Mexicans on the plains of Churubusco, Chapultepec, or Molino-del-Rey, or the Confederate Battalions of the late Civil War, on the Potomac and the James, he would have emulated the fame of Worth, Shields, Sheridan, and "Stonewall" Jackson!

PRESTON.—South of Plymouth and West of Norwich, lies Preston, the central town of the County, also formed from Norwich, in 1806. Its surface is a high rolling upland, divided into two distinct ridges, rising to the height of from two hundred to eight hundred feet above the adjacent valley of the Chenango. Its principal streams are Fly Meadow-creek, Mill-brook, and Turner-brook, flowing South into the Chenango-river. According to the *Gazetteer*, the first settlement was made on Fly Meadow-creek, in 1787, by James Glover. In 1795, David Fairchild, with his two sons, John and Amos, settled at Preston Corners; in 1796, Randall Billings and Silas Champlin, from Connecticut, at the Centre; and, in 1799, Jonas Marsh, from Massachusetts, and Colonel Gurdon Hewitt and Dudley Hewitt. Among the other early settlers, were Samuel Lewis, Clark Lewis, Rev. Hazard Burdick, David Eccleston, William Packer, Abraham Avery, William Wadsworth, Captain Lyon, George Crary, and Elder Hascall, the first Minister of the Baptist-church, formed in 1806, Doctor William Mason, John Noyes, Solomon Wait, and Major Benjamin Ray.

The first birth, was that of Fanny Billings, in 1796; the first marriage, that of Captain Lyon and Widow Crandall, in 1798; and the first death that of an infant child of George Crary.

The first school was taught by William McAlpine, who surveyed the Livingston tract, in 1793, and, subsequently, the Morris tract. Jonas Marsh kept the first inn, in 1800; and James Glover the first store and grist-mill, in 1788-9. The population of the entire town does not exceed one thousand.

Preston-village, situated in the northern part, contains three churches—Baptist, Methodist and Universalist—a school-house, tannery, blacksmith-shop, shoe-shop, some twenty dwellings, and about one hundred inhabitants.

In this quiet and secluded little village, on the Preston-hills, resided Doctor William Mason, a man of sterling intellectual and moral qualities; of great dignity of deportment; honored, esteemed, and respected, wherever he was known. He, at one time, in 1820, filled the office of County-clerk, and was, subsequently, in the ensuing year, elected, with John Tracy and Edward G. Per Lee, a member of the Legislature—the strongest ticket ever nominated in Chenango-county—at least, one combining the strongest elements of personal popularity. In 1821 he was re-elected; and, in 1855, he was elected a Representative in Congress.

Colonel Wells Wait was also an honored and highly respected citizen; and represented the County in the Legislature of 1834.

Colonel Benjamin Ray was a soldier and officer in the Revolutionary War and an active participant in the Battle of Monmouth. He lived to a good old age—never failing to report himself on every celebration of the "glorious Fourth" and every military parade within his reach.

At a later period, Daniel Noyes, a son of John Noyes, who was originally a citizen of Preston, removed from Norwich to this town, and, in 1844, was elected to the Assembly from the County.

Eber Dimmick, in 1841, also represented the County in the Legislature. Levi Dimmick, a member of the same family, was an active, enterprising, intelligent, and influential citizen, and reputably filled several stations of local importance.

The County Poor House was located in this town, about the year 1820.

John Noyes, Senior, while a resident of Preston, represented the County in the Assemblies of 1810 and 1814; and, in 1815, was made an Associate-judge of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace.

Mc DONOUGH.—South of Pharsalia and West of Preston, lies the pleasant little town of Mc Donough, taken from Preston, in 1816. Its general surface is hilly, agreeably diversified by the Geneganset-lake, on the West, and the waters of the Geneganset and Bowman's-creek.

and their tributaries, in the interior. This portion of the original town of Norwich was first settled, in 1795, by Nathaniel Locke, Loring Willard, Emery Willard, Henry Ludlow, and others. Sylvanus Moore built the first inn, in 1799; and Edward Colburn, Benjamin Ketchum, Benjamin Kenyon, Ephraim Fish, John Anderson, Nehemiah Dunbar, Jonah Moore, Joseph Cook, Ransom Cook, William Mead, William Norton, Daniel Wainwright, Adam Oysenbank, and M. Turner effected settlements prior to 1808. The first marriage was that of Sylvanus Moore, in 1799 or 1800; and the first death that of Mrs. Benjamin Ketchum. Captain Joshua A. Burke taught the first school; and Henry Ludlow built the first saw-mill, at the outlet of Geneganset-lake, in 1798, and opened the first store, in 1802. Gates Wilcox built the first grist-mill, in 1808, which has subsequently been replaced by a stone one, owned and built by him.

The village of Mc Donough is situated in the western part of the town, on Geneganset-creek, and contains two churches—Baptist and Methodist—four stores, a hotel, school-house, several shops, a flouring-mill, a foundry and manufactory of edge tools and agricultural implements, two tanneries, and some sixty dwellings, with a population, in 1865, of about three hundred. The first dwelling was erected by Micah Coville, in 1818. He was still living in 1869, in his eighty-seventh year. The first frame-house was built by Messrs. Sloan & Fanning. The first child born in the village, was Le Roy Coville, son of Micah Coville, in 1818. The first religious society—Methodist—was organized, in 1798. The Congregational-church was organized, in 1814, by the Rev. John Truair; and, subsequently, in 1826, it united with the Presbytery of Chenango, at Norwich.

Eliakim L. Corbin and John F. Hill were prominent citizens of this town; and the latter, merchant, in 1837, represented the County in the State Assembly.

SMITHVILLE.—The town of Smithville, situated North of Greene and West of Oxford, was formed from part of Greene, in 1808; and is watered by the Geneganset and Ludlow-creeks and their tributaries, with several streams, flowing into the Chenango. The first settlement, says Mr. Child, was made in the valley of the Geneganset, in 1797, by Robert Lytle, from Ireland, who erected a log-house, which, together with his improvements, was sold, early in the ensuing year, to Joseph Agard and Epaphras Sheldon, from Litchfield, Connecticut, who removed their families thither, and became, for the time being, the sole residents of the town. They were, however, joined, during the year and in 1799, by Edward Loomis (who settled on

Ludlow-creek). Simeon Neal, Robert Williams, Asa Straight, Daniel Phillips, Captain Samuel A. Skeelee, John Young, and Daniel Palmer. The first child born in the town, was Jane Loomis, in May, 1800; the first marriage that of Jason Smith, to Hannah Rorapough, in 1807; and the first death that of a son of George Shaddock, in 1790. Captain John Palmer kept the first inn and store; Timothy Scoville built the first saw-mill, in 1805, and Nicholas Powell the first grist-mill, in 1809. The first church was formed, in 1805, by Elder Gray.

John Young, according to a statement made to Mr. Child, by his son, Harry Young, of Triangle, Broome-county, came from Vermont, and purchased one hundred acres of land of Elisha Smith, of Greene, at five dollars per acre. At this time, there were only two families within five miles of his residence. His store of provisions, consisting of corn, potatoes, rye, and the milk from two cows, frequently ran short, and were supplemented by deer and other game, from the surrounding forests, and fish, from the various streams. The tallow of the deer furnished candles; and, in the absence of that source, "fat pine" was brought into requisition. They pounded their corn for bread, or *hurled* it, until a mill was erected at Oxford, twelve miles distant, when, placing their bags on horseback, and leading the animal over the hills, they accomplished the journey and back in the course of three or four days—there being then no wagon-roads, and they had no wagons if there were. "The children at home were sometimes put upon so short an allowance as to cry for food. The wolves were always within hearing of the traveler, and rendered night hideous by their howls. A few Indians still lingered in the region, and were accustomed to camp along the streams, hunt, fish, make baskets, brooms, etc."

Smithville Flats, situated in the South-west part of the town, on Geneganset-creek, now contains four churches, two hotels, a grist-mill, two saw-mills, a sash and blind-factory, several stores and shops, and about three hundred inhabitants.

East Smithville, on Ludlow-creek, contains two churches, a foundry and machine shop, several stores, and some twenty dwellings.

The entire population of the town is about seventeen hundred. It originally formed a part of the tract known as the "Chenango Triangle," granted by the State, at an early period, to William Hornby, of Great Britain. This tract, subsequently, became the property of John Hornby, and was placed under the agency of Charles Cameron, of Greene.

William Knowlton represented the County in the Legislature of 1836; and Uriah Rorapough was elected Sheriff, in 1870.

OTSELIC.—West of Smyrna, in the northern tier of towns, lies Otselic, formed from the original town of German, in 1817. Otselic-creek flows South-west, through its central portion, fed by several small tributary streams. Its settlement, according to Mr. Child, was commenced in 1800, by Ebenezer Hill, who erected a log-house, and, subsequently, in 1810, opened a tavern. He was followed, in the ensuing year, by David Stoddard and, soon after, by Reuben Buckingham, William Fish, Jonah Wolcott, William Cross, William Hurlburt, and William Smith, in the North part of the town; and, in the South, by Elias Benjamin, Buell Warner, and his sons, Oliver, Abner, and Buell; Benoni Parce, Lewis Cook, Eneas Thompson, John and James Warner, Abraham Fairchild, and William Greene. The first school was taught by Hannah Warner; the first grist-mill was built, in 1820, by Ebenezer Hill; the first store was opened, in 1812, by George Coles; the first saw-mill was built by James Rush; and the first preacher was Stephen C. Nichols. The Rev. Luther Clark labored as a Missionary in this region, from 1809 to 1814, under the patronage of the Home Missionary Society.

The village of Otselic is situated in the North-east part of the town, on Otselic-creek, and contains a church, hotel, store, and about one hundred inhabitants.

South Otselic contains two churches—Methodist and Baptist—two hotels, three stores, a grist and saw-mill, and about two hundred inhabitants. The entire population of the town is about fifteen hundred.

Isaac Stokes represented the County in the Legislature of 1887, and was, for many years, a member of the Board of Supervisors of the County.

The Otselic-river, famous, in the annals of the County, for its excellent fishing, takes its rise in the northern part of this town, flowing, in a south-westerly direction, through the north-western portion of Pharsalia, the south-eastern of Pitcher, and the north-eastern of German, into the Mc Donough-lake. Annual pilgrimages were accustomed to be made, in the Summer and Fall, to this secluded and delightful region, by the sportsmen of Smyrna, Norwich, Oxford, Greene, Sherburne, and Bainbridge, accompanied by many convivial meetings in the neighborhood, where the "feast of reason" was apt to be far less predominant than the "flow of soul," diluted by "Old Rye" and sparkling Cogniac.

PHARSALIA.—Immediately South of Otselic, lies Pharsalia, which was, originally, also formed from Norwich, under the name of "Stonington," in 1806. The name was—for what reason it is impossible to say—changed to Pharsalia, in 1808. The original settlers, in 1797, came from

Stonington, Connecticut, and were the following persons: John Randall—afterwards the purchaser of the Randall farm, South of Norwich village—Joseph Breed, Sanford Morgan, Daniel Denison, Lodowick Weaver, Joshua Weaver, and David Davison. Deacon Charles Randall, who recently died, in Norwich, son of Captain John Randall, was in the eighteenth year of his age when he removed to his father's residence, in 1798, the year after the original settlement; and was, consequently, at the time of his death, in the ninety-third year of his age. They occupied a log-cabin on the site of the more recent residence of Denison Randall.

Mr. Child gives us an account of a thrilling adventure, with wolves, by Charles Randall, of Plymouth, on his return from Norwich, where he had been, to procure lumber and provisions, in 1799.

Captain John Randall erected the first frame house in Pharsalia; Sanford Morgan kept the first store and tavern; ["but not the last," yet the grim and stalwart shade of Joel Cramer]; Asa Weaver erected the first mill, on the Otselic-creek. The first child born, was Daniel R. Weaver; the first marriage, Jashiah and Sarah Brown; and the first death, that of Nehemiah Lewis. Anna Wait taught the first school. The first Congregational-church was organized, in 1814, by the Rev. Oliver Estcock, of Truxton, and Rev. Abner Benson, of Paris, with ten members. The Rev. John Parris was the first settled Minister.

During the Winter of 1817-18, when I was eight or nine years of age, I was taken, with my grand-father and grand-mother Edmund and my younger sister, to Pharsalia, in a horse-sleigh, driven by my uncle, Denison Randall, then the owner and occupant of the frame dwelling, built in 1798, by his father, Captain John Randall. The house—a large, two-story, dark one, unpainted, with a square or octagonal roof—was, even at that period, quite dilapidated—having been occupied, for many years, by a large family of twelve or fourteen boys and children.

Captain John Randall, who died in 1816, leaving surviving him, eight sons and three daughters—John, Denison, Charles, Perez, Samuel, Isaac, Roswell, and Jedediah; Martha, or Patsy, as she was called, wife of James W. Gazlay, who afterwards removed to Ohio, and was elected to Congress over General William H. Harrison; Esther, wife of Charles York, of Norwich; and Hannah, who died unmarried, at the residence of Mr. Gazlay, in Ohio. With the possible exception of Paul and Jedediah, the youngest of the brothers, the former of whom removed to Ohio at an early period—prior to 1820—and the latter to Indiana, a few years later, all are now dead.

York, the last of the survivors, having died, the age of eighty, during the present year. Centrally situated in Pharsalia, was the region, well-known, fifty years since, as the "Hook"—"Eldorado" of all good fellowship—hunting, fishing, music, and dancing, and the headquarters of the numerous excursionists in the valley of the Chenango to the Otselic hunting-grounds. Joel Crain, the burly and jolly landlord of the "Hook," with his amiable and sturdy helpmate, his stalwart sons, and his beautiful deaf and dumb daughter—the latter afterwards the wife of Charles Collins York, of Norwich—rendered this rural resort, among the Pharsalia hills and dales, particularly pleasant and agreeable.

Here, "in the season of the year," were to be found the irrepressible John C. Clark, that clown, Simon Gager Throop, P. Sken Smith, John Clapp, General O. G. Rundell, Squire Smith, Jo. Chapel, George L. Rider, and sundry other "good fellows," from the regions round about; and there, with hearty welcomes, were the "natives," Wolcott Soper, Moon, and Nogar, with their harlequin pranks—Sam. Kenyon, Lowick Weaver, Jerod Chapel, Denison and Lowell Randall, and other jovial, mirth-loving rioters of the "hill country." The hunting and fishing over, the spacious ball-room was brilliantly illuminated; Moon and Nogar instituted into the orchestra, with violin and tambourine; and "there *was* a sound of revelry by night." Alas! alas! "the morning sometimes saw a sadder sight"—huge strips of plaster, covering the floor; window-panes fearfully destitute of glass; crockery and glass-ware demolished; mirrors hopelessly defaced; and grim pollution, everywhere. Damages assessed by the kindly hostess at *eighteen cents* per capita—arrangements fortunately having previously been made for re-plastering and re-furnishing the ball and assembly-room, and no great harm done, or all—as they were saved the trouble and expense of taking the old plaster from off the walls! Such were the magnificent hospitalities, fun, frolic, "high-jinks" and festivities, of the Pharsalia of the olden times, in the intervals of visiting the fertile depths of the Otselic, and reveling in the abundant game of the untrodden western woods.

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inserting in this place, apropos of Moon and Nogar, the following extract of a letter from my old friend, John Clapp, of Binghamton, himself a resident of Pharsalia, at the period referred to: "When you touch on the giants who resided in Pharsalia, do not forget those children of Apollo, Moon and Nogar. They lived on music, and could have taught Ole Bull how to draw out strains causing youth and beauty to 'chase the

" 'glowing hours with flying feet,' and the very walls of Joel's vast Hotel tremble to their deep foundations. Who of the *Black Orok* could touch the tambourine like Nogar?"

An anecdote told of Moon, evinces his enthusiastic love and devotion to his favorite violin. He had lost the wife of his youth. She was lying dead in the house; and Moon and Nogar mourned. A BALL was, however, pending, at the Hook; and, without their indispensable presence, the ball *could not go on*. A delegation was, accordingly, sent to the house of mourning, craving their immediate attendance—"all business and excuses being laid aside." Moon gently, but firmly, demurred—alleging the presence of his wife's dead body in the house, and the manifest impropriety of his playing *so soon*. The delegation, however, strongly combated this view of the subject; and, after long and anxious deliberation and reflection, Moon was finally induced to cut the Gordian knot of ethical controversy, by adopting Nogar's profound suggestion, that, after all, the dear deceased "*was only related to him by marriage*;" and the Committee triumphantly carried off the two eminent musicians.

The Rev. Luke Babcock was the chief, if not the only, "stated preacher" in the vicinity; and his ministrations were confined to the narrow limits of the log school-house. Occasional Missionaries, of the Universalist persuasion, prominent among who was the Rev. Samuel Finch, made their appearance, and were heard gladly by the benighted natives, until the "hat" was sent around for such contributions as might speed the harbinger of glad-tidings on his way; when visible indications of uneasiness were manifest; and, after a hasty deposit of the mammon of unrighteousness, the audience sought the door. A careful and pains-taking inspection of the hat having developed the presence only of a bountiful supply of exhausted *quids* of plug and pig-tail, the indignant Evangelist, Sam, strode, forthwith, to the door, and roared, at the top of his lungs, "Friends and brethren! I have been preaching 'to you that there is no *hell*;' but by — *there ought to be one*, for such scamps as you!"

Denison Randall, the second son of John Randall, Senior, was, at this time, one of the most prominent residents of Pharsalia, and, in 1812, represented the County in the State Legislature. He was the father of a large family of boys—one of whom, Elias H. Randall, I believe, still resides in the town. Hezekiah Read, afterwards Judge of the County, was also a resident in the vicinity.

Joel Crain, as has been stated, was the father of a very interesting and beautiful deaf and dumb girl, who, at this early period, attracted great attention and admiration. She was afterwards ed-

uated at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, in New York, and, subsequently, became the wife of Charles Collins York, son of Judge York, with whom she became acquainted, during his residence in Pharsalia, as a clerk in his uncle's store. Hendrick Crain, eldest son of "mine host of the 'Hook,'" opened a store, in conjunction with his brother, Luther, a few years prior to 1880; was, soon afterwards, promoted to the Brigadier-generalship of the Militia of the County, in which capacity he continued to act for several years; and, in 1885, he represented the County in the State Legislature. He was a very worthy, enterprising man, and a good and useful citizen.

Benson H. Wheeler, who, I believe, succeeded to the ownership of the old Denison Randall farm, in 1840 or thereabouts, represented the County in the Assembly of 1841.

Fifty years ago, Pharsalia was in a very anomalous and primitive condition—almost entirely destitute of churches, and with a very meagre supply of schools; with a sparse population, remote from market facilities; an abnormal class of "originals," subsisting, many of them, upon the simplest and rudest fare—living "by their wits" and their native untutored genius—seldom wandering beyond the immediate vicinity of their residence; but, withal, quiet, happy, harmless, and contented; convivial in their habits; fond of fun, jollity, and sport of every kind; kind-hearted and genial. Some of the happiest hours of my early life were spent among this primitive and simple people; and I retain a kindly recollection of the families of my kinsmen, Denison, Roswell, and Elias Randall, Lodowick and Joshua Weaver, Joseph Breed, S. B. Kenyon, Joel Crain, Jabish Brown, and others, all of whom were worthy and intelligent men and industrious, amiable women. Great improvements have, I am told, been made in the general tone of society and the march of civilization, in all its departments, in this region, during the past half century; but, with all the advancement of modern progress, "my mind, "untravelling, fondly turns," with kindly and affectionate remembrance, to the "Pharsalia of "the olden time!"

PITCHER.—Forty-three years ago—a few years only subsequent to the period referred to in the preceeding sketches—the little town of Pitcher, eight miles square and formed from parts of German, on the South, and Lincklaen, on the North, as recently as 1827, and separated from Pharsalia, only four miles to the West, presented a striking contrast, in almost every respect, with that ancient town. Already, two large and flourishing churches—a Congregational and a Baptist—stood facing each other, on the village-square; a spacious and quiet hotel, on the West, was confronted with an extensive and well-filled

dry-goods-store, on the East; a lawyer's office—my own—had been erected and occupied, opposite the Post-office, centrally located, some quarters of a mile North of the heart of the village—now, undoubtedly, within its bounds; large and flourishing farms surrounded it, on every hand; and, two miles to the North-east, deep embosomed in the primitive forest, stood a magnificent hotel, with its neighboring cottages, recently erected for the accommodation of visitors to a delightful and flourishing water-place, known as "Sylvan Springs." Here, during the "long, long, "Summer-days," visitors and invalids from the regions round about, in Cortland and Chenango, formed a numerous and most agreeable society. On Sundays, the churches were crowded; a temperance association, embracing most of the inhabitants of the town, was in active operation. Lectures and addresses were delivered, and scattered in all directions, over the town, were attractive households, occupied by energetic, and intelligent citizens.

The town derived its name from Lieutenant-governor Nathaniel Pitcher, who, at the time of its formation, in 1827, had become Attorney-general of the State, in consequence of the death of Governor De Witt Clinton. Among the earliest settlers, in 1794, '95, and '96, were forming a part of the town of German, which also then included Lincklaen and Otsiego. Among them were Ebenezer Wakeley, John Wilson, Benjamin Fairchild, Jonathan Chandler, George Taylor, Silas Beebe, Jonas Hinman, Abijah Rhine, Samuel Ensign, Captain John Sterling, Elijah and Benjamin Fenton, and Reuben Root; subsequently, in 1804, the Rev. Seth Williston, under whose administration was organized, at that early period, the Union Congregational-church; and, in 1805, Elder P. Root, who organized the Baptist church, and Elder John Lawton, who was his successor in the ministry.

The present spacious church-edifices were erected in 1829 and 1830, respectively; and the venerable and patriarchal Elder Lawton was succeeded by his colleague, the Rev. Samuel B. Clark, in 1831.

The first child born within the limits of the present town, was a son of Silas Beebe, in 1794, and the first marriage, that of John Wilson and Polly Hinman, in 1799. Ebenezer Wakeley taught the first school; Benjamin Fairchild built the first inn, on the site of the one occupied in 1831, by his son, Daniel; and Reuben Root established the first store, probably on the site occupied by Zalmon Fairchild, in 1831. The first mill was built under the direction of John Lincklaen, of Cazenovia, the first great agent of the region, acting as the Attorney-general, Walrave Van Henkelom, Pieter Van Esch, Jan Van Bokkelen, and other Burgomasters.

lland, who were its original patentees. Mr. Lincklaen was afterwards succeeded in the agency of this vast estate, by Major-general John D. Lyard, also of Cazenovia, whose death has recently been announced.

Abenezer Wakeley was one of the pillars of Baptist-church; a man of great native power, supplemented by an excellent education; of exceptionable moral and religious character; revered and dignified in his deportment; and exerting a powerful influence in the primitive community of that early period. He represented the County in the Legislature of 1810; and, in 1811, was promoted to the Bench of the County Court, as an Associate Judge. In 1816, again in 1819, he was re-elected to the Assembly; and, for many years, during this period, represented his town in the Board of Supervisors of the County and other local offices.

At a somewhat later period, Solomon Ensign, Junior, Abel Chandler, son of Jonathan Chandler, Theron Green, Doctor David Mc Whorter, Rufus Chandler became conspicuous in the political and material interests of the town; and formed important parts in its history.

Solomon Ensign, Junior, was, for many years, local Justice of the town, and its representative, in the Board of Supervisors. He was born in Sheffield, Massachusetts, in 1792; and, in 1800, removed, with his parents and their other children, to the present town of Pitcher, where he participated in the early hardships and trials of a pioneer's life. In 1812, he repaired to the frontiers, as a Volunteer in the Regiment commanded by Colonel Daniel Root, of German; fought at Black-rock and Lewiston, and in the well-fought field of Queenstown; and, at the close of the War, was honorably discharged. In 1817, he was married to Irene Farrell, of the present town of Pitcher, with whom he lived till her decease, in 1865. In 1838, he was appointed an Assistant Judge of the County Court; and, in 1846, he represented the County in the Legislature. He was a man of the purest and most unblemished moral character, possessed the entire confidence and sincere esteem of the community in which he resided; of inflexible integrity, as a man and a magistrate; of a clear and cultivated mind; and, so far as consistent with human frailty, without fault or blemish, in all the relations of public and private life. His death, at the ripe age of seventy-eight, occurred, in 1872, at the residence of his son, in Mc Donough; and his memory will long be cherished, by all who knew him, as "an Israelite without guile"—"an honest man, the noblest work of God."

Abel Chandler was, for several years prior to 1822, an extensive merchant and dealer in furs, and Post-master of the town. In 1829,

and again in 1833, he represented the County in the State Legislature; and, subsequently, he removed to Norwich. He was an active and enterprising politician and business-man; possessed of superior talents and mental acquirements; and of great moral worth. His brother, Loel Chandler, presided, for several years, over the "Sylvan Springs Hotel;" and he was succeeded, in his mercantile establishment, by his nephew, Ira Chandler. Rufus Chandler represented the County, in the Legislature of 1850.

Theron Green was an enterprising, intelligent, and successful farmer. In 1881, he held the position of Town-clerk; but, soon afterwards, he removed to Auburn, Cayuga-county, where he became connected with the State Prison, at that place, as Keeper and General Agent, which position he still continues to occupy.

Doctor David Mc Whorter was the principal physician of the town and neighborhood, for a long series of years; and, in 1847, he represented the County in the Legislature. He was a prominent member of the Baptist-church; an exemplary man, in all the relations of life; and exerted a powerful and beneficial influence upon an extensive circle of acquaintances and friends.

Elijah Fenton maintained a deservedly high reputation in the town, as an upright magistrate and a worthy and estimable citizen. Without other means of present verification than the similitude of their names, I incline to the belief that Ex-Governor and Senator, Reuben E. Fenton, was a son of Elijah and a nephew of Reuben Fenton. His eminent and successful political career, however, in no respect, save that of early training, pertains to the town of Pitcher; as, if my supposition is correct, he must have emigrated, at an early age, to Chautauqua-county, with which he became identified.

LINCKLAEN.—Lincklaen, the extreme north-western town of the County, named from Colonel John Lincklaen, the former proprietor of the township, and Agent of the Holland Land Company, was formed from German, in 1823. The first settlement, in that part of the original town, appears to have been made about the year 1796, by Gurdon Wells, Abel Fairchild, Elisha Catlin, Joseph Pulford, Nathaniel Gray, Wolcott Bennett, Joseph Darling, Jesse Catlin, Aaron Peet, Elisha Blount, Christopher Shipman, Nathaniel Waldron, and a few others. The first child born was Matilda Wells, in 1800; and the first death, that of a child of Mr. Shipman. William Bly taught the first school; Elisha Catlin kept the first inn; and the Fairchilds the first store. Catlin and Shipman built the first saw-mill; and Mr. Pulford the first grist-mill. The first religious services were held, in 1798, by the Rev. Seth Williston. The population of the town, in 1865, was about one thousand.

Nathaniel Waldron was appointed an Associate Judge of the County Court, in 1810, and again in 1815. He was a highly intelligent, enterprising, wealthy, and influential citizen; and his son, Myrtalu Waldron, followed, successfully, in his footsteps. Myrtalu obtained his somewhat singular name by the whim of his parents, who put the letters of the alphabet in a box and selected the first seven drawn out.

At a subsequent period, Ephraim and Justus Parce, Belah Beardslee, Samuel Plumb, and others settled in the town.

Justus Parce represented the County in the Legislature of 1838. He was a worthy, upright man, and useful citizen; and died at an advanced age, in 1873.

Samuel Plumb was also a representative of the County in the Legislature of 1840; and sustained a high character for probity and ability, among his fellow-citizens.

Belah Beardslee was an eccentric individual following, alternately, the profession of teacher, religious lecturer, quack-mediciner, rural philosopher, and farmer. He was a man of considerable ambition, and well esteemed in the neighborhood.

GERMAN.—West of McDonough lies German—originally formed from a part of De Ruyter, in Madison-county, in 1806—the towns of Otselic, Pitcher, and Lincklaen, then included in it, on the North, having been subsequently organized. The town received its name from General Obadiah German, then a prominent and rising statesman, residing in North Norwich—which latter town should have enjoyed the honor of being called after him, instead of its present uncouth designation. Is it too late to do this simple act of justice to the memory of its greatest and most distinguished citizen—changing the present German into “Cleveland,” or “Livermore?”

The first settlement of German appears, from Child's *Gazetteer*, to have been made by Benjamin Cleveland, from Oneida-county; but at what period is not stated. Abraham Livermore, with his wife and nine children, settled at the place since known as “Livermore's Corners,” in 1796. His children were Abraham, Rebecca, Daniel, Polly, Abel, Cyrus, Hepsey, Sally, and Martin.

The two families of Cleveland and Livermore, remote from any other settlement, appear to have suffered great privations during the first few years of their enterprise, in this primeval wilderness. In June, 1796, as narrated by Mr. Child, Mr. Cleveland's family becoming entirely destitute of provisions, the father started for Fort Stanwix, now Rome, to procure the necessary supplies, expecting to be absent for a few days only; but, having been unavoidably detained, Mrs. Cleveland and the children, who had been compelled to subsist upon roots found in the

adjoining woods, for three days, started for the nearest neighbors, in Cincinnati, Cortland-county, four and a half miles distant. “What,” says Mr. Child, “about a mile from home,” “they were frightened by the appearance of a bear in their path, and thought it prudent to return. The next morning, the mother was too weak to walk; and the two older children again set out for Mr. Raymond's, on the Oneida. Mrs. Raymond was almost as destitute as those who sought her aid, but made a pudding of bran, the only article of food in the house, and bestowed this and a bottle of milk on her starving neighbors, which sustained them until relief came. At another time, when the family were reduced to the greatest extremity, two un milked cows came to their house at night and went away in the morning, furnishing the family with a supply of milk for several days. It was never known where the cows came from or where they went.”

The first birth was that of Polly Cleveland, in 1796; the first marriage, that of Jonathan Cleveland to Hepsey Livermore; and the first death, that of a Mr. Hartshorn. Abraham Livermore erected the first inn, and Jonathan Chandler the first store. The latter also erected the first saw-mill, on the East branch of the Otsego. The entire population of the town does not exceed eight hundred.

Within the limits of the present town of German also resided Daniel Root, who came thither prior to 1812; served under a Colonel's commission, during the War of 1812; and was actively engaged in most of the battles on the frontier. He represented the County in the State Legislature of 1824, and the town as Supervisor and in other capacities; and, during a long life, was esteemed and respected by all who knew him. Abner Storing, a leading and influential politician, who represented the County in the Legislature of 1842, and, in 1843, was appointed an Associate Judge of the County Court, also resided in German.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

III.—PRESIDENTIAL VISITS TO MAINE.

BY HON. JOSEPH D. WILLIAMSON, OF BELLEVILLE,
MAINE.

Several of the chief magistrates of the nation have honored our State with their presence, although not always in an official capacity. The recent tour of General Grant, the first President who has been so far East as Penobscot-bay, recalls these visits, and suggests some reminiscences which may be of interest.

WASHINGTON IN MAINE.

In October, 1789, directly after the adjournment of Congress, the Father of his Country made a journey through New England, partly restoring his health, and partly to observe the condition and character of the people. Leaving the seat of Government, on the fifteenth, he proceeded, in his own carriage, drawn by four Virginia bays and accompanied by a large retinue, through Connecticut to Boston, where he remained several days. On Saturday, October twenty-first, he reached Portsmouth, New Hampshire, having received, everywhere, on the route, the highest tokens of respect and affection. On the following Monday, accompanied by General Sullivan, Senator Langdon, and the United States Marshal, he made an excursion about the harbor, in a barge, rowed by seamen dressed in white frocks. Two other barges followed, one containing the French Consul and the President's secretaries, rowed by sailors in blue jackets and blue hats, decorated with blue ribbons; and the other a band, who executed a variety of pieces of music. The President went on shore, for a few minutes, at Kittery, in the then Province of Maine, and afterwards landed at the beautiful seat of Colonel Wentworth.* This is the only occasion when Washington is known to have been within our limits, although he was repeatedly invited, by General Knox, his old friend and companion in arms, to partake of the hospitalities of the latter's baronial residence, at Thomaston.

JOHN ADAMS.

Previous to the Revolution, the elder Adams was frequently in Maine, on professional business, following the Circuit of the Courts to Wrentham, where his college classmates, Charles Cushing, Jonathan Bowman, and the Rev. Jacob Bailey resided. No roads then existed into the interior of the District; and he passed from Brunswick to the Kennebec on horseback, aided by spotted tress.† The old Court-house, three stories in height, is still standing, a conspicuous object, on the bank of the river. He presided at Falmouth, now Portland, for twelve successive years, boarding with his college friend, Jonathan Webb, on Congress-street.‡ He was at his last visit there, when the political separation with his intimate associate at the Bar, Jonathan Sewall, took place. They walked together, upon Munjoy's-hill, in July, 1774, before breakfast, and earnestly discussed the great questions which were agitating the public mind. "Great Britain is determined on her system,"

remarked Sewall, "and her power is irresistible." "That very determination in her system determines mine," answered Adams; "swim or sink, live or die, survive or perish with my country, is my unalterable determination."* They next saw each other in England, where Sewall had retreated, as a loyalist, and Adams represented the United States, as our first Ambassador.

PRESIDENT MONROE.

The two great political parties known as Federalists and Anti-Federalists, and, subsequently, as Republicans and Democrats, maintained a severe contest, until the War of 1812. That War absorbed all political issues, many of the leading partisans deeming every consideration secondary to that of sustaining the Government. Accordingly, in 1816, James Monroe was chosen President, with great unanimity; and proved a most popular chief magistrate. Soon after his inauguration, he made a tour through New England, as far as Portland. He reached Portsmouth, on the fifteenth day of July, having received constant marks of honor and respect, during his whole progress from Washington. Early the next morning, a barge conveyed him across the Piscataqua-river, to the borders of Maine. On reaching the shore, he was met by the Hon. John Holmes and Albion K. Parrish, Members of Congress, and W. P. Preble, Esq., United States District-attorney; and was received with three cheers, by a large concourse of people, assembled on the banks of the river. The Hon. Mr. Holmes then presented him an address, to which the President made an extemporaneous reply, and expressed "the highest gratification in being thus met and received by gentlemen, for whose private virtues and public character he entertained so much respect." He then entered his carriage, and proceeded eight miles to York, under an escort of Cavalry, followed by officers of the Militia, in uniform, and citizens on horseback. On arriving at that place, he was met by the Committee of Arrangements, headed by Judge David Sewall,† then in the eighty-second year of his age, who, in an appropriate address, bade him a hearty welcome, to which the President made an affectionate reply. After a breakfast with the venerable Judge, the tour was resumed. At Kennebunk, eighteen miles further on, delegations were received from the towns of Arundel and Wells. Here, also, the President was met by a Committee from the towns of Alfred and Sanford, and was addressed by their Chairman, the Hon. John

* Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vii., 65.

† The Hon. David Sewall was Judge of the United States District Court, for forty-one years. He died in 1825, aged ninety years.—Willis's *Lawyers of Maine*, 86.

* *The Republican Court*.

† *Works of John Adams*.

‡ Willis's *History of Portland*, 371.

Holmes. Joseph Dane, Esq., also presented an address in behalf of the citizens of Kennebunk. To these addresses, the President replied, in the presence of a large crowd of people. From Jefferd's Hotel, in Kennebunk, the President proceeded, on foot, with his suit, across the Mousam-river-bridge, which had been ornamented by an arch of evergreen, decorated with roses, to the house of Mrs. Joseph Storer, where an elegant collation was served. He thence returned to his carriage, through the principal street, on the right of which, the ladies of the village, dressed in white and adorned with roses, were arranged, and, on the left, the gentlemen.

Preceded by an escort and cavalcade, the party was met, at Biddeford, by the Hon. George Thacher, Judge of the Supreme Court, and others, to whose address the President replied with his usual readiness and with pleasing effect. At Saco, across the river, and ten miles from Kennebunk, enthusiastic demonstrations were made by the largest assemblage of citizens ever witnessed in the town. At Oleave's Hotel, the Selectmen delivered to him a written address, to which he made a dignified and satisfactory response. Agreeably to previous arrangements, the President dined with Thomas G. Thornton, Esq., Marshal of the District.

Under an escort of Cavalry, the party reached the village of Stroudwater, in Westbrook, adjoining Portland, at about six o'clock in the evening. The bridge had been decorated with twenty arches of evergreen, on the largest of which, as symbolical of the Union, was perched a living American eagle. The President alighted from his carriage, and passed on foot under these decorations. At the limits of Portland, fifty-two miles from Portsmouth, the President was met by the Committee of Arrangements, and escorted into town by a cavalcade of citizens, on horseback and in carriages, extending about a mile and a half in length. The President alighted, and entered the town on a dark-bay horse, passing through the Portland Regiment that had been paraded to receive him. Portions of Main and Back (now Congress) streets, were lined by pupils of the public-schools, about fifteen hundred in number, dressed in uniform, who scattered flowers in the path. The route of the procession was through India, Middle, and Free-streets, to the house of the Hon. Matthew Cobb, at the head of High-street, which had been prepared for the President's reception. Here, he reviewed a Regiment of Militia, and received an address from the Committee of Arrangements, to which he made a verbal reply. He expressed the grateful emotions that had been excited by the civilities and attentions of his fellow-citizens, and warmly reciprocated the good wishes that had been personally manifested

towards him. He was repeatedly and cordially cheered by the large concourse of people which followed him, in his whole progress through the town.

In the evening, there was a display of fireworks, from the Observatory; while that and the adjacent buildings were illuminated.

The next morning, at seven, Committees from Bath, Wiscasset, Brunswick, and Topsham were introduced to the President. They respectfully requested him, in the name of their respective towns, if consistent with the other objects of his journey, to extend his tour farther East. He thanked them for their civility, and replied that his original intention was to proceed as far as Castine, but so much time had been consumed already, in his tour, that he found it impossible to go beyond Portland.

During the forenoon, the President and his suite, accompanied by many distinguished gentlemen, made an excursion in the harbor, landing at Fort Preble, where a collation was prepared. He reviewed the troops and inspected the works, expressing his satisfaction at the correct discipline, good police, and internal arrangements of the garrison. Major Crane was then the commanding officer. A visit to the Observatory, to view the hundreds of islands which are scattered over the waters of Casco-bay, and a call on Mrs. Preble, the widow of Commodore Preble, consumed the remainder of the day. In the evening, the President attended a large party at the house of the Hon. Asa Clap. On Thursday the President left for New Hampshire. At Biddeford, he was introduced to the venerable Deacon Samuel Chase, then in the ninety-ninth year of his age. He addressed the President with the simplicity of a Christian and the affection of a father. The scene was an impressive one when the good old man rose, and with the benediction of an ancient patriarch, pronounced his parting blessing.

The President reached Dover, New Hampshire, in the evening.

PRESIDENT POLK.

James K. Polk, the eleventh President, was the next chief magistrate who visited Maine in an official capacity, although John Quincy Adams was at Bangor, in 1843, for the purpose of delivering a lecture before the Lyceum of that city. President Polk came on a journey through the New England States, on the second day of July, 1847, and went to Augusta, by invitation of the Legislature, then in session. After a distinguished reception at Boston, he passed on the Boston and Maine Railroad to South Berwick, where, at the boundary-line of the State, he was received by Messrs. William P. Haines, Hannibal Hamlin

* *Eastern Argus ; Gazette of Maine.*

and Thomas Chadwick, in behalf of the Legislature, Richard D. Rice, George W. Stanley, and David Bronson, in behalf of the citizens, and George F. Shepley and Colonel Cutter, the Governor's Aids, the whole constituting a Committee of Invitation. Mr. Haines welcomed the President, who briefly returned his thanks. The train reached Portland, at noon. There was a long-extended civil and military procession, at the depot, which escorted the guests through the city, to the United States Hotel. Here, with the municipal authorities and Committees, a dinner was served, the Hon. Eliphalet Greely, the Mayor, presiding. At half past five, the Presidential company started for the Kennebec, on the steamer *Huntress*. The official party contained, among others, the Hon. Messrs. James Buchanan, Secretary of State, Nathan Clifford, Attorney-General, Edmund Burke, Commissioner of Patents, Levi Woodbury, Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, John Appleton, Commodore Charles Stewart, Governor Mouton, of Louisiana, Captain Stien, then fresh from Buena Vista, where he had been wounded, Governor Dana, and ex-Governors Dunlap, Fairfield, and Anderson, of Maine. At Bath, where the boat arrived at half past nine, there was a salute of heavy ordnance, and a large crowd of people assembled. The President had retired; but, at the earnest request of the multitude, he appeared on the upper deck, and made a short speech. At other landings, on the river, cannon were fired, and the air rang with the shouts of the citizens, as the boat passed along. It was near one o'clock in the morning of Saturday, July third, when the Presidential party reached Augusta, having left the *Huntress* at Hallowell, two miles below. "With a few exceptions," says the correspondent of the *New York Herald*, "the citizens had illuminated their houses for the occasion; but the Capitol upon its elevated site, with its numerous large windows and lofty cupola, looked the tangible reality of a fairy palace, surrounded by a halo created from blaze issuing from the sparkling heights. Rockets were sent exploding in the clear starlight sky, cannon were fired, cheers greeted the President, for a considerable proportion of the denizens, especially at Hallowell, were still up and on shore, awaiting the arrival of the honored guest of the Commonwealth. It was a clear summer's night, the air was cool, but the moon-light scene was picturesque, as the line of carriages passed up, from Hallowell, along the shore of the river."

The President and Mr. Buchanan went to the house of the Hon. Reuel Williams, on the East side of the river. Mr. Clifford, Mr. Burke, and Judge Woodbury were the guests of the Hon.

James W. Bradbury, then United States Senator elect.

During the forenoon, a procession escorted the President and suit, through the town, to the State-house, where multitudes of people were congregated. Being conducted into the House of Representatives, where both legislative branches had assembled, in Convention, the courtesies and hospitalities of the State were formally tendered to him by Governor Dana. The President responded at length: the theme of his reply being an exhortation to preserve the union of the States, inviolate. The members of the Legislature were then severally introduced, in a prescribed order, to the different officials. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the President moved to the balcony, where he addressed the people. A dinner, at the Augusta House, followed, when the Presidential party were taken in barouches to Gardiner, six miles down the river, and called at the cottage of the Hon. George Evans, which was at the outskirts of the town, embowered in shrubbery. Passing through the village, under escort of mounted citizens, the procession ascended the hill to the mansion of Robert H. Gardiner, Esq., a granite edifice erected in the style of an English country-seat, where a collation was provided. After a drive through the town, in the public square of which the school-children were drawn up, as in a review, for the occasion, the train of carriages proceeded to the steamboat-wharf, near the present railroad-depot. Here a platform had been erected, to which the President was conducted, amidst the cheers of the surrounding multitudes. The Hon. George Evans, in behalf of his fellow-citizens, then addressed the President, in a speech of remarkable eloquence. "There has been nothing in the whole journey," said the *Herald*,* "at all comparable to it, in the shape of an address, either as a welcome or as a local eulogium." The citizens, said Mr. Evans, cordially extended their most respectful considerations to the chief magistrate; they were gratified that he had come to this portion of the great Republic, over which he presided. Theirs was a hard soil and a rigid climate; but their industry had clothed the hills and valleys with verdure. He spoke of their manufactures, their mechanic arts, their ship-building, and their commercial, fishing, and railroad interests. Their hardy sailors went forth, wafting their commerce to all seas and to all lands. He spoke of the charitable asylums of Maine, the temples of religion, the schools, and Academies, and Colleges, at once the fruits and the proofs of their industry, their benevolence, their intelligence, and their Christian character. He dwelt upon their devo-

* *New York Herald*, July 7, 1847.

tion to the Union and the Constitution. He hoped the President had been favorably impressed by his visit; and he knew that the more the institutions and characteristics of his State were observed, the more they would be respected.

The President replied at length. He alluded to his distinguished reception and to the pleasure which he had experienced, in witnessing the beneficial influences of our institutions, so forcibly and practically illustrated in the high state of improvement which marks the face of this portion of our country, and in the constant evidences of the enterprise of the people of New England, as exhibited in her flourishing and prosperous condition. "Yours," he continued, "is, indeed, a hard soil; but, from the perseverance of its hardy sons, it has been made to smile with bountiful harvests. And not only so, but in the tented field, the sons of Maine have shown the same indomitable energy of character. When has Maine been called upon, that she has failed to be there? Even now, Sir, her valiant sons are fighting for the institutions and the cause of the Union; and, I am proud to have it to say, that one* of your own blood is among the brave men who have so nobly maintained the country's glory in the field. Wherever a sail whitens the waters of the ocean, there will be found the hardy sailors of Maine—in the far West, where new houses, and villages, and cities are taking the place of the forest, there will be found the sons of Maine, felling away the trees and opening the wilderness to the onward march of civilization and Christianity. Go to the far South, and the descendants of her granite hills will meet us, there, and we are glad to see them among us." At the termination of his address, which was received with great enthusiasm and applause, President Polk re-embarked in the *Huntress*, and reached Portland, at midnight. The next day, which was Sunday, he passed quietly at the boarding-house of Mrs. Jones, and attended church at the Second Parish Meeting-house, hearing a sermon by the Pastor, the Rev. Doctor Carruthers. Early on Monday morning, an informal reception of citizens took place, after which the cars were taken, *en route*, for Washington. At Saco, Kennebunk, and North Berwick, large mass-meetings were awaiting his arrival, each of which the President addressed. Near the line of the State, Colonels Shepley and Haines, in behalf of the constituted authorities of Maine, took a formal and affec-

tionate leave of the President; and he, in return, expressed his thanks and best wishes for their continued prosperity and happiness. A Committee from New Hampshire then took the President in charge.

At the expiration of over a quarter of a century, but few of the prominent men who bore a part in these proceedings, remain. Presidents Polk and Buchanan, Judge Woodbury, Senator Evans, Commodore Stewart, Ruel Williams, Governors Dunlap, Fairfield, and Hubbard, John Appleton and Robert H. Gardiner have all passed away. Judge Clifford survives, in full intellectual vigor; and Governors Anderson and Dana and Senator Bradbury continue in strength and health. Of the members of the Legislature who, without distinction of party, paid their respects to the chief magistrate, Luther Severance, John Otis, and Elijah L. Hamlin have long since been removed by death. John Hodge, the President of the Senate, Colonels Haines and Shepley, members of the Committee of Reception, and Vice-president Hamlin, then representing a small interior town, retain high positions of public honor and private trust.

PRESIDENT GRANT.

General Grant was the next President who came to Maine, officially. In October, 1877, the Directors of the European and North American Railway determined to mark the completion of this great enterprise, by appropriate ceremonies, and invited the Governor General of Canada and the President of the United States to honor the occasion with their presence, and to shake hands over the completion of a link which would more closely unite two nations. The invitations were duly accepted; and Thursday, the nineteenth of October, was selected for the jubilee.

Accompanied by Secretaries Belknap and Robeson, Generals Ingalls, Babcock, and Porter, with many other distinguished persons, the President left Boston, by rail, on the morning of the seventeenth. Demonstrations took place along the whole route, East. At the boundary of Maine, Speaker Blaine took the President by the arm, and, from that time, he was made to realize that he was the guest of the Pine-tree State. Dinner was served on the train, which reached Portland early in the afternoon. Here, the company was joined by Lord Lisgar, the Governor-general of Canada, and his suite. After a stoppage of a few minutes, the cars proceeded to Bangor. At Brunswick, Gardiner, Augusta, Waterville, and Newport, brief halts were made. At each place, demonstrations took place. Bangor was reached at about seven o'clock. The principal streets were illuminated. Escorted by ten military Companies, flanked by two hundred firemen, bearing torches, the Presidential party

* The President referred to Mr. Evans's son, Captain George F. Evans, who participated in the Battle of Buena Vista, a few months previously. Tears dropped from the eyes of Mr. Evans, at this allusion, and the people cheered from its spontaneous electricity.

was conducted to the Bangor-house. Subsequently, General Grant dined, informally, with Senator Hamlin, at his residence, on Fifth-street. On the following day, the military, including the entire Militia of the State, paraded; and, at one o'clock, a procession, with the President in the centre, proceeded through the city. The children of the public-schools, in uniform, were drawn up, on the Mall, in Broadway, and welcomed the distinguished visitor, by an appropriate Ode. The procession was nearly a mile in length, and two hours were occupied in its march. The street was decorated its entire length; and nearly every building, public and private, was adorned with bunting. It was estimated that twenty thousand people were on the streets.

At one o'clock, a banquet took place at Nonbega-hall, which was participated in by seven hundred guests. At the head of the central table sat Mayor Dale, of Bangor; on his right, President Grant; and on his left, Lord Lisgar. After refreshment, the health of the President was proposed, and received with cheers. As soon as the applause subsided, the President spoke as follows: "LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I congratulate you and the people of the State of Maine and the people of the country at large, upon the occasion which has brought all of us here. It is a matter in which you are particularly interested; and the nation at large, I believe, is almost equally so with you. I hope that it may be as successful as we desire, in building up brotherly love between the two people of the same blood and speaking the same language as ourselves. In short, I trust it may prove, in the end, a most cordial bond of friendship."

Eloquent addresses were also made by Lord Lisgar, Governor Wilmot, of New Brunswick, and other distinguished gentlemen. Various festivities completed the day.

On Thursday morning, a special train, with President Grant and other guests, left for Vanceboro', one hundred and fourteen miles from Bangor, on the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. On arriving there, at half past one, a much larger crowd from Saint John was found waiting. A banquet had been prepared in a large tent, and was soon discussed. At its close, George K. Jewett, Esq., the President of the Railroad Company, made a brief address of welcome, and called upon President Grant, who made the following remarks: "FELLOW CITIZENS, AND CITIZENS OF THE BRITISH PROVINCES: It is pleasant for me to be here, on this occasion, an occasion which will be celebrated in speeches made by persons much more capable than myself of treating the subject; but I will say that it is pleasant for me to be here

"and to see the citizens belonging to the two nationalities meeting in such a friendly communion." Toasts and speeches, from various officials and eminent men, from both countries, followed. The exercises terminated at half past four, when the President and suite returned, immediately, to Bangor, and thence to Portland, where they arrived at an early hour, on Friday morning, and were received, at the depot, by a Committee of Reception. A military procession paraded the streets, in honor of the President, during the forenoon, after which he held a public reception at the City-hall. This was followed by a dinner at the Falmouth-house; and, at two o'clock, he left for Boston.

President Grant's next visit to Maine was made in August, 1873, at the invitation of the Hon. James G. Blaine, Speaker of the House of Representatives. He arrived at the residence of that gentleman, in Augusta, on the afternoon of the thirteenth. Coming in a private capacity, as he did, his wishes to avoid public demonstrations were respected; and he enjoyed a season of rest and quiet. The next day, accompanied by General Babcock, Speaker Blaine, and Senators Cameron and Hamlin, he visited the Gardiner mansion, at Gardiner, being received in that city, as well as in Hallowell, through which he passed, with testimonials of respect. In the evening, he dined with Senator Morrill, and, subsequently, attended a reception given by Mr. Blaine.

During his brief excursion, it was the desire of the President to visit Mount Desert; and, accordingly, he proceeded, the next morning, by rail, to Rockland, whence he embarked, in the revenue-steamer *McAulloch*. Shortly after leaving, a thick fog shut in; and with the night coming on, it was deemed hazardous to proceed farther. Shelter and anchorage were therefore sought, at North Haven, where the night was passed, the ladies of the party remaining on board the steamer, while the President and other gentlemen found quarters at the house of Mr. Mullins. The Mount Desert trip was necessarily abandoned; and, on Saturday morning, the excursionists started, directly, for Bangor, and arrived at about two o'clock in the afternoon. A collation, given by Senator Hamlin, at the Penobscot Exchange, and a drive around the city, occupied the time until evening. At seven o'clock, the President returned to Augusta, where he passed the Sabbath with Speaker Blaine; and, the next day, he left for the White Mountains.*

* *Bangor Whig.*

IV.—PATRICK HENRY.

A VINDICATION OF HIS CHARACTER, AS AN ORATOR AND AS A MAN.

Concluded, from the November Number.

BY HIS GRANDSON, WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, ESQ., OF CHARLOTTE C. H., VIRGINIA.

For the assertion that Mr. Henry did not speak when the Bill of Rights and the first Constitution of Virginia were under discussion, Mr. Pollard has not even hinted his authority, unless he relied on the letter of General Charles Lee, as evidence. That letter only alludes to the Resolution of Independence, however; and was written before the Committee was appointed to draft the Bill of Rights and Form of Government.

The evidence, however, is abundant to prove that Mr. Henry was active in the preparation and advocacy of both of these papers. It will be remembered that the Committee to prepare these papers was appointed on the fifteenth of May. On the eighteenth of the same month, John Augustine Washington, a member of the Convention, wrote to Richard Henry Lee: "I hope the great business of forming a well-regulated Government will go on well, as I think there will be no great difference of opinion amongst our best speakers, Henry, Mason, Mercer, Dandridge, and Smith; and I am apt to think the President," [Pendleton] "will concur with them in sentiment."—(See Southern Literary Messenger, for November, 1858.) On the day that this letter was written, which was Saturday, George Mason was added to the Committee, and by his hand the Bill of Rights was drawn, almost exactly as adopted, though the original draft of the Constitution was probably prepared by Meriwether Smith, one of the members of the Committee first appointed.—(See *Riess's Life of Madison*, i., 158, *et seq.*) Mr. Henry was one of the original Committee, and, as appears by the letter of Washington to Lee, was in accord with both Mason and Smith, by whom these papers were drawn.

A pamphlet written by John Adams, though without his signature, entitled *Thoughts on Government*, had been enclosed to Mr. Henry by Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Adams. The letter of Mr. Henry to John Adams, already quoted, in part, dated the twentieth of May, 1776, was in reply to Mr. Adams's letter. He says: "Your favor, with the pamphlet, came safe to hand. I am exceedingly obliged to you for it; and I am not without hopes it may produce good, here, where there is among most of our opulent families a strong bias to aristocracy. I tell my friends you are the author. Upon this supposition, I have two reasons for liking the book. The sentiments are precisely the same I have long since taken up; and they come recom-

mended by you. * * * * *

"Our Convention is now employed in the great work of forming a Constitution. My most esteemed republican form has many and powerful enemies. A silly thing, published in Philadelphia, by a native of Virginia, has just made its appearance, here, strongly recommended, it is said, by one of our Delegates now with you—Braxton. His reasonings upon and distinction between private and public virtue are weak, shallow, evasive, and the whole performance an affront and disgrace to this country; and by one expression, I suspect his whiggism.

"Our Session will be very long, during which I cannot count upon one coadjutor of talents equal to the task. Would to God you and your Sam Adams were here! It shall be my incessant study, so to form our porous Government, that a kindred with New England may be discerned in it; and if all your excellencies cannot be preserved, yet I hope to retain so much of the likeness, that posterity shall pronounce us descended from the same stock. I shall think perfection is obtained if we have your approbation."

This letter was written on the Monday following the Saturday on which George Mason was added to the Committee, and before the Bill of Rights had been made by the Committee, in all probability, as the Bill of Rights was first reported, and seven days afterwards. The pamphlet of John Adams is printed in his *Life*, iv., 193, *et seq.*; and a comparison of it with the first Constitution of Virginia reveals the fact, that, in nearly every feature, they are alike, certainly in all essentials. The Constitution, as adopted, was according to Mr. Henry's conception of his "most esteemed republican plan," is shown by his letter to the Convention, accepting the office of Governor under it, in which he speaks of it as "the system of Government which you have formed, and which is so wisely calculated to secure equal liberty, and advance human happiness."—(See *Journal*, 1 July, 1776.)

The Bill of Rights and Constitution were not adopted, however, until after prolonged debates. On the first of June, 1776, Thomas Ludwell Lee wrote from the Convention to Richard Henry Lee: "I enclosed you, by last post, a copy of our Declaration of Rights, nearly as it came through Committee. It has since been reported to the Convention; and we have, since, been stumbling at the threshold. In short, we find such difficulty in laying the foundation-stone, that I very much fear that Temple of Liberty which was proposed to be erected thereon. But, laying aside fig-

"I will tell you, plainly, that a certain set of Aristocrats—for we have such monsters, here—finding that their execrable system cannot be reared on such foundations, have, to this time, kept us at bay, on the first line, which declares all men to be born equally free and independent."—(*See Southern Literary Messenger, November, 1858.*)

The Constitution, also, was disputed, inch by inch, and was the subject of much alteration and debate.—(*See account given Mr. Jefferson by Edmund Pendleton, Randall's Life of Jefferson, i., 195.*) On its adoption, Mr. Henry was elected the first Governor, obtaining a majority of fifteen over Thomas Nelson, the candidate of the Aristocracy, who was very popular.

When we consider that Mr. Henry's "esteemed plan" was adopted over the aristocratic plan, after a hard struggle; that, in view of the contest, Mr. Henry was named first amongst the best speakers of the body; that he was elected, by the Convention, the chief Executive Officer under the Constitution, upon its adoption, defeating the Aristocratic candidate, I think we may safely conclude that Mr. Henry *did speak*, during the debates, the *unsupported* assertion of Mr. Pollard to the contrary notwithstanding.

After thus treating his subject in what he is pleased to call the "historical" aspect, Mr. Pollard takes up the "subjective" mode, which he claims to be more decisive. He says: "One of the most pregnant statements which Mr. Wirt repeats with such industry of mistaken emphasis, and which other deluded admirers confirm in their own way, is, that it was impossible for any of Mr. Henry's auditors to remember anything he had said, even to the extent of a single sentence." And again: "Mr. Wirt is constantly insisting upon this infirmity of the audience, as a surpassing proof of Henry's eloquence; but we very much suspect that, when it comes to be analyzed, the infirmity will be found to be in the speaker himself."

It would have been better for Mr. Pollard, had he noted the passages in Mr. Wirt's book, upon which he relied, in making this assertion. Though I have looked, carefully, I have not been able to find *one single* passage in which Mr. Wirt makes this statement. On the contrary, Mr. Wirt gives numerous passages from Mr. Henry's speeches, detailed to him by his auditors, from memory.

It is true that Mr. Nicholas P. Trist reported Mr. Jefferson as saying, not long before his death, that "I have frequently shut my eyes while he spoke, and when he was done asked myself what he had said, without being able to recollect a word of it." Mr. Pollard has quoted Mr. Trist correctly. I doubt, however, the accuracy of Mr. Trist's recollection; or if he

be correct, of Mr. Jefferson's. No one has left on record more splendid tributes to Mr. Henry's eloquence than Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Trist reports him as saying, in the same conversation, concerning Mr. Henry: "It was to him that we were indebted for the unanimity that prevailed among us. He would address the assemblages of people, at which he was present, in such strains of native eloquence as Homer wrote in. I never heard anything that deserved to be called by the same name with what flowed from him;" * * * "He was truly a great man, one of enlarged views." Mr. Wirt quotes Mr. Jefferson as saying, that Mr. Henry "was the greatest orator that ever lived."—(*See Life of Henry, Edition of 1839, 54.*) Besides many other incidents, Mr. Jefferson gave Mr. Wirt an account of Mr. Henry's attack, in the House of Burgesses, in May, 1765, on the scheme of a Loan Office: "I can never forget," said Jefferson, "a particular exclamation of his, in the debate, which electrified his hearers. It had been urged that, from certain unhappy circumstances of the Colony, men of substantial property had contracted debts which, if exacted, suddenly, must ruin them and their families, but with a little indulgence of time, might be paid with ease. 'What, Sir!' exclaimed Mr. Henry, in animadverting on this, 'is it proposed, then, to reclaim the spendthrift from his dissipation and extravagance, by filling his pockets with money?' These expressions are indelibly impressed on my memory."—(*See pp. 70, 71.*) Mr. Jefferson gave also testimony to the expressions used in the Speech on the Resolutions against the Stamp-act. If, then, Mr. Trist reports Mr. Jefferson correctly, it only proves that, after passing his eightieth year, he contradicted himself. Mr. Pollard has seen fit to say of Mr. Jefferson's testimony, concerning Mr. Henry, that it either proved Mr. Jefferson's "hypocrisy," or "was the maudlin incoherence of an incapable witness." How, then, does he rely on it, in his strictures on Mr. Henry?

Next, and lastly, Mr. Pollard assails Mr. Henry's character. He quotes a maxim of Quintilian that "the orator must be a good man;" that is, says Mr. Pollard, he must have "an acute and determined sense of virtue;" and he alleges that Mr. Henry was "the most detestable turncoat of his day," lacking "alike, the consistency of intellectual purpose and the integrity of moral principle, to constitute him a great orator." This is a grave charge; and, coming from another source, might well awaken serious apprehensions in the minds of Mr. Henry's admirers. Let us examine Mr. Pollard's evidence for his charge.

He says, that Mr. Henry "started by avowing

"himself the most democratic of Democrats;" yet "we find him, twice, involved in a plot to "establish a dictatorship in Virginia"—once in 1776 and again in 1781. "True," says Mr. Pollard, "the biographer of Mr. Henry labors "to prove that he did not instigate, or even actively engage in, these plots; but they were "known to him, and they must have been entertained by him, since he did not denounce "them."

That Mr. Henry was an avowed Democrat, or Republican, as the terms were understood, in his day, is true; but that he ever entertained any proposition to make him Dictator, or that he did not denounce the scheme, if made known to him, there is no evidence, whatever, so far as I am informed. Mr. Pollard says he did not denounce it; and, therefore, he entertained it. He has failed to prove that he did not denounce the scheme, or even to attempt to prove it; and had he proved it, his conclusion would have been a *non sequitur*.

While it cannot be expected that I should prove that there never was a plot to make Mr. Henry a Dictator, yet a careful examination of the facts will show that the evidence upon which the charge is based is entirely insufficient.

The only contemporaneous evidence which has been brought to establish the charge, is that of Thomas Jefferson, a witness Mr. Pollard pronounces unreliable; and Mr. Jefferson was not with the Legislature, on either occasion, concerning which he has testified that the proposal was made in that body.

The first occasion was, during the last part of December, 1776, while Mr. Jefferson had left the body on the fifth of the month.—(*See Randall's Life of Jefferson, i., 206.*) The second occasion was while the Legislature was in Staunton, in June, 1781; and Jefferson was at his seat, in Bedford county, near one hundred miles distant.—(*See Randall's Life of Jefferson, i., 352.*)

Mr. Jefferson's first account of the plots to establish a Dictator in Virginia, was given in his *Notes on Virginia*, under Query XIII, published in 1787. Mr. Wirt has followed Mr. Jefferson, adding only somewhat from tradition, probably derived from Mr. Jefferson himself. The *Journals* show nothing of the propositions detailed by Mr. Jefferson; and, as no other person has left on record any testimony, concerning them, the account rests, solely, on the testimony of a witness, absent, at the time of the occurrences of which he testifies. Let us examine, closely, the testimony of this witness, in connection with other facts established beyond dispute or admitted by the witness, himself.

In his *Notes on Virginia*, Mr. Jefferson says: "In December, 1776, our circumstances being

"much distressed, it was proposed, in the House "of Delegates, to create a Dictator, invested "with every power—legislative, executive and "judiciary, civil and military, of life and of "death, over our persons and over our prop- "ties; and, in June, 1781, again under calm- "ty, the same proposition was repeated, and "wanted a few votes only of being passed.

Any one, by examining the *Journals of the House of Delegates*, will see that these proposals, if made, at all, must have been in the House, sitting as a Committee of the Whole on the State of the Country. All matters relating to the War, were first discussed in Committee of the Whole; and what occurred, while in Committee, was not reported to the House, unless some determination was arrived at, and that alone was reported. Bearing this in mind, we can examine the evidence more understandingly.

In 1816, Girardin, a Frenchman, residing near Mr. Jefferson, wrote a continuation to Burki's *History of Virginia*. He wrote under the eye of Mr. Jefferson, and having access to his historical collections. His book has the approval of Mr. Jefferson, who, in reference to his own administration, says that he "has given as full "ful an account as I could myself. For the "portion, therefore, of my own life, I refer "together to his history."—(*See Memoir, &c.*) On page 189 of his volume, Girardin says in reference to the scheme of a Dictator, in 1776, "when, towards the close of this Session, the "Legislature of Virginia beheld the awful and "critical situation of America—the enemy in "possession of New York; General Washington "precipitately retreating through the Jerseys, "before an overwhelming force; and the sal- "vation of the country, depending, next to priv- "dential aid, on some extraordinary measures "and efforts; several of its members, actuated "it is thought, by laudable intentions, but "struck with causeless, or, at least, exaggerated "alarm, and misapplying the example of the "Roman Republic, in times of extreme danger, "proposed and advocated a step, in itself, more "formidable, and, eventually, more fatal to the "liberties and happiness of the people, than the "British arms." * * * "It appears, from "concurring reports, that this dictatorial scheme "produced, in the Legislature, unusual heat and "violence. The members who favored, and "those who opposed it, walked the streets, on "different sides."

Mr. Wirt has fixed the time of the scheme, at the same date; and, while he does not mention the "walking the streets on different sides," yet his account, when compared with that of Girardin, shows the same origin; the latter referring to Mr. Jefferson as his authority, except where he bases his statements on "reports."

The retreat of General Washington through the Jerseys was ended by his crossing the Delaware, on the eighth day of December. On the twelfth, Congress adjourned, to meet at Baltimore, on the twentieth, it having become apparent that Philadelphia was in danger. Owing to the difficulty and delays in transmitting the mails, the intelligence of the extent of the disasters, at the North, and the flight of Congress from Philadelphia did not reach Williamsburg until the nineteenth of the month. The *Gazette* of the twentieth reported the crossing of the Delaware, by the British forces, from twelve to fifteen thousand strong; the position of General Washington, at Bristol, on the South side of the river, with only six thousand men; and the adjournment of Congress to Baltimore. The previous number of the *Gazette* had reported that General Washington had driven General Howe back; but later advices corrected the report, and showed the danger to General Washington's army and, of course, to Virginia.

The House of Delegates had not shown any symptoms of alarm before, judging from their *Journal*. On the sixth, they allowed South Carolina to enlist men in Virginia, ignorant that events transpiring in the North would soon endanger Virginia. On the seventh, the House, in Committee of the Whole, considered the petitions of sundry persons who claimed damages sustained from the soldiery; and it was resolved to go into Committee of the Whole, on the following Monday, on the further consideration of the State of the Country. This order was postponed, from day to day, till the eighteenth, and then was executed, the Committee coming to a Resolution to request the Governor and Council to cause to depart from the Commonwealth, certain British merchants and traders, who were adherents to the British Crown. The Committee seem to have had under consideration no other matter. There was no order to sit again, as Committee of the Whole on the State of the Country, and none was made on the nineteenth; but, on the twentieth, on a motion made, it was resolved that the "House will *immediately* resolve itself into a Committee, to take into their consideration the State of America." Not having time to come to any Resolution, that day, the Committee asked leave to sit again. This is the first appearance of haste or panic which the *Journal* shows. Before that day, the House was evidently at ease, concerning the state of the country, not having heard of the rapid succession of disasters, at the North, which would enable the British to approach the northern border of Virginia as soon as they should cross Maryland. On the next day, the House again went into a Committee of the Whole, on the State of America, and came to the following

Resolutions, which were forthwith reported to the House and agreed to:

"It being of the utmost importance that the
"nine Battalions heretofore raised in this Commonwealth and now in Continental service,
"should be completed, and the six new Battalions, for the same service, as well as the three
"Battalions on the pay of this Commonwealth,
"raised with all probable expedition:

"*Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended
"to the Justices, the members of the County
"Committees, the Militia-officers, and the other
"good people of this Commonwealth, to use
"their best endeavours to forward and encourage the recruiting service, upon which the
"safety and happiness of their country so much
"depends.

"And, whereas, the present imminent danger
"of *America*, and the ruin and misery which
"threatens the good people of this Commonwealth and their posterity calls for the utmost
"exertion of our strength, and it is become
"necessary for the preservation of the State that
"the usual forms of Government should be suspended, during a limited time, for the more
"speedy execution of the most vigorous and
"effectual measures, to repel the invasion of the
"enemy:

"*Resolved, therefore*, That the Governour be,
"and he is hereby fully authorised and empowered, by and with the advice and consent of
"the Privy Council, from henceforward until
"ten days next after the first meeting of the
"General Assembly, to carry into execution such
"requisitions as may be made to this Commonwealth by the *American Congress*," etc.—(giving ample power to call out, organize, pay, etc. the military force of the State, to be used in or out of the State).

"But that this departure from the Constitution of Government, being in this instance
"founded only on the most evident and urgent
"necessity, ought not hereafter to be drawn into
"precedent." It was further ordered, that copies of these Resolves be sent to the American Congress and to the neighboring States of Maryland and North Carolina; and that their Delegates in Congress be instructed to recommend to the consideration of Congress, the necessity, "in the
"present dangerous and critical situation of
"America, in order to give vigour, expedition,
"and secrecy to our military measures, to invest
"the Commander-in-chief of the American forces
"with more ample and extensive powers for conducting the operations of war."

These Resolutions were carried, immediately, to the Senate, and were only altered by striking out the words, "the usual forms of Government
"should be suspended," and inserting, instead, the words: "additional powers be given to the

"Governor and Council." This amendment was immediately concurred in, by the House; and then, without further legislation, it adjourned to meet during the following March, in the city of Williamsburg, or at such other place as the Governor and Council might appoint; thus providing for the contingency of the occupation of Williamsburg by the enemy.

Congress did invest General Washington with extensive powers, dictatorial in their nature, which he exercised so as to secure the safety of his country and to add greatly to his honor. Governor Henry also exercised the extraordinary powers vested in him, greatly to his honor and to the benefit of the American cause; and no word of censure was ever ventured against him or General Washington, so far as I know, either for obeying the call of their country, in assuming the powers vested, or for their manner of exercising them. The same may be said of Governor Rutledge, of South Carolina, who was vested with dictatorial powers, by his State. Mr. Jefferson, himself, who succeeded Mr. Henry in office, had greater powers vested in him than were given to Mr. Henry—(See Statutes at large, *æ.*, 309); but was not so fortunate in giving satisfaction in their exercise.

We may safely conclude that, if several members of the Virginia House of Delegates proposed a Dictator, in December, 1776, "towards the close of the Session," it was done on the twentieth or twenty-first, while the Resolutions, just referred to, were under discussion, in Committee of the Whole, and when the disastrous tidings from the North had thrown the Legislature into "a causeless, or, at least, exaggerated alarm," according to Girardin, during which they immediately adjourned.

I think it sounds rather ridiculous to assert, that, in a discussion of less than two days, on a proposition to enlarge the powers of the Governor and Council, during a panic caused by the apprehension of immediate and overwhelming danger, between parties, one of which was only composed of "several members," so much heat was engendered as to cause the parties "to walk on different sides of the street." A scheme too, to have an absolute Dictator, in Virginia, was incompatible with the scheme to give General Washington dictatorial powers, unless General Washington was to be *sole* Dictator. Mr. Wirt gives *tradition* as his authority for the remark of Colonel Archibald Carey, to Colonel Syme, which is said to have caused the abandonment of the scheme; and Girardin gives "concurring reports" as his authority for the same incident, and also for the remarkable heat engendered. Unrecorded reports, forty years old, are not staple for *history*, and are, surely, not sufficient to destroy the character of men

otherwise proven to have been eminently patriotic.

Colonel Archibald Carey, who presided over the Senate, was one of Mr. Henry's political opponents, and one of the leaders of the Aristocratic party, in Virginia. He, probably, was active in the opposition to Mr. Henry, when he was elected Governor. If Colonel Carey ever uttered the remark imputed to him, it was, doubtless, on the occasion of the Resolution of the House of Delegates being sent to the Senate, containing the words, "the usual forms of Government should be suspended;" and I am very much inclined to think that some sneering remark of Colonel Carey, on that occasion, has given rise to the whole story about a proposed Dictator, at that time. The same tradition, however, which has given Colonel Carey's threat, has exonerated Mr. Henry from all implication in the scheme; for it goes on to say that Colonel Syme declared, "that if such a project existed, his brother had no hand in it." Colonel Syme was Mr. Henry's half-brother, a member of the House of Delegates, and a warm political friend. If any such scheme existed, he could not have been ignorant of it; especially if it had been proposed in the House of Delegates, as stated by Mr. Jefferson; yet his reply indicates his ignorance of such a project.

That Mr. Henry was entirely innocent of any connection with, or encouragement of, a scheme for his own aggrandisement, so obnoxious to the Legislature as this is stated to have been, is conclusively shown by the fact, that, in the following May, he was *unanimously* re-elected Governor, and again on the next annual election was *unanimously* re-elected, thus serving as long as was permitted by the Constitution; and this while the body was composed largely of the same members, and the same Colonel Archibald Carey was the President of the Senate. In fact, on neither occasion was any other name put in nomination. I may also add that, as soon as re-eligible, he was again elected, and served till he resigned.

The second occasion referred to by Mr. Pollard, was in June, 1781, while the Legislature was at Staunton, and during the invasion of Virginia, by Arnold and the raid of Tarleton.

On the fourth of June, the British troops, under Tarleton, entered Charlottesville, where the Legislature was sitting, and dispersed that body, which hastily adjourned to meet at Staunton, on the seventh. Mr. Jefferson, whose term, as Governor, had expired on the second, was at his seat, near by, and escaped to his farm, in Bedford-county. On Sunday, the tenth of June, the House met, on a report that Tarleton was approaching Staunton, and determined to meet at the Warm Springs, on the following Thursday,

in case of danger, at Staunton. The alarm proving false, however, they proceeded, the next day, to make nominations for the vacant office of Governor and to report them to the Senate, as required by law; and, on the twelfth, General Thomas Nelson was elected to that office.

Mr. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, has fixed June as the time; and Girardin, in a note, in the *Appendix* to his *History of Virginia*, has fixed Staunton as the place at which the scheme of a Dictatorship was revived. Wirt, in his *Life of Henry*, page 248, and Randall, in his *Life of Jefferson*, Volume I., Page 848, fix the time after the second panic commenced, which caused the Legislature to determine to meet at the Warm Springs, if necessary. All of these accounts, as I have said, are traceable to Mr. Jefferson. We have seen his unqualified endorsement of Girardin; and, as the Note referred to is, solely, upon the Administration of Mr. Jefferson and the circumstances attending its close, it is highly probable Mr. Jefferson dictated it—at any rate, he has adopted it as his own statement. Having fixed the time, let us now examine the different accounts given of the transaction and the circumstances leading to it.

In his *Notes on Virginia*, Mr. Jefferson declared that the proposition “wanted a few votes ‘only of being passed in the House of Delegates.’” Then, it was voted on, in the shape of a Resolution to create a Dictator, or of a Resolution to create some designated person Dictator.

Girardin gives the following account: “At this juncture, some of the members turned their eyes towards a Dictator; and measures for effecting the project were suddenly taken, with the zeal inspired by a belief that its execution was necessary to save the country. An individual, highly conspicuous for his talents and usefulness through the anterior scenes of the great revolutionary drama, was spoken of as the proper person to fill the contemplated office, to introduce which, it was necessary to place Mr. Jefferson *hors de combat*. For this purpose, the misfortunes of the period were ascribed to him; he was impeached in some loose way; and a day for some species of hearing, at the succeeding Session of Assembly, was appointed. However this was, no evidence was ever offered to sustain the impeachment; no question was ever taken upon it, disclosing, on the part of the Assembly, any approbation of the measure; and the hearing was appointed by general consent for the purpose, as many members expressed themselves, to give Mr. Jefferson an opportunity of demonstrating the absurdity of the censure. But the impeachment, sour as was the temper of the Legislature, failed to produce the two

ends it had in view, namely, to put down Mr. Jefferson and to put up the project of a Dictator. The pulse of the Assembly was incidentally felt, in debates on the state of the Commonwealth and, out of doors, by personal conversations. Out of these, a ferment gradually arose, which foretold a violent opposition to any species of Dictatorship; and, as in a previous instance of a similar attempt, the apprehension of personal danger produced a relinquishment of the scheme. Whilst these things were going on, at Staunton, Mr. Jefferson was in Bedford,” * * * “but, as soon as the project for a Dictator was dropped, his resignation of the Government appeared. This produced a new scene. Many of the members talked of re-electing him. Several of his warmest friends strenuously opposed it, upon the grounds that, as he had divested himself of the Government to heal the divisions of the Legislature, at that perilous season, for the public good and to meet the accusation upon equal terms, for his own honour, his motives were too strong to be relinquished, and too fair to be withstood. Still, though General Nelson, the most popular man in the State and without an enemy in the Legislature, was nominated, a considerable portion of the Assembly voted for Mr. Jefferson. The two considerations, just stated, alone prevented his re-election.”

If this account be true, no vote was ever taken on the proposition to appoint a Dictator, nor was that proposition ever made in the Legislature. A preliminary proposition was made, to wit: to impeach Mr. Jefferson; and the pulse of the Assembly was felt, in debates on the State of the Commonwealth; but no vote was taken, even on the preliminary proposition. Girardin states that the impeachment was merely a device to place Mr. Jefferson *hors de combat*, which the advocates of a dictatorship found was necessary to their scheme. The truth is, Mr. Jefferson had ceased to be Governor, on the second of June—(See Girardin's *History of Virginia*, 502)—and was completely *hors de combat*, being separated from the Legislature, by a considerable distance, and having tendered his “resignation of Government,” as he called his making known his determination not to offer for re-election, while the Legislature was at Charlottesville, if he himself is to be believed—(See his letter to General Washington, 28th May, 1781, and his *Memoir*, page 41, also Volume IV. of his *Correspondence*, page 41, Edition by his grandson, 1829.) In the last reference, Mr. Jefferson says, expressly, that when his term was near expiring, he proposed to his friends in the Legislature to elect General Nelson. Indeed, Mr. Jefferson had no opportunity, after he parted

with the Legislature, on the fourth of June, to communicate with them, before the twelfth, as they went in different directions, each avoiding the British troops, which had gotten between them, at Charlottesville.

The motive given by Mr. Jefferson for declining a re-election and urging the election of General Nelson, in the passages just referred to, is very different from that given by Girardin. He pleads the invasion of the State and his own inexperience in military affairs, as his excuse for retiring, at so critical a period. Girardin, however, informs us he was nominated and defeated.

The untruthfulness of Girardin's account of what occurred at Staunton, in reference to this matter, is made manifest by the *Journal of the House of Delegates*, which shows that the Resolution to inquire into the official conduct of Mr. Jefferson was adopted, *after the election of General Nelson to the office of Governor*. It was impossible, then, for that Resolution to have been the first step in a plot, which was attempted and broke down *before* the election took place.

The accounts given in Mr. Jefferson's *Works*, and elsewhere, of the occurrences at Staunton can not be reconciled with Girardin's account. This writer evidently endeavored to explain away the disgrace of the defeat of Mr. Jefferson, on his re-nomination, and of the Resolution to inquire into his conduct, by casting opprobrium upon the Legislature and in charging a scheme for a dictatorship.

It is worthy of remark that Mr. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, did not connect Mr. Henry's name with either scheme; and that it was not until Mr. Henry had been dead for more than seventeen years, that any publication to that effect was ever made; and then the pen of another was used.

The palpable inconsistencies in the accounts, only a few of which I have noticed above, and the contradiction of many items by the *Journals of the House of Delegates* lead us to the conclusion that the whole story is unreliable. If any thing of the sort ever happened, it amounted to nothing more, in all probability, than the loose talk of some panic-stricken men, such as was heard in the last days of the late Southern Confederacy, about General Robert E. Lee. If, indeed, any one was designated, at Staunton, as the proposed Dictator, it was General Nelson, "the most popular man in the State," who possessed the military experience needed for the emergency, and was in the eye of the Assembly, as their next Governor, or had been in fact elected; and who was vested with extraordinary powers, during the Session. Mr. Henry had no military experience, and was ineligible to the

office of Governor, by the Constitution, until 1788.

Whatever may have been the facts from which this story of two plots to make Mr. Henry a Dictator has arisen, we have the testimony of Mr. Jefferson himself, the only contemporary of Mr. Henry who has ever written an account of the matters, and from whom all the accounts seem to have originated, that Mr. Henry was not in the slightest, implicated in either scheme. On the first occasion, Mr. Wirt has expressly said that he had met with no one who ventured to affirm that Mr. Henry suggested or countenanced the project, and that Mr. Henry and his friends firmly and uniformly persisted in asserting his innocence—(See page 223); and, of the second, that inquiries were made of the surviving members of the Legislature of 1781, which resulted in a conviction of the Mr. Henry's entire innocence.—(See page 248.) Having made free use of Mr. Jefferson's communications, while preparing his *Life of Henry*, Mr. Wirt submitted to him the work, in manuscript, to be corrected in statements, style, etc. After correcting a few statements, in some passages, Mr. Jefferson returned the manuscript, with high commendation, and advice to publish the work, admitting the truth of every statement corrected.—(See *Kennedy's Life of Wirt*, p. 417, for correspondence of Jefferson and Wirt.) It has been reserved for Mr. Pollard to be the first man, so far as I know, to directly charge Mr. Henry with complicity in these "plots" and thus to attempt to fix a stigma upon him. The charge, unsustained, affixes a stigma on the person who makes it.

As the second evidence of Mr. Henry's inconsistency as a public man, Mr. Pollard, in the last place, charges that he opposed the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, tending to consolidation, and, from the large powers given to the Executive, calculated to be the ruin of the country; and, in his last speech, before the people of Charlotte, pronounced the Alien and Sedition-laws good and proper, and opposed the doctrine of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799.

It would be more strictly true to say that Mr. Henry pronounced the Federal Constitution a consolidated Government. He claimed that evidence of the fact commenced with the first words: "We the people of the United States," and he wrung from Mr. Madison, the admission that, in some respects, it was of a consolidated nature. Notwithstanding his earnest opposition, it was adopted; and the Confederation of the States was changed to a consolidated Government, as he believed. Mr. Henry, in his last speech in the Virginia Convention which adopted it, said he would live under it a peaceful

citizen. He redeemed his pledge, nobly; and, so far as he was called on to take part in public affairs, afterwards, he gave the new form of Government a fair trial.

The passage, by the General Assembly of Virginia, of the famous Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, gave him serious alarm, and determined him to yield to the earnest solicitation of General Washington and others, and, leaving his retirement, to offer for a seat in the succeeding Legislature. Those Resolutions were understood to announce the doctrine that a State had the right to construe Federal acts and, if deemed unconstitutional, to resist their execution. Mr. Madison drew them, adroitly; but they were acknowledged to be substantially the same with the Kentucky Resolutions, passed just before, which were penned by Mr. Jefferson and contained, distinctly, the doctrine of Nullification.

If the General Government was consolidated, acting directly on the people, certainly a State could not nullify its acts, without revolution; and so Mr. Henry thought, in 1788, when opposing the ratification of the Constitution; and so he thought, in 1799, when construing the instrument. Wherein did he change? The change was in his opponents who, having forced upon him the system of Government, after being warned of its powers, and confessing them, afterwards denied the very powers they had first admitted.

It is unfortunate for Mr. Pollard that, after commencing his attack upon Mr. Henry, by discrediting Mr. Wirt, his biographer, he, in conclusion, bases his most serious charges on those statements of Mr. Wirt which are, in fact, erroneous.

The report given to Mr. Wirt of Mr. Henry's last speech, was furnished by some correspondent who was not accurate, as has been abundantly proven by the testimony of those present. I have seen the statements of six of his hearers, who concur in saying, that Mr. Henry did not say the "Alien and Sedition laws were good and proper;" and that he expressed no opinion as to them. They were men of the highest standing and intelligence in the County, and some of them intimate with him; and these last unite in saying that they knew that his opinion was that they *were not* good and proper laws. In August, 1867, Mr. Charles Campbell, who has written a history of Virginia, of high authority, published the certificates of several of these witnesses, in the *Petersburg Index*.

Mr. Henry's effort was to calm the excited minds of the people and to persuade them to use constitutional means to obtain redress of their grievances, and not to plunge, headlong, into civil war. Doctor Archibald Alexander, who was present, pronounced his speech, "a

"noble effort, such as could have proceeded from none but a patriotic heart."

The wisdom and patriotism of Patrick Henry never shone more conspicuously than on that occasion; and, if not universally acknowledged, at the time, they have been completely demonstrated to this generation.

I might give abundant testimony, left by his contemporaries, to the high and consistent character of Mr. Henry, showing that he exactly filled Quintilian's requisite. I will only give, however, that of two, taken from different portions of the Union. Says John Adams, in a letter to Mr. Wirt, dated the twenty-third of January, 1818—(*See Adams's Life and Works*, x., 277): "From a personal acquaintance, perhaps I might say a friendship, with Mr. Henry, of more than forty years, and from all that I have heard and read of him, I have always considered him a gentleman of deep reflection, keen sagacity, clear foresight, daring enterprise, inflexible intrepidity, and untainted integrity; with an ardent zeal for the liberties, the honor, and felicity of his country and his species."

George Mason, in his letter to Cockburn, heretofore quoted, adds: "But his eloquence is the smallest part of his merit. He is, in my opinion, the first man upon this Continent, as well in abilities as public virtues; and had he lived in Rome about the time of the first Punic War, when the Roman people had arrived at their meridian glory and their virtue not tarnished, Mr. Henry's talents must have put him at the head of that glorious Commonwealth."

I am yours, very respectfully,
WILLIAM WIRT HENRY.

V.—THE WAR WITH THE SAG AND FOX INDIANS, UNDER BLACK HAWK, IN ILLINOIS AND MICHIGAN, IN 1832.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MICHIGAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MARCH 1, 1860.*

BY THE LATE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ELECTUS
BACKUS, U. S. A.

At the period to which this brief sketch refers, Michigan was a Territory of the United States, and, in addition to its present limits, embraced a portion, if not the whole, of the present State of Wisconsin. Illinois furnished a majority of

* This paper was sent to us, immediately after it was delivered, by its author; and we can furnish no more important material for an accurate history of the "Great West."—Editor.

the Volunteers employed; while Indiana and Michigan each supplied its quota of active troops, in the field, and reserves, at home, ready at a moment's notice to meet any emergency that might occur. General Dodge commanded the Michigan Volunteers from the mining district, about Dodgeville and the Blue Mounds; and Colonel Irwin, at Green Bay, was called into service with two hundred men of his Regiment, to serve in the direction of Winnebago. General Williams, of Detroit, held his troops in readiness for the field, and only waited for an opportunity to employ them actively against the common enemy.

The Sac, or Saukie, and Fox Indians had occupied a portion of the State of Illinois; but were removed to the West bank of the Mississippi, in compliance with a Treaty made at Prairie-du-Chien, on the fifteenth of July, 1830. Ke-o-kuk, the principal Chief, was friendly to the whites, and made the Treaty referred to; but a turbulent spirit, called Black Hawk, was Chief of the "British Band," and refused to execute its conditions. In 1831, General Gaines, with six Companies of Regulars, and Governor Reynolds, with seven hundred Volunteers, compelled Black Hawk and his adherents to cross the Mississippi and evacuate the State of Illinois. No hostilities occurred, yet much ill-feeling was engendered; and Black Hawk only waited a favorable opportunity to sate his revenge.

In the month of August, 1831, the Sac and Fox Indians made an assault upon a band of Menominees, near Prairie-du-Chien, and inhumanly butchered twenty of their numbers. The Menominees, thirsting for revenge, entered into an agreement with the Sioux to make war, conjointly, upon the Sacs and Foxes. The Government of the United States humanely interfered, to prevent so great a catastrophe; and demanded, from the Sacs and Foxes, a surrender of the parties implicated in this butchery. The demand was not complied with; and, on the seventeenth of March, 1832, orders were issued, at Washington, directing General Henry Atkinson, commanding a Department of which St. Louis was the Headquarters, to proceed with troops to Rock-island, and demand the murderers; and, in the event of his failure to obtain them, to seize eight or ten of their men and hold them, as hostages, for the conduct of the tribe.

Black Hawk was the evil spirit of the Nation. He and his band had received annuities from the British Government, at Malden, in Canada, and held our Government and its people in supreme contempt. General Atkinson received his orders on the first of April, 1832; and, on the eighth, he embarked at St. Louis, on two steamers, with six Companies of the Sixth Infantry, and arrived at the Lower Rapids, on the tenth. Here, he

learned that Black Hawk, with his band and a few Kickapoos and Pottawatomies, had crossed the Mississippi, at the Yellow Banks, five days previously, and was, then, *en route* to Rock-river, with five hundred well-appointed horsemen, besides men and boys to propel the canoes which contained their families and property. "This," says General Atkinson, "was the first intimation I received of the disaffection of Black Hawk." The force under General Atkinson was but little more than two hundred footmen; and common prudence prevented him from pursuing so large a body, until he had means of coercing them to return to their own lands, on the West of the Mississippi. He sent an express to advise the frontier people of their danger, and also advised the Governor of Illinois of the invasion of his State; and suggested the propriety of his throwing a few Companies of Rangers upon the frontier, for its protection, until advice should be sent from Washington, signifying the will of the Government. Governor Reynolds, without further notice, ordered a large body of Militia into the field, and directed their march upon Rock-island. General Atkinson next drew from Fort Crawford, three Companies of the Fifth Infantry, and desired the senior officer of Militia at Galena, and General Dodge, of Michigan, to organize the Militia under their command, and hold themselves in readiness for active service. He also ordered supplies from St. Louis.

On the seventh of May, Governor Reynolds arrived at a point four miles above the mouth of Rock-river, with a Brigade of seven hundred mounted Volunteers, commanded by General Whitesides. Like all bodies of Militia they were impatient of delay and anxious to proceed rapidly; and General Atkinson acceded, with much reluctance, that Governor Reynolds should precede him, with the State troops to Dixon's-ferry; while General Atkinson would ascend Rock-river, in small boats, as rapidly as possible, carrying with him all the supplies of the Army in the field. On the thirteenth of May, Governor Reynolds arrived at Dixon's-ferry, where he met Stillman's Battalion of Rangers.

If any indiscretion had been committed prior to this event, it was that of permitting Governor Reynolds to move in advance of the General and Regular troops. The Militia had been mustered into the service of the United States, and were subject to General Atkinson's orders, from that day. General Whitesides nominally commanded them; but Governor Reynolds was present and advised and controlled their movements with good and honest purposes, no doubt. The result shows that a good politician may be a very indifferent soldier, and that he would have done far more service and less injury by remaining at his capital.

or Stillman and his men were eager to meet the Indians; and applied to Governor Reynolds for authority to advance. General Atkinson said: "Governor Reynolds *ordered* Major Stillman to proceed with his Battalion in pursuit of the Indians." This indiscretion led to the disastrous results, at a period when General Atkinson had no adequate means to meet the emergency. No act of war had yet been committed. The Indians had passed Dixon's-ferry, and had committed no overt act, except trespassing on the soil of Illinois, with their hands. On the fourteenth of May, Stillman marched with his Battalion—two hundred men—to a muddy and boggy place about five miles below Sycamore-creek, and encamped. He crossed the creek, to the east bank. At about sunset, five Indians, on horseback, showed themselves, near his camp, in a clump of timber, in the open prairie. A few of his men, without orders, saddled up and commenced the pursuit.

The Indians did not wish to fight.* They gave signals of a peaceful nature.† The Volunteers were excited and warm for battle; and the Indians fled towards their main camp, on Sycamore-creek. The whites pursued, and, in a short piece of ground, killed two Indians. This was the *first blood-shed*, and the commencement of hostilities. The Volunteers pursued to Sycamore-creek, where they found Black Hawk and his warriors. A parley ensued; but the Indians quickly learned that two of their men were killed, and prepared for action. The sight of a formidable line of Indians checked the courage of the Volunteers. They were in utter confusion, acting solely from individual impulse; and now commenced a headlong retreat, towards their own camp. As soon as the Indians could overtake them, they pursued them to Stillman's camp, making it into endless confusion. No sensible arrangement was made, here, but every man mounted his horse, some without saddles or bridles, and sought safety in a precipitate flight. Many were bogged down in the muddy stream, and killed or captured. Eleven men and, per-haps, twenty horses were killed; and the wagon, ammunition, provisions, etc., were all abandoned, and fell into the hands of the enemy. A few Indians followed the whites, yet the camp was filled with the flying troops; and they drew rein nor checked their speed, until obliged to do so, by exhaustion. Fifty-two were missing, on the following day; but all returned, eventually, but eleven, which the Indians reported as killed by them. The In-

dians lost none, after the first assault, in the marsh, near Sycamore-creek.

This occurred on the fourteenth of May; and General Atkinson did not reach Dixon's-ferry, with his boats, baggage, and supplies, until the seventeenth. The impropriety of detaching an undisciplined and irresponsible command was now apparent to everybody. General Atkinson had consented to the movement of Governor Reynolds, with much reluctance and timidity; but he never dreamed that Governor Reynolds would delegate his powers to any command less than his entire force. Major Stillman's force was insufficient to the purpose before him; and the assault on the Indians was made by a fraction only of that force. This precipitate movement drove General Atkinson into measures for which he was unprepared. On the nineteenth, he marched, with Whitesides's Brigade, for Sycamore-creek; and Colonel Zachary Taylor followed up the river, with the boats, subsistence, and regular troops. The river was swollen by heavy rains, and the incessant labor of the troops, in hauling and propelling the boats, was severe; but it was borne without a murmur. News now reached the General of murders committed on the Dupage, Fox-river, and elsewhere; and Colonel Johnston, Stillman's successor, was ordered to Ottawa, to cover the settlements, in that direction. Finding the enemy had left Sycamore-creek, and gone in the direction of the Big Woods, on Fox-river, the Regulars were ordered back to Dixon's-ferry, as a depot; and General Whitesides, accompanied by Colonel Taylor and Captain Harney of the Army, pursued the Indian trail, towards the Big Woods. Finding the trails small and scattering, he changed his course, towards Ottawa, and his men, claiming their discharges, were mustered out of service, by Governor Reynolds, before a single blow had been struck, and while the whole frontier was covered with parties of hostile Indians, carrying the faggot and the scalping-knife into every settlement and to every fireside. Thus ended the first Campaign; and it was now necessary to call for fresh troops and supplies, for a second effort, to meet a formidable and successful enemy, and, if possible, to expel him from the country.

In April, 1832, General Brady commanded the Department on the Upper Lakes, and was ordered to proceed from Detroit, as soon as the navigation of the lakes should open, to Green Bay or Fort Winnebago, and to co-operate with General Atkinson in reducing the Sacs and Foxes to obedience. Without waiting for the melting of the ice, he started, about the twentieth of April, on horseback, to cross the country, *via* Chicago to Fort Winnebago. His only companion was his Aid-de-camp, Lieutenant

* Black Hawk says they showed a white flag. They held their guns horizontally above their heads, and cocked out the priming.

Backus ; * and the comforts and accommodations upon the route were meagre and uncertain. In twelve days, he reached Chicago, where he obtained a pack-horse and guide, and proceeded on to Winnebago. Our forage and provisions were carried on a single pack-horse. The weather was cold ; and, on the night we slept on Fox-river, ice was frozen half an inch in thickness. We made a fire, but had no covering except our saddle-blankets. We passed by Lake Kosh-kong and the Four Lakes ; and reached Winnebago on the seventeenth day from Detroit. The Winnebagos were now quite restless ;, but professed to be friendly.

General Brady soon learned that the Sacs and Foxes had crossed the Mississippi; but hostilities were not yet deemed certain. About the seventeenth of May, the Winnebagoes came in and said a fight had taken place near Sycamore-creek, and the whites were whipped and had fled. They added that eleven white men had been killed; and that they had a strong smell of whisky. General Brady immediately ordered troops and provisions from Green Bay to Winnebago; and opened a correspondence with General Atkinson, and, at his suggestion, proceeded to join him with two Companies of the Fifth Infantry. General Brady descended the Wisconsin and Mississippi-rivers, in Mackinac boats, to Galena. Here he obtained a few ox-teams, and arrived at Dixon's-ferry on the ninth of June. Several smart actions had occurred near Galena, with Volunteers, in one of which Captain Stevenson was badly wounded, after severely chastising the enemy. The families about the country had abandoned their homes, and, in several places, had built stockades, where they were safe from sudden outbreaks. At Dixon's-ferry, General Brady was joined by General Dodge, and both proceeded to Ottawa, to meet General Atkinson, who was waiting the approach of a new levy of Volunteers. He had retained only a small Battalion, under an energetic officer, Major Fry, in whom he justly placed much confidence. General Atkinson found Governor Reynolds at Ottawa, who agreed to supply him with

a large force of Volunteers, by the twelfth and fifteenth of June.

It was now the twenty-ninth of May. On the twelfth of June, the new troops began to arrive. On the fifteenth, Posey's Brigade was organized; and, on the sixteenth, Alexander's each Brigade consisting of about one thousand men. Henry's Brigade, of twelve hundred and fifty men, was completed on the twentieth. On the nineteenth, Posey's Brigade and two Companies of the Sixth Infantry, under Colonel Baker, were ordered to Dixon's ferry, to report to General Brady, who had been assigned to the command of a Division. Posey's Brigade was assigned to cover Galena and the military district, and was, soon after, sent in that direction by General Brady. Major Dement, who commanded the Spy Battalion, was in advance, and near Kellogg's Grove, thirty-five from Dixon, he fell in with one hundred and twenty of the enemy, and was driven back to the farm buildings, with the loss of a few men. His horses were in the lane, in front of the house, and in the enclosures adjoining, and the Indians surrounded them and shot at them about sixty. The troops were in the farm buildings, and kept up a rapid fire at the Indians, for several hours. Neither party sustained any great loss; and the enemy's force was driven back. One of Dement's men escaped from the fort, wounded, with dispatches to General Posey, and soon met him on the road. His march was quickened, and, on his arrival, he found the enemy still near the fort; but, from fatigue of his men and horses and the approach of night induced him to defer a pursuit until the next day, when it was ascertained that the Indians had retired in the direction of the Kosh-ko-nong.

On the twenty-fifth of June, Henry's and Alexander's Brigades had arrived at Dixon's the Headquarters; and Alexander was sent towards Plum-creek, to intercept a large force going in that direction. On the twenty-eighth of June, Henry's Brigade (nine hundred of the Regulars, under Colonel Zachary Taylor) took up the line of march for Lake Kosh-kong-shong. We had also two pieces of artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Wheelwright. The second Division was commanded by General Brady, and was accompanied by General Johnson and his Staff, of which Lieutenant General Johnston, now General Johnston, was the chief. Strong detachments were left to guard the depots, at Dixon's and at Ottawa. On the following day, we crossed the creek, where the man's disaster occurred, on the fourteenth of May—now known as Stillman's Run. The horses, burnt wagons, saddle-bags, and remnants of clothing were scattered over the ground.

proved that the descriptions of eye-witnesses were only too true. On the third of July, we were at Kosh-ko-nong-lake, and found that the Indians had dispersed and scattered, in small parties, probably to re-unite, at some more favorable position. General Alexander joined us with his Brigade, on the evening of the fourth. General Posey, with a part of his Brigade, and General Dodge, with a Battalion of Michigan Indiana Volunteers, arrived on the opposite shore of Lake Kosh-ko-nong, on the fifth. Alexander was now ordered to cross Rock-river, join General Dodge, and ascend the West bank; while General Brady, with the Regulars and Henry's and Alexander's Brigades, should ascend the East bank. On the night of the sixth of July, we encamped at White Water. Dodge and Alexander were called, by express, with the view of ascertaining the enemy, on the seventh, who was very close in our front, in force. Their spies were seen on the opposite bank of the White Water, but their main force was not present, and the Winnebago guides had intentionally deceived us. Our roads, to-day, were excessively bad, and the time was spent in hunting for fords and building bridges. A Council of War was held.

Two Brigades of Volunteers had expended, or thrown away, their provisions; and were suddenly brought to a stand-still. General Brady now advised General Atkinson that he had ordered large supplies of subsistence to Winnebago, which was only sixty or seventy miles North of us. Henry, Alexander, and Dodge were ordered to Winnebago, for a period of twelve days; and Posey was ordered to Milton's, Dodgeville, and Kellogg's, to protect the frontier and to intercept the enemy, in the event of his flight, in that direction. Henry was directed to watch for any trails going towards the Wisconsin; and, if he found any, to pursue them, and send information, by express, to General Atkinson, at Kosh-ko-nong, where he was waiting, with the Regulars, for the arrival of the Volunteers. General Atkinson sent his dispatches: "It is but fair to remark, that but for the waste of provisions by the Volunteers, and unavoidable losses in crossing rivers, and the miring down of supplies in creeks and swamps, the supply would have been ample until the train of wagons arrived." The Regulars, who marched with the same supply (twenty days'), were not wanted until the full period had expired. This was entirely due to the care they took of their provisions, and to their experience. During the absence of the Volunteers, the troops erected a line of pickets, for the protection of the sick and of the supplies. General Brady was here seized with dysentery, which terminated his service in the Campaign.

On the sixteenth of July, a train of thirty-six wagons, loaded with subsistence-stores, arrived from the Blue Mounds. On the seventeenth, Alexander's Brigade returned from Winnebago. Henry and Dodge had gone direct to Rock-river Rapids, to find the enemy; and, on the nineteenth, General Atkinson marched again, up the White Water, with the Regulars and Alexander's Brigade, to co-operate with them. The Indians were in the triangle between the Rock-river and White Water, in a marshy, timbered country, difficult of access, and little known by the white people. Here, they found some game, roots, and vegetable substances, on which they had subsisted, or existed. But our delays, our marchings, and our countermarchings had misled and deceived them, and had prevented them from separating, to hunt or fish; hence, their supplies were exhausted, and they were actually in a state of starvation. Our masterly inactivity, occasioned by treacherous advice and want of stores, had already conquered them. But we were not yet aware of this fact. The last five beehives in our camp were stolen in the night, by our allies, the Winnebagos, and driven directly to the Sac camp, in the muddy triangle above us. At length, exhausted and confused, they determined to fly towards the Wisconsin; and, seeing Alexander's Brigade return to Kosh-ko-nong, they passed out, immediately behind him, not knowing that Dodge and Henry were yet in the rear. Dodge and Henry struck the fresh trail; sent an express to General Atkinson; and then followed the Indians, at their greatest speed.

Evidences of their poverty and suffering were seen, upon every mile of the trail. The bones of horses, which had been killed, to prevent starvation of the women and children, were hourly passed; and, eventually, a few stragglers in the rear were discovered; and, as they approached the Wisconsin-river, they were met by a formidable body of Indians, and a sharp action ensued. The women and children were crossing the river; and the Indians only maintained the struggle long enough to effect this purpose. Several were killed, on both sides; but the Indians suffered most, and availed themselves of the darkness of night, to escape and follow their families. This occurred on the twenty-first of July, 1832.

On the night of the nineteenth, the express from General Henry reached Kosh-ko-nong, in the midst of a terrible storm. General Atkinson had marched, early that morning, up the White Water; and it was necessary that this express should reach him, as early as possible. Yet it was so dark and stormy that no man could ride and keep the trail; and General Brady directed that the express-man should wait until daylight, and then press through, as rapidly as his horse

could carry him. At nine in the morning, he reached General Atkinson's camp, which was nearly deluged with the previous night's rain; and, instead of marching up the White Water, he, at once, retraced his steps, and, on the same night, encamped with us, at Kosh-ko-nong. On the twenty-first of July, General Atkinson marched for the Blue Mounds, and arrived there on the twenty-fourth. General Henry was there for supplies; and General Dodge had gone to Dodgeville to recruit his Battalion. The next day, General Atkinson marched, with the Regulars, Henry's Brigade and Alexander's, for the Wisconsin, near Helena, sixteen miles distant.

Rafts were constructed for crossing the river; but they were of small capacity, and difficult to manage. The General determined to take with him only the most efficient troops, and, therefore, sent all the worn-out horses, etc., of the Volunteers, to Fort Hamilton, and the sick were left at Helena. The force was now reduced to four hundred Regulars and nine hundred Volunteers. The Volunteers were commanded by Henry, Alexander, and Dodge. The crossing was slow and difficult, and occupied the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth. Having proceeded four miles, on the twenty-ninth, the troops struck the trail of the Indians, and pursued it, with zeal and industry, through an exceedingly difficult country, until the second of August, when the Indians were overtaken, on the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Bad-Axe, and were entirely subdued. The families were in the act of crossing the river—some in canoes, some on small rafts, and some were clinging to the tails of their ponies, who were swimming towards the western bank, and towing their burdens after them. Many Indians were killed in the willows, near the bank, and very many, including women and children, were killed in the water, endeavoring to escape. The number was estimated at one hundred and fifty. Black Hawk and his family had already fled into the Winnebago country; and were not in the action. They were subsequently captured and delivered to General Atkinson, by the Winnebagos, who deserted their allies as rats flee from a sinking ship. The troops descended the Mississippi, to Prairie-du-Chien. The Volunteers were discharged, and the Regulars descended to Rock Island, where they met General Scott, who had come out with a large force of Regulars, to supersede General Atkinson and conduct the war. His movements will be noticed hereafter.

Many small affairs occurred between the Indians and Volunteers, not mentioned above, yet some of them were brilliant and successful, while others were marked by stupidity, gross carelessness, and neglect. The one which attracted the most attention, and evinced the

greatest tact and decision, was conducted by General Dodge and his Volunteers from Kosh-ko-nong. I have no official account of it, but received the details from eye-witnesses, a few subsequent to the event. It occurred about the first of July, on the Pickatobia (or Pic-a-doo-ca), perhaps twenty miles West from the Fox Lakes. General Dodge is said to have had twenty-eight men, and to have met seventeen Indians, sixteen of whom were killed. General Dodge lost but one or two men and had some three or four wounded. The party was literally wiped out, as only one boy escaped by lying still in the grass and avoiding observation. It was considered the most brilliant affair of the war, and was entirely in keeping with the General's former character. Many other small affairs occurred which were creditable to the party employed; but I have no data by which they can be designated, and shall, therefore, omit them. Captain Snyder was actively employed near Helena, and had several skirmishes with the enemy.

At the moment that General Atkinson was preparing for the Wisconsin, General Brady was at Kosh-ko-nong, slowly recovering from a dangerous illness. As soon as he was able to move, on the twenty-fourth of July, he started on horseback, and reached there the next day. At this point, he met General Scott, who had brought Regiments from the seaboard, all of whom suffered with the cholera, to a frightful extent. The disease was already abating; and the General was preparing for a vigorous campaign. His latest news from General Atkinson was that he was at Helena, ready to pursue the enemy's trail towards the Mississippi. Captain Lewis, of the Fifth Infantry, was left with his Company in charge of the depot, at Kosh-ko-nong, and remained there, until hostilities had commenced. General Brady returned slowly to Detroit, a part of the way in a common road-wagon, and the bed of hay, entirely unable to sit upon his horse. It was many weeks before he recovered his health.

Various rumors had been in circulation as to the intentions and movements of the Indians, and it was feared that, if closely pressed and hard pressed, they would endeavor to reach Canada, passing through the State of Michigan. The interior settlements were sparse and unprepared for defence; and it was apprehended that they might suffer equally with those West of South of Chicago. These Indians had received presents in Canada (at Malden), and would naturally seek their friends, if pursued by their enemies. The public mind was excited; and the people of Michigan were ready and willing to act against the common enemy as soon as the means of doing so could be devised.

For this purpose, Major-general John R. Williams proceeded to Chicago to obtain timely information, which would enable him to determine the number and character of troops required in this State, as well as the point where their services might be needed. He was accompanied by his Aids, Major Charles Whipple and Major M. Wilson; and was escorted by a Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Captain Charles Jackson. Garry Spencer was the First Lieutenant of the Troop, John Farrar was its Second Lieutenant, and James Hanmer was its Third Lieutenant. This command remained, some weeks, at Chicago, awaiting the development of the war, and made an excursion thence to the Naper settlement, which was threatened by the savages. It finally returned to Detroit, after the defeat of Black Hawk. Another company of foot troops, under Captain Marsac, was ordered to the seat of war, and marched as far as Saline,* where orders for their return were received from Governor Mason. This was a great disappointment to them, as their hopes of meeting the enemy were strong; and they lost confidence in their ability to cope with Indians, at any time, under equal circumstances. This Company was composed entirely of our native French population. The men were all good woodsmen and hunters, and perfectly familiar with Indian tricks and Indian warfare. A better class of men, for this purpose, does not exist; and, in the event of their ever meeting a savage foe, they will prove that the present stock has in no degree degenerated. Another body of Volunteers, under General Brown, marched from Lenawee-county, as far as Niles, Laporte, but were also recalled, without an opportunity of meeting the enemy. Detroit had suffered much from the ravages of the cholera. Its introduction was charged on the troops on board of several steamers, en route to the seat of war. It doubtless would have prevailed here, perhaps a few weeks later, if the troops had not passed within a hundred miles of this city. It prevailed to such an extent, on board of one of the transports, that the commanding officer, Major Twiggs, landed the troops near Fort Gratiot, on the St. Clair, and abandoned the intention of joining General Scott, at Chicago. Many of the soldiers died, and others dispersed in an absolute panic. But a small portion of them ever returned to the service. Each transport lost a portion by the epidemic; and the army, at Chicago, was virtually paralyzed, for many days, after it had assembled at that place. No man exhibited a greater degree of moral courage than General

Scott, at this trying period. He was daily with the troops, in the hospital and in the camp; in short, he was at every point where his noble presence could give moral strength and comfort to the sick and to the dying.

The garrison, at Fort Gratiot, under Major Alexander Thompson, was ordered to Chicago, after the epidemic had become general. No transport could be obtained; and he determined to take the route by land. On his arrival at Detroit, so great was the panic, that he experienced some difficulty in landing, the authorities apparently presuming that soldiers and the cholera were inseparable. He, at length, landed and marched, first to Chicago and then to Rock Island. Here, again, the epidemic became virulent; and hundreds of brave and worthy men found an untimely grave on the banks of the Mississippi.

The captives—Sacs and Foxes—were taken to Rock Island, and were catechised, most elaborately, by General Scott and his assistants. It appeared, as we had conjectured, that the Winnebagos, our professed allies, were operating on both sides, and in both camps. Those in our camp stole our beef cattle and drove them to the enemy. They went out in a fog, and shot one of our men who was fishing in the White Water; and, before the wounds of the soldier were dressed, they were again in camp, eating Uncle Sam's beef with an air of innocence which would have deceived the arch-fiend himself. In the Treaty, which followed, their tricks and treachery were not forgotten; and they were forced to part with lands on which they had lived, from time immemorial, and to which they were ardently attached. General Scott did not reach the enemy's country until the last gun had been fired; but he conducted and closed the subsequent negotiations with quite as much ability as the war had been conducted by General Atkinson. No jealousy existed between these great and generous men. They were warm friends, and had served together, on former Campaigns, in a common cause, when great interests were at stake.

While General Atkinson was stopping at the Rapids of the Illinois, below Ottawa, awaiting the arrival of the new levy of Volunteers, a message was delivered to him to this effect, viz.: "That General Jackson, then President of the United States, had stated that he had furnished adequate means for prosecuting the War against the Sacs and Foxes, and had placed General Atkinson in command; and that if he (General Atkinson) did not terminate the war, in thirty days, he would dismiss him from the Army." The statement was said to have been made to one or more of the Representatives in Congress, from the State

* Other Companies were at Saline, but I am not advised of their designations.

of Illinois. When the news of Stillman's disaster and consequent delays reached Washington, it appears that still greater doubts existed of the competency of General Atkinson to conduct this War; and General Scott was ordered to supersede him. General Scott proceeded, promptly, to discharge the duty assigned him; but an intervention of Providence, the cholera, delayed his movements until General Atkinson had subdued the enemy and placed the frontier settlements of Illinois and Michigan beyond the reach of danger.

I will venture to say that no Indian War, of the same magnitude and importance, was ever brought to a close, in so brief a space of time. The first gun was fired, at Stillman's-run, on the evening of the fourteenth of May; and the last and farewell shot echoed from the banks of the Mississippi, on the morning of the second of August. It embraced a period of precisely seventy-nine days. The Florida War covered a space of twenty-three years, and employed, successively, seven or eight of our most distinguished Generals. The Wars in Texas and New Mexico have existed, with slight interruptions, for ten years; and they bid fair to continue ten years longer.

General Atkinson had probably never before exercised a command of such magnitude and importance. General Scott, with his world-wide fame, could well afford to be generous without endangering his well-earned laurels. He had determined to afford General Atkinson every proper opportunity to execute his plans and end the War, when, to his great gratification, he received the joyful intelligence that *he had met and conquered the enemy*. The prejudices which had existed against him, causing him to be superseded, had fallen still-born to the ground; and his reputation, as an honest, able, and indefatigable public officer, was placed upon a basis where envy, suspicion, and jealousy could never reach it. He has gone to his last, his final place of rest; but his generous and noble qualities are yet fresh in the memories of those who knew him best, and will live forever in the history of our great and ever-growing West.

—Mr. C. B. Darwin, of San Francisco, has been investigating a shell-mound near Steiner-street, North of Greenwich, in that city. The mound is not composed wholly of shells, but is an ordinary sand-heap, with a layer of shells, from two to four feet in thickness, on the surface. Digging into the side of the hill, he unearthed, in the sand, under the shells, a complete skeleton, apparently in a kneeling position. The skeleton is to be presented to the California Academy of Science.

VI.—LETTER FROM MATTHEW LYON,
LATE REPRESENTATIVE IN CON-
GRESS FROM THE STATE OF VER-
MONT, TO CITIZEN JOHN ADAMS.

RE-PRINTED FROM A CONTEMPORARY COPY.*

CITY OF WASHINGTON.

59 minutes before one, A.M.

March 4th, 1801.

FELLOW CITIZEN:

FOUR years ago, this day, you became President of the United States, and I a Representative of the people in Congress; this day has brought us once more on a level; the acquaintance we have had together entitles me to the liberty I take, when you are going to depart for Quincy, by and with the consent and advice of the good people of the United States, to bid you a hearty farewell. This appears to me more proper, as I am going to retire, of my own accord, to the extreme western parts of the United States, where I had fixed myself an asylum from the persecutions of a party, the most base, cruel, ~~and~~ and faithless, that ever disgraced the councils of any nation: That party are now happily buried in "dust and ashes, before the indignation of an injured country," but their deeds can be forgotten.

In this valedictory, I propose, without any ceremony, to bring to your view, a retrospect of some part, at least, of your public conduct during the last four years. In doing this I shall not trouble you or myself with the fair promises in your inauguration speech, nor those three volumes, in which is displayed your love of right and Great Britain. Your early endeavors to involve this country in an endless war, and draw forth her resources on the side of monarchy, against republicanism, forms a trait in your history which much more deserves my notice. Your first speech to the 5th Congress, containing groundless insinuations, that Charles C. Pinckney was authorized to discuss and investigate the demands of the French nation for redress of what they called grievances, presaged your retirement—and when looking over that speech I beg you to reflect on the base manner in which you abused Mr. Monroe, and the French government, because he had, according to his instructions, cultivated a good understanding with the government; and on your childish conduct about dividing the people from the government. I hope Sir, you are not past blushing at what a school boy would be ashamed of. The people of this country can never be divided from the government; you have brought yourself in

* We are indebted to William H. Winder, of the City of New York, for the copy of this tract which we have used in re-producing this notable letter.—*Editor.*

atred and contempt with them, but they never could be induced to view you and your executive officers, as the government—No! The government they love and respect, and have accordingly put it into better hands. You will now have leisure, Sir, to look over your second speech the same congress, when I hope you will reflect how you swelled and strutted when you were abusing the nation you were hypocritically pretending to make up differences with.

Look at the list of laws which you sanctioned at session, giving new and unconstitutional powers to yourself. You will have time to review all the fulsome addresses to you from a misguided multitude; I will not pretend to describe the sensations they will produce, when you reflect how they buoyed up your pride, flattered your vanity, and persuaded you the day was approaching and nigh at hand, when an hereditary crown would be offered you. Read over your answers, Sir, which invoked more and more addresses, until the whole store of the flattery and sycophancy of our country became exhausted: Pitiful indeed must be your feeling in passing home through the now democratic state, New Jersey, which formerly so copiously furnished you with piping hot addresses every morning for breakfast; the servility of a few of their abandoned citizens studied your palate and changed the cookery of the dish oftener than our kitchen servants. Should you stop at Philadelphia how melancholy must it seem to you, if Pherson's band of cockade boys are dispersed or grown up into democrats, no federal mobs were now to sing Hail Columbia and huzzar for John Adams, and terrify your opposers, Hopkinson's lyre is out of tune, Cobbet and Liston are gone, the Quakers are for the living president, and your old friend Joe Thomas I am told can scarcely find duds to cover his nakedness; am surprised you did not make him a judge.

I beg pardon for the digression, but let me advise you to take water at the Federal City and stand at the nearest port of Quincy the condolence of your old confederates, all along from New York to Quincy, and the silent contempt of the multitude, will be too hard for you to bear, soon after your fall, and may deprive you of the little reason you have left.

But to return to the review of your administration as respects your endeavours to plunge the nation into all the horrors of war, after you found that the X, Y, and Z, fabrications did not blind the people sufficiently to their own interest, and after you found France would not be provoked by you to a declaration of war; that they had prudently overlooked all your bullying rapsodies, and offered to meet you in the work of reconciliation, on the terms yourself had proposed you insulted the patience and good

sense of the American people, by withholding the public communication, nearly throughout a whole session of Congress, and then after some of your tergiversations, put the business of negotiation in such a train, as has kept this country more than two years longer in a state of half war which has destroyed some of the most valuable branches of her commerce, and left the stable and essential article of tobacco in the hands of the planter, or obliged him to sell it at one third of its real value to British speculators who have five folded the price to the French.

You came to the administration Sir, under the most favorable auspices at the time when if there were parties in this country, they were by no means hostile to each other, when the increasing revenue was sinking the public debt, when the federal judiciary held a share of popularity in this country, and were regarded with respect; when the contributions toward the public expence sat tolerably easy on the people, when this country was considered as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations, and there was a great influx of foreign riches, industry and ingenuity; when this country was happy in the freedom of speech and of the press; when the constitution was considered a barrier against legislative, executive, and judicial encroachments, and before the people were divided into casts of gentlemen and simple men; before officers, places, and contracts, were considered as the exclusive right of the favorite cast. Reflect a little Sir, and see this awful change made in four short years—I will give you a slight view of it. You commenced your career Sir, by profession, which promised to unite all honest men to you, but they were mere professions; your mad zeal for monarchy and Britain, your love of pomp, your unhappy selection of favorites, your regardlessness of the public treasure, the hard earnings of your fellow citizens, has divided the people into parties and fostered among them, envy, malice, and the rancorous hatred towards each other; father has been set against son, and son against father—brother against brother—neighbors and friends have lost their former relish for the social enjoyments.

Under your administration, Sir, a system of appointments has been established, by which implicit faith in your infallibility, and a lack of discolored truth, became the only qualification to office, or to entitle a person to a contract.

Under your administration Sir, useless and expensive embassies have prevailed to an alarming degree—Offices and officers almost without number, have been created and appointed, all out of the favored cast; while merit and abilities has been disregarded: Capable, discerning and popular men have, by you and minions,

been discharged from the service of their country, without being vouchsafed a reason for their degradation. Your administration Sir, has been famous for contracts; there is not a doubt, but in future, the secret records of your navy office will be studied by your friend Wm. Pitt, and those he wishes to give favorite contracts to; there the oldest and the wickedest British speculators may learn new modes of managing advantageously, about contracts.

The judiciary, Sir, under your untoward administration, have made alarming encroachments on the rights of man; they have adopted the British maxim of non expatriation, in the face of every principle heretofore held dear in this country, and in contradiction to many of the state constitutions. They have been endeavoring to introduce the crude, cruel, undigested, inapt, and obsolete system of the common law into our national jurisprudence; and they have, in defiance of the express prohibition in the constitution, made pass for treason, a crime, defined in laws by another name, and there decreed to be punished by fine and imprisonment. Your conscience recoiled at this; it seems you were not prepared for every thing. Your old friend Hamilton, abuses you for the only good thing you ever did in your life: he ought to have excused you, and recollected how your imagination had been tortured by the ghost of Jonathan Robbins. Your confederate in that case judge Bee, it seems you have provided well for in this world, but there is another world, to which you have sent poor Jonathan, where you must both meet him; may you by sincere repentance, be prepared for that awful meeting.

Under your administration, Sir, and with your consent, your fellow citizens have had a heavy addition to the tax on salt; their houses and lands have been subjected to an unprecedented tax; a tax on licenses for selling the liquor but just before taxed; as well as an odious tax on paper, parchment and vellum has been instituted, and the taxes on some other articles of consumption have been raised. These heavy and additional contributions have not sufficed you to have the command and disposition of: No—many millions have been borrowed at an enormous interest, to satiate the appetites of the greedy courtiers, for which the future earnings of your fellow citizens stand pledged.

An alien law, Sir, bears your signature, which unconstitutionally subjected to your sovereign will, the liberty and banishment of every alien, whatever might be his connexions in, and attachment to this country, and the terms of citizenship have been rendered almost inaccessible, by which the best disposed, and the most able and useful emigrants, have been deterred from

coming to this country; and many have been obliged to fly from your vindictive wrath.

Perhaps in no one instant has our constitution—our sacred bill of rights, been more shamefully, more bare-facedly trampled on, than in the case of the passage of the bill called the sedition law. This, sir, was your darling hobby horse: By this law, you expected to have all your follies, your absurdities, and your atrocities buried in oblivion. You thought by its terrors, to shut the mouths of all but sycophants and flatterers, and to secure yourself in the presidency at least; but, how happily have you been disappointed—the truth has issued from many a patriot pen and press—and you have fallen, never—never to rise again.

It has availed you little Sir to have me fined 1000 dollars and imprisoned four months for declaring truth long before the sedition law was past, to have Holt and Haswell fined 200 dollars and imprisoned two months each, the one for calling the late disbanded army a standing army and the other for publishing the sentiments of your secretary of war, in his letter to Genl. Darke, to have Cooper fined 400 dollars and imprisoned six months because he resented publishing his confidential application to you for an office he was truly worthy of. You complained of the breach of confidence in the case of Tench Coxe, but you had forgot your promise to Cooper.—Those attempts to stifle an investigation of your conduct only accelerated your fall. When you have read thus far you cannot but recollect the benevolent Mr. Ogden, and your rudeness to him, that man who had formerly been your panegyrist and who possessed a great share of the milk of human kindness ever filled the breast of man, took a journey of 400 miles through the northern regions, to carry the petitions of the Vermonters for their Representative, and to try his powers of persuasion on Mr. Adams. Mercy for his favourite friend was to be his theme, I told Mr. Ogden that you were vindictive and revengeful and that he would be disappointed, his good nature would not suffer him to believe me, he tried the experiment, he failed, but how cruel was it of you Sir, to add insult to unkindness, after your refusing to comply with his request, he said you could not let him go without morosely telling him that you supposed it was in his behalf you had been solicited for an office in the Customs in Connecticut, and that his interference in behalf of Mr. Lyon had put it out of your power to do him any favour, cruel indeed, it was enough to disappoint his expectations of flying to his imprisoned friend with the joyful news of his enlargement, it was too much to tell him that his own hopes were all blasted, it broke his heart Sir, he had not hoped so much on his own

count as on account of the aged unprovided widow of General Wooster who would have shared with him the emoluments. That office I understand was among the sacrifices your old friend the General made at the commencement of the revolutionary war, but Sir, the good Mr. Ogden wants no place now from you or any other earthly potentate, he has got a place in Abraham's bosom, and he no doubt looks down from heaven on you with ineffable pity and tender compassion.

It is a long time, Sir, since I have intended myself the honor of at this time writing you a valedictory, I have however put it off from time to time as we are apt to do about things that concern others more than they do ourselves, inevitable business has caused me to neglect this duty until the last moment when I have been obliged to hurry the thing over much against my inclination, you will be kind enough to pardon the many essential omissions I have necessarily been guilty of, there is no doubt but by the time you read thus far your conscience, seated as it is, will be ready to supply many of the defects of my memory.

I must finish my letter, Sir, where you finish your administration, that is with your late nominations, I have been told Sir, that you have given one Secretaryship and four Judgeships for laying the ghost of Jonathan Robbins, besides Judge Bee's appointment, or in other words you gave as a premium to the man who made the most learned and preplexing speech in your favour the Secretaryship, it is a maxim with the lawyers and popish priests I believe, that the greater the villainy to be exculpated from, the greater the fee, the Secretaryship became precarious, the service rendered was great indeed, and not to be forgotten, the Judiciary was the only permanent fund to be applied to, and so long as there was a brother or a sister to make claim, they it seems have been ordered to draw upon it until all were satisfied, the same fund has served you an excellent purpose for legacies to your poor and distant relatives, as well as for rewarding the tories who have been the firmest friends to your administration, through the whole of your late nominations you have proceeded Sir, as if you took counsel from the infernal regions, (some men who are not thought very highly of neither) have spurned your nominations avowedly to avoid the disgrace they confer.

I am told Sir, that when you was Vice President you boasted that for the casting vote upon Mr. Madison's propositions you would not take ten thousand pounds, by you administration you have rendered that vote fatal to your country and made it cost them millions. You seem now more than ever bent on Mischief, your vindictive

spirit prompts you to do every thing in your power to give the succeeding administration trouble, but you are as unfortunate in this, as in most of your calculations, your creatures are generally pliant reeds, they will bend to and fawn upon any body that is in power; it was power they worshipped in you, not John Adams.

Come pray Sir, cool yourself a little, do not coil round like the rattlesnake, and bite yourself, no, betake yourself to fasting and prayer awhile, it may be good for both body and soul, that is a safer remedy for an old man in your situation, than the letting of blood.

Suffer me to recommend to you that patience and resignation which is characteristic of the holy religion you profess. I hope and pray that your fate may be a warning to all usurpers and tyrants, and that you may before you leave this world become a true and sincere penitent, and be forgiven all your manifold sins in the next. I repeat it, this is the sincere wish and prayer of your fellow citizen.

M. LYON.

EXTRACTS

From the Speech of JOHN ADAMS, on his taking the Oath of Office as President of the United States.

A conscientious determination to support the Constitution of the United States, and those of the individual States—An impartial regard to the happiness of all. A love of virtuous men of all parties. To preserve our Constitution from its natural Enemies—the spirit of sophistry—the spirit of party—the spirit of intrigue—the profligacy of corruption and pestilence of Foreign influence which is the Angel of destruction to elective governments.

A personal esteem for the French nation, formed in a residence of seven years chiefly among them, and a sincere desire to preserve their friendship which has been so much for the honor and interest of both nations.

The alien law, sedition law, refusing the Citizens of individual States the rights of suffrage, the behavior to M. Ogden—The patronage of British agents and spy's, the federal vengeance to individuals who were active in the republican cause, will best explain how far perhaps a man of integrity may be led away by men, profligate, and unprincipled, and by according with their views become their slave, and a tyrant to his Country.

—The State Library of Vermont has been fortunate enough to secure files of newspapers, printed in that State, complete enough to make a continuous record from 1788 to 1862.

VII.—SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS
OF REV. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D.,
OF SALEM, MASS.—CONCLUDED FROM
THE NOVEMBER NUMBER.

FROM THE ORIGINALS, IN THE COLLECTION OF
MISS MARY R. CROWNSHIELD, OF CHARLES-
TOWN, MASS.

[From the Hon. Elbridge Gerry, Vice-President
of the United States.]

I.

CAMBRIDGE, 1st Feb. 1813.

MY DEAR SIR,

I am favored by Mr. Robinson with your very friendly and polite letter of the 29th of Jany., and if aught in my future conduct should merit the approbation of the public, You will be justly entitled to a share of their plaudits: since the encomiums of the wise and the good are the greatest incentives to, and the highest rewards of, virtue and patriotism.

The circumstances which you state, in regard to Capt. Morgan, have produced in my mind an earnest desire to promote his views; and I shall accompany his application for office with a recommendation of my own to the Secretary of the Navy.

I thank you for your elegant box, containing an excellent likeness of the Emperor Napoleon. Whilst it enriches the cabinet of my curiosities, it will be carefully preserved, as a memorial of my friendship for the donor.

Accept, my dear sir, my ardent wishes for your health, welfare, and happiness, and be assured that I remain with the highest esteem and respect

Yours very sincerely

E. GERRY—

Rev'd. MR. BENTLEY—

II.

WASHINGTON 25th June 1818

I have received, my dear sir, your friendly letter of the 4th and immediately communicated it to the Secretary of War; who, returning it this morning, informed me, that the military arrangements would not admit a compliance with your request, which would otherwise have been carried into effect.

I am happy to learn that there is to your knowledge no defection on the part of patriotism. The prevalent evil of our State, will I think cure itself.

Your proposition in regard to cordage, shall be imparted to the Secretary of the Navy; and if it is not provided for by contract, I have no doubt of his favoring the measure.

Present my regards to Miss Crowningshield,

accept them yourself, and always assured of the high esteem and respect and of the best wishes of your unfeigned friend

E. GERRY—

Rev'd. DR. BENTLEY—

III.

WASHINGTON 31st July 1813—

I have received, my dear sir, your letter of the 6th and the clause which related to New London was immediately communicated to one of the Senators of Connecticut.

Mr. Sprague's elegant oration on the natal day of our Independence, and your information of the manner in which it was celebrated in Salem have given me great pleasure. Such principles and patriotism will transmit to the latest posterity our national rights and liberties: notwithstanding the powerful effects of the corrupt efforts of Great Britain are manifest, and felt by every friend to this country. Her administration is too criminal to succeed in its sanguinary career, and I hope will share the fate of her prototype, and leave the nation in a state recovering its ancient reputation.

It was necessary to call our best troops to a post of honor, and I flatter myself they will soon reap the laurels, which we owe from their patriotism and prowess—

Congress are to rise on the 2nd of Aug. and I am pressed at present by public concerns being seven hours every day in the Chair, without leaving it an instant—

Accept with Miss Crowningshield my affectionate regards—

Yours respectfully & sincerely

E. GERRY—

Rev'd. DR. BENTLEY—

IV.

CAMBRIDGE 21st Sept. 1814

DEAR SIR,

I have enclosed to the President of the United States, your letter this day received, on the subject of the treatment of our citizens in captivity: with comments thereon. Please to accept with Miss Crowningshield the sincere regards of your respectful and unfeigned friend

E. GERRY—

Rev'd. DR. BENTLEY.

V.

WASHINGTON Feb. 15, 1814

DEAR SIR,

I have but a moment to answer your favor of the 20th of January. The letter for the President was sent to him without delay; and I have confirmed your recommendation of young Mr. Wilson by very favorable statements on my part to the Secretary of War, the proper channel for

conducting this business. Pray accept my best wishes for the health and happiness of yourself and family, and with Miss Crowningshield, my affectionate regards.

Yours faithfully and sincerely
E. GERRY.

If you should write to Mr. Wilson, please to request him to inform Capt. Nicolas Bartlett, that I have preferred to the Sect. of the Navy, the application of himself, of his son Jos. J. Bartlett for the office of Midshipman for the latter—

Rev'd. MR. BENTLEY—

VI.

WASHINGTON, 28^d Oct. 1814—

MY DEAR SIR,

Since the date of my letter of this morning, I have communicated to the President your letter of the 8th and he regrets exceedingly the death of your brother: desiring me at the same time to inform you, that in compliance with your request he had nominated him for promotion to the Senate. The nominations being numerous, are in the hands of a Committee who have not yet made their report.

I remain, Dear Sir, as before,

Yours Sincerely—
E. GERRY—

Rev'd. DR. BENTLEY—

VII.

WASHINGTON 3^d November, 1814—

MY DEAR SIR,

Your affectionate exertions for the merited promotion of your brother, rendered unnecessary every other proof of your ardent friendship for him; but if such testimony had been requisite, it was too manifest to elude discovery, in the irresistible grief which required prompt consolation, and which found it in relating the circumstances of his honorable exit, of his glorious fall in the sacred cause of his country. This is recorded by myself, in his nomination for promotion, by the President of the United States.

The measures of the eastern States must produce a crisis of some kind; on which, at present, I will venture no opinion; such means indeed have prominent features of desperation, if not madness. Our Legislature seem to have adopted this principle, "*Superos si flectere nequeo.*" * * * "*movebo.*;" the response to which will be "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*" I thank you for the pamphlet. "Your daughter" has always a claim on my regards, accept them with her from

Yours sincerely and respectfully
E. GERRY—

Rev'd. DR. BENTLEY.

[From Isaiah Thomas, the veteran Printer and Antiquary.]

I.

WORCESTER, Nov. 5, 1810—

MY GOOD FRIEND—

About two months since I sent you from Boston, via of stage waggon, a copy of the *History of Printing*, as a token of my regard, and as a remembrance of your friendly and ready attention to the enquiries I made of you, during the time the work was preparing for the press. I hope the volumes arrived safe.

You have no doubt taken notice that the *History of Printing* came from the press before I received your last favor, which bears date 6th of September last. Of course the letter from Judge Tucker to you, which you had the goodness to enclose, came too late for the work; but fortunately, I had previously received a letter from Mr. Henning, dated July 21st, as you will see by the appendix to the *History of Printing*, containing the same information as given to you in the letter from Judge Tucker.

In looking over my papers, I find I was so careless as not to return to you the Judge's letter. I have to apologise for my neglect and now enclose it.

With esteem and respect, I am Sir,
Your obliged friend

ISAIAH THOMAS—

Rev'd. MR. BENTLEY.

II.

WORCESTER, Sept. 8, 1810—

MY GOOD FRIEND—

I have forwarded to you by the waggon, a lot of the *History of Printing*, which I request you to accept.

I wish to write more, as I have much to say to you, but this opportunity will only allow me to subscribe myself

Your friend and humble servt.

I. THOMAS.

Rev'd. MR. BENTLEY.

III.

WORCESTER, Nov. 23^d 1810—

MY GOOD FRIEND:

I am favored with yours of the 7th inst. The assurance you give me that *The History of Printing* meets your approbation affords me great satisfaction. Should other literary characters, less partial to me than yourself, receive this production of my labor, favorably, it will afford me some compensation for the time and expense which have been bestowed on it. I have but little to expect from what you are pleased to style "a grateful public," as it respects the sale of the work. I was aware of this when it went

to press, and therefore published but a small edition, which, should all the copies of it sell, will not more than repay the actual expense I have been at, without making any account of my time and trouble; but small as the edition is, I am inclined to believe it will be found sufficiently large for the demand.

You mention some "Notices of the progress of Printing in the West Indies," being published in the *Salem Register* the 13th of Oct. last. I should be glad to see them. Pray send me a paper of that date, marked on the cover "one printed sheet," by mail. You mention also that these Notices were agreeably to some documents sent to me some time since. I do not recollect ever to have received any thing of the kind. Pray give me further information.

I am Sir, very respectfully your friend &c.

I. THOMAS-

RevD. MR. BENTLEY.

IV.

WORCESTER, Jan'y 4, 1811-

MY GOOD FRIEND,

Yours of the 11th ult. would have had attention sooner, but I have been from home for a fortnight past. I thank you for the communication taken from the *Salem Register*; and I will thank you for one of those papers, (which contain the account of printing in the West Indies) entire, as I wish to bind it up with one of each of the newspapers printed in the United States the past year. I had not previously received from you any particulars of printing in the West Indies. Was there not a person by the name of Low, from Salem, a printer formerly at Saint Christopher?

I had heard, many years since, that our forefathers in some of the churches, sang in the way I have mentioned in the *History of Printing*, and I was confirmed in the belief by the *Psalterium Americanum*, published here in 1718. I do not know that the "Admonition" in that work, claims the invention of using words in black letter, inclosed in brackets, as an invention of the author. It is not, however, of any material consequence, whether the practise was general or not.

I am happy my *labor* meets with your approbation. The manner in which you speak of it is flattering, and demands my acknowledgment. I wish others may judge of it as favorably as you do. If you will give yourself the trouble, and do me the honor to forward a copy to your friend in Europe, and you think it will be acceptable, I will supply you with one for that purpose. This copy you may receive from my son in Boston, if you will have the goodness to call on him for that purpose, when you happen to be in Boston.

I am, Sir,

Your friend & humble servt.

ISAIAH THOMAS.

RevD. MR. BENTLEY-

You see I have written hastily. Pray excuse it.

V.

WORCESTER, Nov. 5th 1814-

MY GOOD FRIEND,

I regretted that I had not the pleasure of seeing you after the meeting of our Society. I wished to express to you the pleasure which, not only myself, but all the members who were present felt, by the generous declarations you made of the intended disposal of the literary and curious treasures you possess.

I wish some way could be thought of to inform your friend and correspondent, Prof. Etling of his election. Should you meet with an opportunity for this purpose, permit me to request you to embrace it.

I am, Dear Sir,

Very respectfully your friend & humble servt.

ISAIAH THOMAS-

RevD. MR. BENTLEY-

REV. MR. BENTLEY-

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Thomas permits me to write a few lines on the back of his letter.

After a vote had passed, upon your motion to print a Catalogue of our books, a committee should have been chosen to see it executed: but unaccountably it was neglected. Some of us here seem disposed to take the duties of such a committee upon us; and submit our doings to the society. But in reflecting on the subject we think all the purposes which you intended in your motion might be answered by a bare Catalogue of the titles. Yet now, or very soon, a more ample and descriptive Catalogue may be formed to be kept in the library. And would it not have a beneficial tendency to have such an one printed. A Catalogue such as last mentioned, would require time to prepare, and expense to print. We wish to have your ideas on the subject. What sort of Catalogue shall we print?

With much respect your humble Servt.

EDW. BAKER-

WORCESTER, Nov. 6th 1814

P. S. Will not a brief written copy of a Catalogue of all the books, sent to you, answer the purpose, as respects yourself; and for the present?

VI.

WORCESTER, Feb. 8, 1815

MY GOOD FRIEND,

I received your favor of the 8th inst. by M.

Moriarty, with the Chart and Vols. of Newspapers.

In the Vol. of *Boston News Letter*, I observe your remarks.

There are several incorrect statements in the account of our old public Journals as published in the *Historical Collections*. I have I believe given more correct information of the *News Letter* in the 2^d Vol. of the *History of Printing*, than that published by our late friend Eliot.

The Librarian of the Am. Antiq^a Society (as we can find time—he is the Cashier of the Bank) has been engaged a number of weeks in making out a Catalogue of the Library. When it is finished, I suppose an inspection of it will answer your purpose. It is thought that when a catalogue is published for the public eye, that it should, from an institution like ours, be very minute; of course its magnitude increased, and carrying it through the press will be attended with considerable expense. It is however intended that as soon as the Librarian has completed the Catalogue, which he is now about, that it shall be sent to you; and that afterward it shall be made as concise as possible and a few copies of it be printed to send to the members, deferring the publication of a more particular and minute work 'till the Library and our funds are increased, when a catalogue can be presented to the Public which will appear respectable.

I shall be happy in affording you every assistance in my power in the execution of your generous intention toward the Society; those who nurture the institution in its infancy must ever be respected as its founders: of this number it will afford me high gratification to see the name of Bentley among the foremost.

The Committee of Ways and Means are busy. They are projecting a plan, which if it can be executed, will raise a sum sufficient to erect an elegant edifice, and create some funds for the institution. They will confer with you on the subject as soon as their project is more matured.

I am very respectfully,

Your obt. servt.

REVD. MR. BENTLEY.

ISAIAH THOMAS—

P. S. You will remember your friend Prof. Whiting. I send you with this for him, the Secretary's letter, and a copy of each of the Publications. The *History of Printing* I know will not be forgotten. Have you heard any thing further respecting the copy Colony Laws of 1749? I greatly desire to see this book.

From Rev. Timothy Alden, D.D., President of Alleghany college.]

Boston, 7th Nov. 1815—

REVD. WM BENTLEY—

DEAR SIR;

Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, I have

had some valuable additions to my collection of books for Alleghany College. The Hon. James Winthrop gave me Calmet, Buffon, Noldins, and various other works, to the amount of one hundred dollars.* Permit me to hope for such a donation as you can spare from the rich treasures of your study. Judging from your friendship for literary institutions in general, I doubt not you will honor us, beyond the cloud-capped hills, with such a donation as will encourage our hearts, and strengthen our hands, in the noble cause of literature, science, and religion.

If you have any duplicate plates, medals, coins, or curiosities of any kind from the Herculaneum or elsewhere, suitable for our cabinet and museum, they will be very acceptable. Be so kind as to make out a list of whatever you shall be pleased to honor us with, and convey to me by mail directed to New York, if not before the 1st of December, or to Harrisburg Penn. if sent during December, mentioning what vessel takes the same to Philadelphia. I hope your donation will be such as to fill up a small box, which should be strongly nailed, all things being snugly packed, so as to prevent injury by motion in the wagon over the mountains. If your benevolence should furnish such a box of treasures (box of any size which may seem proper) please to mark it with a brush, thus: "Rev. T. Alden, Meadville Penn. Care of W. Woodward, Phila., also care of R. Bowen & Co. Pittsburg." In this case Mr. Woodward will pay the freight to Philadelphia, and will send it on by some wagon to Pittsburg, and it will go in safety. When putting up books if you add some of your pamphlets, they will make good storage, and will be very acceptable.

Your friend and respectful servt.

TIMOTHY ALDEN—

P. S. Should it be perfectly convenient to mention to any of your literary parishioners and friends, that any books they may have to spare for Alleghany College would be acceptable, perhaps the aggregate may be essentially greater than we have a right to expect even from your liberality. However, *Verbum sat est*,

tutus dum vult,

T. A.

I expect to leave Boston early next Saturday morning. A letter from you previously will be grateful.

VIII.—THE NAVAL BATTLES OF FORT FISHER.

DESCRIBED BY KIT KELVIN, AN EYE-WITNESS.

From the *New York Evangelist*.

On the map of North Carolina, is a point of land stretching, in a curve, South and East, from Onslow-bay, finding its limit by the Cape Fear-river, on the South, and a narrow strait, on the East, beyond which is Zeek's-island. This strait was the inlet and outlet for blockade-runners, in which supplies were landed throughout the war. By this, were brought not only the necessities, but even the luxuries, of life. So bold and frequent was the running of the blockade, that refugees who came off to our fleet reported that the skippers of contraband vessels boasted that they would leave foreign papers upon the lighted buoy, as they came in, for the reading of our Naval-officers, on duty, in weary monotony. The only excuse given for this light—an *impromptu* light-house—was the position of the blockade, for friendly vessels arriving in the night, the bearings of the Fort, and the movement of the ships, in an emergency, in the darkness. Each vessel's position was registered, as bearing from the light. There is no doubt that this was of far more benefit to the enemy than to us, as it pointed out, in the darkest night, the exact position of our ships, and showed the blockade-runner how to pass between them and come safely into port. Indeed, the enemy could not have asked a favor more to their advantage. It is scarcely supposable that this brilliant idea was conceived at Washington, but emanated from the senior officer commanding the squadron.

Upon the point of land described above, Fort Fisher was commenced, in the Spring of 1862. A few men and boys, with wheelbarrows and shovels, and some sorry-looking stags composed the force which commenced one of the most formidable forts ever besieged. Cabbage-wood, or its species, and earth thrown up—no stone, marble, or brick; yet, with such materials, was constructed a masterly model of skilful engineering.

One gunboat could easily have prevented this immense earthwork from having caused so much anxiety, expense, and blood—could easily have prevented the name of Fort Fisher from being the notable history that it now is.

"Why not train the guns upon the workmen and stop this work?" asked an officer of his commander.

"We have orders not to *annoy* the enemy, but to watch," was the reply.

From whatever source this idea came, it proved

a fearful mistake. If it were the utterance of one officer only, or his actual order, in either case, it was merely playing with a terrible danger. This mistaken leniency was the cause of many of the misfortunes of the War. It was the consequence of unbelief that actual WAR could possibly exist. The determination of the South to try its strength and military power with the North, was neither understood nor believed by the latter. The Government, likewise, while aghast at the danger, could not be convinced that a rebellion, under any circumstances, could long continue. General Scott, his foot swathed, lying upon a sofa, with a long stick pointing out, upon a map of the United States, the places best adapted to concentrate forces for the early crushing of the Southern movement, assured President Lincoln that, with seventy-five thousand men, in six months, at the longest he would restore a peaceable union. It was this unbelief of danger that so long paralyzed both the Army and Navy and prevented the taking of those prompt measures, which might have averted half the perils and calamities of the war. This blind confidence was never more manifest than off Federal Point, in the Spring of 1865.

The First Engagement.

The reduction of Fort Fisher had been, for months, a matter of grave consideration with the Government; for its continuance was known to be vital to the Confederacy.

As early as October, 1862, the writer was the bearer of the information from Major-General Foster, commanding at Newbern, to the effect that he would, in November, send ten thousand men to attack the fort. The only question was whether to land the force in Onslow-bay, Masonboro'-inlet, and so move upon the enemy in the rear, or select some other point for the attack. But this glad expectancy of the navy fell dead. It is probable that disasters to our army, just at that time, prevented the completion of such a design.

It was not until December, 1864, that the serious determination to destroy Fort Fisher, long entertained by the Government, was carried out. The prelude to the attack was a novel experiment of making a breach in the Fort by a powder-boat! Who was the originator of this brilliant idea has not been made public; but certain it is that the brain was more fertile in imagination than possessed of military skill. The plan of the attack was carried out in the main, but was somewhat changed by the premature explosion of the powder-boat. This was an old dismantled craft, called the *Louisiana*, carrying two hundred and sixty tons of powder, chiefly composed of nitrate of soda. This has, unfortunately, as strong an affinity

water as has salt; and, consequently, its explosive force is materially weakened.

The fleet remained some ten miles out, in order that the Fort might not be warned of the approaching conflict, and, at the time of the explosion, to stand in for the batteries, marshalled in order of battle. There were about sixty vessels, including the reserves and the Monitors. These latter took their position ahead of the larger vessels; and prominent among them was the *Monadnock*. No one present can ever forget the precision with which her monster shells were delivered nor the continuous firing she preserved in those terrible *bellowings*.

The mission of the *Louisiana* was, by its own destruction, to paralyze the garrison; the bombardment by the fleet to follow and make short work in a capitulation. An opinion also prevailed that the explosion would create a vacuum, which would lift the rebel guns from their carriages and, more or less, destroy the Fort itself. There is very little to say in regard to the latter theory, unless it be in a vein of ridicule. A vacuum, if formed, must have been about the vessel itself. It was currently reported that *Lowell*, in Massachusetts, was the home of this scientific idea!

There were about eight thousand officers and men of the navy, besides seven thousand of the army, in transports. A wild gale delayed the attack, for four days, during which time, the *Louisiana* broke adrift, and all trembled at a fate seemingly before her; but, drifting past the *Monadnock*, she was cleverly saved.

On the twenty-fourth of December, at 2:15, A. M., (the powder-boat having been sent in under the batteries, the evening before,) a lurid light was visible to the fleet, followed by a noise, as of a smothered growl, and a strong smell of sulphur in the air. The *Louisiana* had exploded some three hours in advance of the time. It was a moment of intense anxiety, and many conjectures increased the excitement; for the line of battle could not be formed in the darkness; and the explosion was to be the signal for such a manœuvre. The result proved a complete failure. The effect was a trembling motion given to the vessels; while the inhabitants of Beaufort, some eighty miles away—the rendezvous for coal—were startled from their slumbers by the rattling of windows; and, in the Fort itself, a supposition prevailed that one of our vessels had been destroyed. But even this *fauz-pas* was the initiation of the downfall of the formidable Fort Fisher.

There are hours in every life, serious and terrible. Let us drift aside a moment for a description of that before a naval battle. Here, on a vessel, are hundreds of able, muscular, brave men in the flush of youth or vigor of man-

hood. To all appearances, life, for them, has an ample future. But the conflict, on the morrow—the stern reality, no excuse, no leave of absence, but a death-struggle with an enemy as eager for blood as for the cause they espouse. There is a hush, a smothered silence, fore and aft, below, in cabin, wardroom, cock-pit, gun-deck—everywhere. The bronzed faces of gallant officers are sternly determined; but the tone of the voice partakes a trifle more of sympathy, a feeling that we must help one another. The mirthful joke is not heard at the mess-table; but deep thought is there. On the faces of the men, is detected uncertain hope; and an earnest willingness, in their “Ay, ay, Sir!” Then comes the exchange of sealed parcels, letters, and requests for *Homes* and friends, away among the hills, in the valleys, cities, villages, where safety is, and this hour to them not known. “*Delivered, in case of death*”—five simple words, but full of fearful portent. On deck, thrown thick is the sand—it is for the *absorption of blood*—his, mine, all, perhaps.

Brothers of the Anchor and the Stripes! you have been there. Do you want a repetition?

At half past five, in the morning, the fleet formed the line of battle, and steamed on to the Fort. There was but one grander sight that day—the fight. These many vessels were armored, outside, with chains, inside, with heavy guns, ready to belch their deadly hurries upon the foe. The *New Ironsides* threw the first shot, at three minutes to one, in the afternoon, followed by the entire fleet—Monitors, Ships-of-the-line, second-raters, third-raters, Gun-boats—all opening their iron mouths at once. The deafening noise was like thunder—deep and heavy: the bang, bang of shell—all mingling with the screaming, flying bolts, like the melancholy roar of the breaking surf; the curling smoke and knots of clouds, from bursting shell of the fleet and the heavy batteries of the Fort, completed a scene never before equalled in naval warfare. On deck, the spectacle was wild, with the haggard looks of officers and men, covered with the dust of burnt sabots, their faces grimed with powder and perspiration; eager, cool, and expectant; death from the enemy's shots, accidents from bursting guns and scalding steam.

While the bombardment was thus in full blast, the transports were landing the army up the beach, from the Fort. But a paltry question of rank—a mean spirit of jealousy between the land and water superiors—sacrificed the honor of the nation. Before all were debarked, the Major-general ordered not only further landing to cease, but that those already on shore should again return to the transports; and, the third day, they were under way towards the

North. Never was a victory more sure or more disgracefully lost. The of the Fort had grown feeble; and the rebels afterward confessed that they were about to surrender.

The opinions of private individuals are often commented upon without reserve; but there is a great reluctance to criticise the judgment or the conduct of government officers. But when a General in command of an expedition has made a great failure and caused a great disaster, and that is owing entirely to his want of skill or of courage, there is no reason why we should not speak the plain, though unwelcome, truth.

There can be no doubt, in the minds of all who took part in the December attack upon Fort Fisher, that, had the army officer in command shown ordinary pluck—pluck involving thorough bravery and discretion—the formidable batteries on Federal-point would have succumbed, on Christmas, 1864. Of this there is ample proof given by the action of the Government in assigning that distinguished General to his home, in Massachusetts, as his Headquarters, the proper place for the exercise of his great military genius and the growth of further expensive ideas—including powder-boats, debarking and embarking several thousand men, previously equipped, at a great cost, and the general execration, by the Navy, in being covered with disgrace.

This is the least that can be said of the mortifying failures of one of the greatest Expeditions ever undertaken, by land or sea.

The Second Engagement.

There is further conclusive evidence that whatever may or can be said in condemnation of the *fiasco*, in December, the Government itself considered the matter in that light, by at once renewing the attack; which was done by again concentrating a fleet as large and as powerful as that composing the experiment, seconded, however, by land forces under a very different command. This was accomplished by the arrival, before the doomed Fort, of the fleet, on the thirteenth of January, 1865, together with transports carrying eight thousand officers and men. At half-past four, in the morning, the debarking of the troops, under Major-general Terry, commenced; and, at half-past seven, in the morning, the *Brooklyn* opened upon the shore and, for their cover, at the same time, the iron-clads headed for the Fort. The latter began firing at twenty minutes to nine, in the morning. Upon the landing of the troops, at four, in the afternoon, the fleet steamed in to join the Monitors, preserving a hot and continuous bombardment, until six in the afternoon. The curling smoke, the crimson sky, and the forked flames from the many iron dogs of war,

as the shades of evening fell, made up a scene rarely witnessed, and fearfully beautiful. The morrow was a repetition, without much interest, aside from stern results.

On the fifteenth, the Sabbath, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the army prepared for the final assault. The Fort had visibly weakened in its fire, and now ceased, altogether, while the Navy was silent, to avoid casualties to our forces ashore. From the fleet were also landed about twenty-five hundred marines and seamen; and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the storming commenced. The Naval Brigade attempted an attack upon the eastern bastion, but were repulsed with heavy loss, the enemy opening a murderous fire of musketry, grape, and canister, literally mowing down the brave fellows, without mercy. The Army, at the same time, charged upon the rear; and, at sun-down, eight traverses were taken. While the Navy were preparing for the morrow, at half-past ten o'clock in the evening, thundering cheers were heard from the Fort, and carried all along the shore; and, then, from the decks of each vessel, arose a deafening shout. Fort Fisher had surrendered! Yards were manned, sky-rockets and lights filled the air, steam-whistles shrieked, and officers and men were mad with joy.

The morning of the sixteenth, at half-past seven o'clock, opened with a terrible explosion from the Fort—it was the magazine. Columns of black smoke, sand, and debris of earth and bodies, shot, heavenward; and then followed a ominous silence. A creeping fear took possession of the fleet; for how many of our men were *there* included?

Within the fallen Fort, were sights sickening and dreadful. Guns dismounted, guns with guns broken; caps, clothes, bayonets, swords, muskets, rifles—scattered, battered, blood-stained; belts, knapsacks, powder, in bags, cartridges, dead horses, broken bottles, shells, exploded bullets, scabbards, bedding. And then the dead! Men in all postures, mangled in head and body, with brains out, but with perfect features, covered with sand and grimed with powder. Arms, legs, hands, faces distorted, swollen, all in the traverses, in the trenches, in green water-pools, in the bomb-proofs, upon the parapets, down the embankments, here, there, everywhere. Piles of dead men upon which the victorious soldiers were partaking of their lunch, while, in another place, the same ghastly table was made for the convenience of the euchre players! The carrying past of the wounded, the groans of the dying, and the smell of blood and powder!

The repulse of the Naval Brigade was mostly attributable to a piece of brass ordnance, a present from the English Government to the Confed-

eracy, made conspicuously so by an engraved endorsement to that effect. It was a breech-loader—the projectiles attached to a card were about one hundred and fifty in number, the size of a rifle-ball; and the rapidity with which it could be fired was simply appalling.

It has been a frequent custom among Christian nations, before a battle, to offer supplication to Almighty God, and to return thanks, after a victory. Thus, after the Battle of the Nile, Lord Nelson ordered a solemn religious service, throughout the fleet; and the French officers were greatly impressed by the spectacle of men, so brave in battle, bending low in humble acknowledgement of that Higher Power which rules alike over land and sea. But on this occasion, there was no public recognition of an Almighty Hand. Whatever prayers and thanksgivings may have been uttered, in secret, there was no mustering of a single ship's crew for such a public service. We can but regret, for the religious character of our country, that such an acknowledgement was forgotten. What a noble sight it would have been, if, on the decks, but lately strewn with sand and wet with blood, had now been gathered the crews of all the ships in that magnificent fleet, with uncovered heads and grateful hearts, uniting in thanksgiving to Almighty God for preservation and glorious victory.

IX.—MAJOR CHILDS, U. S. A.

EXTRACTS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH HIS FAMILY.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

[Continued from the November number.]

[On the twenty-second of January, 1837, General Jesup, leaving the Withlacooche, at the "Cove," or great bend, put in motion the main body of the army, under his immediate command, to attack the Indians and negroes in the strongholds which they were supposed to occupy, on the head-waters of the Ocklawaha, a tributary of the St. John's. The movement was continued, as will be seen, with some success, to the head-waters of the Caloosahatchee, near Lake Okeechobee, and to the Great Cypress-swamp.]

To this expedition the following Journal refers. The route seems to have been nearly along the dividing line between the waters of the Gulf and those of the Atlantic. The friendly Indians alluded to, were Creeks, of whom a Regiment, about seven hundred and fifty warriors, under United States Officers, rendered, for a time, very good service.]

FORT ARMSTRONG, Jan'y 21st, 1837.

To day, has been all bustle and preparation to take the field, to-morrow, at day-light, in pursuit of the Indians. Our route is over a tract of country little known, and towards the head-

waters of the St. John's and Ocklawaha. We go with the expectation of finding Phillip's and Jumper's bands. I have only this moment gotten through my official duties; prepared my provisions for sixteen days; and packed my saddle-bags. The troops have returned and been organized into two Brigades—the First, under General Armistead, the Second, under General Henderson. The Artillery is divided into two Regiments, one to each Brigade.

To day, the order was issued to march, to-morrow, at daylight. The allowances are, to each Company of sixty men, three tents; one common tent to every three officers; to each officer a horse, a bushel of corn, eighty pounds of baggage, in which is included sixteen days' provisions: four days' rations to be cooked. So you may bring your father to view, dressed in a soldier's jacket and pantaloons; with a haversack stuck out with four days' bread and meat; mounted on a horse already saddled with a bag of corn and a pair of saddle-bags.

Now for the news. I mentioned, I believe, to your mother, that an Indian taken prisoner had promised to lead our troops to a place where there were twenty or thirty men, women, and children ready to surrender; and that Colonel Foster, with the Indian for a guide, had been sent on the expedition, with four or five hundred men. An express arrived from him, this evening, saying that, on the way, they fell in with two hostile Indians, twelve women and children, and six negro men; the two Indians were killed, unfortunately, by the Georgia Volunteers, after (it is said) they had thrown down their arms. The Indian women say that the party to which they belong will surrender; and we take this as a good omen that the other Indians will do so likewise, if we can ever come upon them. Our next express from Colonel Foster is looked for with great interest.

January 23d. In my last letter, I mentioned that the next morning the army would march in pursuit of the Indians—Jumper and Micanopy. We did so, with from eleven to twelve hundred men. This is the evening of the second day—we have been marching over new ground; and are now encamped where, probably, a white man never was before. Our first day's march was productive of no event worth relating; this morning, about ten o'clock, we came to a deserted Indian village, where we found two white scalps. It appears that, not long since, they had been engaged in a scalp-dance; as about twenty sticks, ten feet long, were stuck in the ground, in a circle, twelve feet in diameter, in the centre of which there had been a fire; outside of these stakes, on which they hung the scalps, was a deep path, made by continually walking or dancing, in the same circle. One of

the scalps appeared to be that of a child, having beautiful flaxen hair, in ringlets. Other deserted villages were discovered by the mounted men—one of forty houses, another of six—in the former, they found a great many tools, such as saws, augers, etc., etc.; in the latter, a copy of Spaulding's *Roman History*. Towards evening, the advanced guard of mounted men and friendly Indians took prisoner a negro, who promised to lead them to the place of concealment of an Indian, very important to us, named Cooper; the result we do not know, as we are now three miles from the above-mentioned party, not having been able to come up with them. To-morrow may be an interesting day; so I will bid you "Good-night," and retire to my blanket, after commending myself and the dear ones at home, to Him who is able to keep us from danger, seen and unseen.

January 24th. We have been marching over a high, rolling country, that strikes the eye, at every point, as beautiful—sheets of water, at short intervals, adding to the interest and variety of the landscape; still, the country is only fit for the savage, and for him nothing could be better. The more we know of Florida, the less we are surprised that the Indian is loth to leave it. This day has been interesting and important—the friendly Indians and mounted-men I mentioned, last evening, as being in pursuit of Cooper, rejoined us about eleven o'clock. They started early this morning, before daylight, with the negro guide, and came to a lake of water, in whose center was what appeared to be an island, where Cooper was supposed to be—the guide said the Indians went to it in canoes; but, on questioning him, as to where they went to hunt, he said they would go without their boats and be gone half a day; that when they left their huts they would scatter so as to leave no trail. About fifty of our Indians were sent into a hammock to see if they could find a trail leading towards this supposed island; and if they found one, they were ordered to come back and report. They went in and, in a short time, discovered a trail and followed it. Instead of coming back, and reporting, they continued on; and, in a short time, discovered two or three huts; immediately gave the war-whoop; and rushed on. The first person that came out was Cooper, whom they shot down; the second was his son, a young warrior of seventeen or eighteen, who ran to the water, to escape, in a canoe; the third was an Indian, Euchee Billy; the fourth is supposed to be an Indian Doctor. Two officers were with them, when they discovered the trail, but were unable to keep up; and only arrived after the fourth Indian was wounded, in time to knock up the rifle of one of our Indians who was aiming at the wounded man. In the meantime, this

wounded Indian, who had his rifle in his hand, shot the one whom the officer had prevented from firing, through the breast; we fear mortally. The hostile was soon a corpse; and all the scalps were taken. They then made prisoners, Cooper's wife and three children, one, a boy of fifteen; another woman and two children; two negro men; two negro women, with their children—in all seventeen. Cooper was the leader of Micanopy's warriors. He was at Dade's Massacre; at the scalp-dance, mentioned, last evening; and has been in almost every action they have had—was a daring and cruel savage. He, as well as one other of those killed, was wounded at Wahoo Swamp; and had retired to this spot, with his Doctor, for the recovery of his wound. Our Indians were much opposed to the burying of the hostile Indians; but this was done. Cooper's wife requested that her husband and son might be put in the same grave; but discovered no emotion, as she gazed on their dead bodies—the boy of fifteen was observed to shed tears, for a moment, when his brother's body was brought out of the water. This stoicism, you know, is an Indian characteristic. In searching this hammock, three warriors were lost, (a Company of them are mounted). After calling, firing guns, and looking for them, a long time, a small party was left; and the remainder joined the army. After we were encamped, this evening, the party came in without them, and quite an excitement was produced by the supposed loss of these men; no one doubting that they had fallen, or would fall, into the hands of the hostile Indians. To our great relief, they came in, soon after dark, having discovered other Indian huts, and heard a great many Indian whoops. Just before we encamped, the officer in charge of the Pioneers, who was cutting a road through a hammock for us to march in, to-morrow, saw two Indians, ahead. They are, no doubt, scouts; and we expect an alarm, to-night—possibly a fight, to-morrow. I being officer of the day, have command of the advanced-guard, a post very much sought after, by those who have not yet had an opportunity to draw their swords against the foe. Having brought up the events of the day, I must now bid you "Good-night"—not to sleep, as I trust you are doing now, but "to guard the camp "from foes erect"—one more "Good-night."*

January 26th. I omitted my journal last

* In explanation of the movements of the Army, at this time, General Jesup said: "It was ascertained from the prisoners that the principal Indian and negro force had retired from the Ocklawaha, in a South-easterly direction, towards the head of the Caloosahatchee. Pursuit was immediately commenced, with no other guide than the track of their ponies and cattle."

evening, because I had little to say of the events of the day. We commenced our march, as usual, and after proceeding four or five miles, found ourselves on the wrong trail. We retraced our steps, a mile, and struck off to the right, expecting to come into the one we had lost. In a short time, Generals, Indians, and guides were at fault; the result was, at two o'clock, we encamped, sending the Indians out to discover the trail. They found one, but not the one we wanted; it was supposed, however, to lead to it. This morning, we started early and have marched fifteen or sixteen miles without coming to it. To-night, we know not where we are. Our wish is to go to the Cypress Swamp—no one knows whether we are now on the right trail; so, guessing and speculating on our position, are all that can be heard, this evening. A mariner, at sea, without a compass, is no worse off than we are; except that we have a back track, and this I fear we shall have to take.

Friday evening, or, rather, Saturday morning, at one o'clock, Jan'y 27th. I have just returned from a fatiguing and exciting day's march. We started, this morning, and soon came to the right trail; found it fresh, with the appearance of being much traveled. We had evidently come to the Big Cypress Swamp; and this was the place where we expected to find the Indians. The scouts had been out, several hours; and no reports coming from them, we were induced to believe that we should not be able to find their trail into this swamp, and we were about encamping, when an express arrived for reinforcements, saying that the advance was engaged with the Indians. We immediately started, in double quick time, and marched five miles, in an hour and ten minutes, and arrived at the place where a party of negroes had been surprised and taken prisoners; the balance, supposed to be about fifty men, made their escape into the swamp, where they were pursued by a Company of Marines, Volunteers, and Indians, who came, in a quarter of a mile, to a deep run, over which a tree, on each side, had been felled, the tops meeting in the middle. Here, the Indians had left their packs and ponies; and, here, they had commenced a fire upon our men, killing one and wounding three. Our troops, however, crossed, and pursued them, until night, having another Marine killed, and another wounded. When our Brigade arrived, General Jesup took a part of it, and went into the swamp, in another direction, and came upon fifty Indian huts, where the meat was on the fire, cooking, and all their utensils were scattered about. But no Indians could be found; and, night coming on, we returned; some of the men having marched twenty-five miles.

The swamp is very wet, and in passing through

it, we sink to our knees—sometimes to our waist. After a toilsome march, in the swamp, we came to a pine-barren—on these the Indians live. Plunging again into the swamp, you emerge upon another "barren;" and so on, to what extent we do not know. The result of to-day's work is twenty-five negro prisoners—men, women, and children. General Jesup's Orderly was sent back with orders; mistook the trail; was waylaid by five or six negroes; shot; and stripped of every article of his clothing.

Jan'y 28th. We started, this morning, for a place called Topcaliga, where Micanopy is supposed to be; and soon came upon the borders of a beautiful lake, which, the prisoners say, is called by the above name. We continued marching near the margin, all day; and have collected between four and five hundred cattle—showing, evidently, that we are in the neighborhood of Indians. General Jesup sent a negro, whom he took, yesterday, in advance, with offers of terms to Jumper and his band. The negro says both Jumper and Micanopy are anxious to come in, if they can be assured of their lives. We have, as hostages for his return, his wife and four children—he is to be back to-morrow night; and we are anxiously awaiting his return. It is now raining; the drops sift through my tent, in delicate particles, just enough to remind me that my habitation "is in the tented field." Yesterday, an Order was issued reducing the ration of bread to six ounces, and the forage for horses to one half—short allowance for man and beast. If unsuccessful, we shall probably be reduced to the cattle alone, which we are driving with us, as we know not when we shall come to supplies, in consequence of our utter ignorance of the country through which we are marching.

Jan'y 29th. I mentioned, last evening, that it was raining—it increased in violence until three o'clock, to-day, drenching the poor men; some of whom are without tents; and those who have them are but a little better off. This has been a day of great confusion, as you can readily imagine, in a camp of thirteen hundred men, six hundred horses, seven hundred cattle; men cutting wood to keep themselves warm; cows lowing; asses braying; horses stamping. If a man wanted a pound of meat, he went to the pen and shot a beef to get it, such is the abundance of cattle we have found on the immense prairies that border this lake. Here, the Indians had driven their cattle, for safety, where the foot of a white man never trod before. By *mis-taking* the trail, as I mentioned, some days ago—we did not, at last, find the one we were in search of—we have got in the rear of the Indians. Had we gone the way we wanted to go, we should have probably come to this spot;

but the Indians would have been *before* us; as it is, we have headed them; got their cattle; and they are, no doubt, in great numbers, in this impenetrable Cypress Swamp, on our right, extending for miles and miles. This we consider a great piece of *good luck*. The scouts, that were out to discover the country, came to a stream on whose margin was a tree, hewn on one side: on it was drawn a canoe and four men represented as paddling, to indicate that the water could not be crossed, by wading. On another tree, several letters were cut—"c-h-a—" "g. d." What they mean we know not. On another, steps were cut in, for twenty feet up, to a place of look-out, etc. The negro, sent off, yesterday, has returned, bearing from the Indians a white flag! All immediately ran to Headquarters, to learn the news. General Jesup told him not to speak to any one, until *he* was ready to question him. Of course, we took ourselves off; disappointed and grumbling. General Jesup took him into his tent, and, after hearing his story, sent for the General officers and Staff, and confided the matter to them; and enjoined secrecy. Then we grumbled still more; but, at last, we found one officer who did not understand the communication as confidential; and it leaked out; and this is it: The negro did not see Jumper; but he saw the celebrated negro, Abraham, who has great influence with the Indians; and delivered to him Jesup's message. Its import was, he wanted a talk with them, about Peace; and, if they would come in, he pledged his word that they should depart again, in safety, even if they determined to continue the war. Abraham sent back a white flag, as a token of peace, with a promise to come in, with the Chiefs, to-morrow, and hold a talk.

Feb. 2d. Monday was a day of great anxiety with us, for fear Abraham would not come in, as he had promised; but, about three o'clock, our apprehensions were dispelled by his black majesty walking into camp, with a white flag, which, with great grace and dignity, he stuck into the ground, by the flag-staff, before the General's tent; and walked in. The purport of his conversation was, that Jumper and Micanopy were anxious for peace; and that he would bring them in, to-day, to have a talk. We have consequently fallen back to our last encampment, twelve miles on our way to Fort Armstrong.

The hour has passed, at which they were to be here; and all is anxiety and fear. Abraham is an intelligent negro, cross-eyed, with a bad countenance; and his influence is unlimited. This moment, I hear them say the flag is in sight. I resume my pen, to say that no one appeared with the flag but Abraham. He said Jumper and some other Indians had gone to some other place, expecting to meet General Jesup, there.

The General sent Abraham and two of his Staff after them.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

X.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—Ed. Hm. Mac.]

JOHN ADAMS'S JEALOUSY OF WASHINGTON.

One of the most singular infirmities of the race of the Adams's, of Quincy, has been their jealousy of men who had, or were in the danger of acquiring, a higher public reputation than themselves. "Old John Adams," as he was called—the second President of the United States—was jealous of nearly every great man of his time; even of those whose general political objects and aims were coincident with his own. Of Hamilton, whose great abilities and patriotic efforts were most instrumental in carrying out the very ends that Adams himself sought to bring about, he could not bear to hear any one speak in praise. And, incredible to say, his jealousy of Washington was not at all less. With Jefferson, of whom he had been more than jealous, he finally coalesced, to the ruin of his own party, from equal jealousy of Washington and Hamilton both. All this was perfectly understood in the close of the last century; and we have accounts of it from Hamilton, McHenry, Sedgwick, and other witnesses of indubitable credit in those times.

The same sort of insanity beset John Quincy Adams. Upon Webster, so infinitely his superior, and who gave such imperishable glory to the very State which the family of the Adams's, for some time, seemed to own as an inheritance, he made, through mere jealousy, assaults of the most ridiculous character; and even of Lord Brougham no one could speak words of praise, and not see the old man's face cloud with discontent.

These things, in the general, have long been known; but we are able to put before our readers, to-day, an evidence on the subject of which we speak, in regard to old John Adams, of which the world has hitherto not been possessed, and which is superior to any, in authenticity. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, among its late most valuable acquisitions, has become the owner of a series of original letters of both the Adams's, John and John Quincy. They will, we presume, in due time, be published. Of one of them we have taken a copy. It is a letter to

a particular friend, who had written to old Mr. Adams, in July, 1806, paying him very high compliments; and, as we infer from an endorsement on one of the letters, referring to a letter of General Washington to Adams, dated in the critical season of 1798, in which Washington writes thus:

“MOUNT VERNON, July 13, 1798.

“Believe me, Sir, no one can more cordially approve of the wise and prudent measures of your administration. They ought to inspire universal confidence,”

Old John Adams breaks forth as follows, in reply to his friend who had thus alluded to Washington:

“QUINCY, Aug. 23, 1806.

“DEAR SIR:

“In your letter of the 7th of July, you flatter me with very high eulogies, and complete the climax of them with the opinion of Washington. For the future, I pray you to spare yourself the trouble of quoting that great authority in my favor. Although no man has a more settled opinion of his integrity and virtues than myself, I, nevertheless, desire that my life, actions, and administration may be condemned to everlasting oblivion, *and, I will add, infamy*, if they cannot be defended by their own intrinsic merit and without the aid of Mr. Washington's judgment. The Federalists, as they are called by themselves and by their enemies, have done themselves and their country incalculable injury, by making Washington their military, political, religious, and even moral, pope, and ascribing everything to him. Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Jay, and SEVERAL others have been MUCH MORE essential characters to America than Washington. Another character, almost forgotten, of more importance than any of them all, was James Otis. It is to offend against eternal justice to give to one, as this people do, the merits of so many. It is an effectual extinguisher of all patriotism and all public virtue, and throwing the nation wholly into the hands of intrigue. You lament the growth of corruption, very justly, but there is none more poisonous, than the eternal puffing and trumpeting of Washington and Franklin, and the incessant abuse of the REAL Fathers of their country.”

Was there ever such an exhibition of human weakness—indeed, of something worse than weakness, merely?

That any honest man, as old John Adams certainly was, should have been jealous of Washington, at any time, appears incredible. But the absurdity of the thing seems less, when they were both alive, both in office, and both standing before the world, gazed upon and comment-

ed on, by those about and below them. But here, Washington had been in his grave, for years. Mr. Adams's own political career was ended; for he had himself, by his jealousy of every great man in it, destroyed the party to which he belonged. Hopes and fears had had their course with him, and ought to have “left his heart composed, his intellect at rest.” But that still—from the shades of Quincy—from the retirement of his own study, surrounded by the writings and images of sages and philosophers—he should thus break forth *and record, in writing*, his envy of Washington—break forth and record it, on a mere allusion to Washington—to Washington too, so kind, so considerate, so magnanimous, bearing so valuable testimony to his own administration, in the epoch of the Alien and Sedition Acts, when the fury of faction was pouring forth its invectives upon him—is almost incredible.

How signally does the letter, which we here print, vindicate the memorable remarks of Hamilton, made on him, in 1801—(*Hamilton's Works*, vii, 687); who, paying just tribute to his integrity, political learning, and services during the Revolution, yet declared that he was a man of an imagination sublimated and eccentric; of the grossest indiscretion; to which were added, “the unfortunate foibles of a vanity without bounds and a jealousy capable of discoloring every object!”—*Philadelphia Legal Gazette*, December 15, 1871.

JUSTICE TO McCLELLAN.

The following is from Gideon Welles, a member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. While it needs no comment, it confirms many things said by us, during the war, and recalls many memories, when Washington came within an ace of being overcome by the Confederates, and would but for the facts related below. The period alluded to is immediately after the defeat of Pope, in front of Washington, and when the advance of the victorious enemy upon the National Capital carried dismay throughout the country:

“At the stated Cabinet meeting, on Tuesday, the second of September, while the whole community was stirred up and in confusion and affairs were gloomy, beyond anything that had previously occurred, Stanton entered the Council-room, a few minutes in advance of Mr. Lincoln, and said, with great excitement, he had just learned from General Halleck that the President had placed McClellan in command of the forces in Washington. The information was surprising and, in view of the prevailing excitement against that officer, alarming. The President soon came in, and, in answer to an inquiry from Mr. Chase,

"confirmed what Stanton had stated. General
 "regret was expressed; and Stanton, with
 "some feeling, remarked that no Order to that
 "effect had issued from the War Department.
 "The President, calmly, but with some emphasis,
 "said the Order was *his*; and he would be
 "responsible for it, to the country. 'With a
 "retreating and demoralized army tumbling in
 "upon us, and, alarm and panic in the community,
 "it was necessary,' the President said,
 "that something should be done; but there
 "seemed to be no one to do it.' He, therefore,
 "had directed McClellan, who knew this
 "whole ground, who was the best organizer in
 "the army, whose faculty was to organize and
 "defend, and who would here act upon the defensive,
 "to take this defeated and broken
 "army and reorganize it."

The St. Louis *Republican* contributes an anecdote relating to this crisis:

"McClellan, stripped of his command and
 "left a spectator of disasters he was powerless
 "to avert, had retired to Washington, and was
 "sitting, one evening, in his office, in company
 "with Delos B. Sackett, now Inspector-general
 "of the Army. This officer had been on
 "McClellan's Staff, during the Peninsula Campaign,
 "and was, consequently, perfectly familiar with the
 "embarrassments under which he had labored. They were
 "conversing upon the gloomy situation of affairs,
 "and indulging in those reflections which that situation
 "would naturally give rise to, when, suddenly, there
 "was a sharp ring at the door-bell. The servant
 "came in, and announced the President and General
 "Halleck. McClellan rose, at once, and seeing his
 "distinguished visitors in the hall, ushered them into
 "a private reception-room, in the rear. After a brief
 "consultation, he accompanied them to a carriage in
 "waiting; returned to the office; and remarked, quietly:
 "'Well, Sackett, I am in command of the Potomac
 "again.' His friend started up, in surprise, and
 "exclaimed instinctively, 'I hope, General, you did not
 "accept it without suitable guarantees'—meaning
 "guarantees against further interference, on the part
 "of the Executive. McClellan looked at him with a
 "peculiarly solemn expression he could never afterwards
 "forget, and said, very slowly and deliberately:
 "'Sir, when the President of the United States tells me,
 "with tears in his eyes, that I am the only man who
 "can take command of this Army and save the country,
 "it is no time to ask for guarantees. We will leave for
 "the front, to-morrow morning, at daylight.'"

"They did leave at daylight, and the Campaign of
 "Antietam did save the country."—*Doylestown Democrat*.

HISTORY OF THE ISLE OF SHOALS.

The group of rocky islands known as the Isle of Shoals, figures somewhat largely upon the page of history. They were discovered in 1614, by Captain John Smith; visited, in 1623, by Christopher Leavitt; and, in 1645, three brothers from Wales—Robert, John, and Richard Cuts—made a permanent settlement. England and Wales furnished additional colonists until, in 1650, the settlement had increased sufficiently to support a Minister, Rev. John Brock, who lived there twelve years. In May, 1661, the General Court incorporated the Islands into a town called Appledore, and invested it with the powers and privileges of other towns. In 1670, forty families removed from Hog-island, now Appledore, to Star-island. William Pepperell, of Cornwall, England, settled, in 1676, and remained twenty years, carrying on an extensive fishery. He afterwards removed to Kittery-point; and was the father of Sir William Pepperill, the hero of Louisburg.

For a century previous to the Revolution, there were from two to six hundred inhabitants on the Islands. They had a church, a school-house, and a Court-house. The fishing business had become quite extensive—some four hundred quintals of fish were yearly caught, and found ready sale.

The religious history of the Shoals is remarkable. Says a historian: "Those islands were some of the foot-prints of New England christianity and civilization. They were, for a long time, the abode of intelligence, refinement, and virtue." From 1640 to 1773, the church was in a flourishing condition, and had a succession of Ministers—Hall, Brock, Baker, Moody, Tucke, and Shaw, all of whom were good and faithful men."

It may not be uninteresting to notice some of the particulars incident to the settlement of Mr. Tucke. On the town-records of Gosport is the following:

"At a general meeting of the freeholders and others of the inhabitants of Star Island, alias Gosport, duly qualified to vote, on the 13th day of December, 1731, and according to notification given under the hands of the Selectmen, Dec. the 11th, 1731, the question being asked at the said meeting, by the Moderator, whether it was their mind to make choice of the Rev. John Tucke to be their Minister, and whether they did chose him to settle among them in the work of the ministry in case he should accept; and it passed in the affirmative."

They were not unmindful of his temporal necessities, and offered him what was then deemed a liberal support. "It was also voted to give

and allow to the said Mr. John Tucke, annually, for his support, one hundred and ten pounds in money, or bills of credit, so long as it shall please God to continue him among us in the work of the ministry.

"It was also voted to give the Rev. Mr. John Tucke fifty pounds, in money, by the last of May next, towards building him a house himself; but in case he should thereafter remove from us, he shall be obliged to give us the refusal of buying the house and abate us fifty pounds in the price."

Provision was made for any possible depreciation in the value of money, a fact which some Religious Societies of these latter days would do well to vote, also, for additional support, when required. "As the value of money shall fail, we will make the aforesaid one hundred and ten pounds as it is now, and will be ready to enlarge his salary as his circumstances shall require and our own abilities allow."

Another act passed at a town-meeting shows the religious character of the people: "It was also voted that the 13th day of July next, be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, to beg God's blessing on the affair of settling a Minister among us."

The letter of acceptance of Mr. Tucke is recorded in full. He served as Pastor forty-four years; and died on the twelfth of August, 1776. At the time of his death, the prosperity of the Shoals was at its height. His grave was accidentally discovered, in 1800; and Hon. Dudley A. Tyng, long interested in the islanders, placed over it a stone slab with appropriate inscriptions, part of which is still legible.

The settlement of the Shoals flourished until the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, when the inhabitants were ordered to quit the islands. Most of them complied and found houses in the neighboring sea-port towns.

The Shoals are now becoming an attractive summer resort. On Star-island are several interesting boarding-houses. On Appledore-island is one of the largest and best hotels on the coast. The present population of the islands is about one hundred and fifty souls.—*Maine Farmer*.

AN EASTERN LAND OF PROMISE.

An opinion, as universal as it is unfounded, is that the island of Anticosti is unfit for the residence of man. On the contrary, it is stated by Mr. William Logan, Government Geologist, to contain "upwards of one million acres of land, of the very best quality, similar to the fine, arable soil of Ontario and the Eastern townships;" and Mr. Couper, a Canadian naturalist, who paid it a visit, last Spring, saw wild

timothy and clover rivaling in growth any grasses found around Montreal and Quebec. He also states that most of the cereals and all garden vegetables can be raised in perfection.

The island slopes gradually from its elevated northern coast to the grassy savannas which face the South shore, and thus, in some measure, the fertile portion of the country is protected from the wintry blast. Now the natives of Norway, and Sweden, and other countries of high latitudes, invariably delight in an insular residence, where fish can be had in abundance, and where they can also benefit by cultivating a farm. It is well known that the large Colonies of these nationalities, which have settled in the prairie States of the West, are not satisfied. They look in vain for the rolling sea, woody glen, and all to which they were accustomed in the fatherland. It is with pleasure we learn that a Company has recently been formed with the Hon. D. Price and W. L. Forsyth, Esq., of Quebec, as two of the Directors, to survey, improve, and colonize the island of Anticosti. The Secretary, Mr. Coster, is a native of the North of Europe, and he intends setting several thousands of emigrants—chiefly his own countrymen—on the arable lands, which will be surveyed as soon as possible.

There is something very interesting about the title under which this island is held by the present wealthy Company. The island was given by the French King, as a fief, to one Juliet. It first belonged to the Province of Newfoundland, and afterwards to that of Lower Canada. When the feudal system was abolished, there being no tenants on the island, the Seigneur became the possessor of the whole soil, in fee-simple, since which time it has been held jointly by a variety of persons, chief among whom are the Forsyth family of Quebec. The title to this immense possession seems to have been fully acknowledged by the Quebec Parliament, by an Act passed last Session.—*Montreal Witness*.

THE OLD OAKEN BUCKET.

The *Old Oaken Bucket* was written by Samuel B. Woodworth, while he was a journeyman printer, working in an office at the corner of Chambers and Chatham-streets, New York. Near by, on Frankfort-street, was a drinking-house kept by a man named Mallory, where Woodworth and several particular friends used to resort. One afternoon, the liquor was super-excellent. Woodworth seemed inspired by it; for, after taking a draught, he set his glass upon the table, and smacking his lips, declared Mallory's *eau de vie* was superior to anything that he had ever tasted.

"No," said Mallory, "you are mistaken;

"there was one which, in both of our estimations, far surpassed this, as a drink."

"What was that?" asked Woodworth, dubiously.

"The draughts of pure, fresh spring-water that we used to drink from the old oaken bucket that hung in the well, after our return from the labors of the field, on a sultry day."

The tear-drops glistened, for a moment, in Woodworth's eye. "True, true," he replied, and, shortly afterward, quitted the place. He immediately returned to the office; grasped a pen; and, in half an hour, the *Old Oaken Bucket*, one of the most delightful compositions in our language, was ready, in manuscript, to be embalmed in the memories of succeeding generations.

THE BURNHAM CLAIM.

Edward Payson, Esq., informs the *Press* that the result of his mission to Europe, in behalf of the Burnham heirs, was perfectly satisfactory. He considers the matter of the claim as fully settled. It is the wish of the Burnham Association that nothing shall be communicated to the public in regard to the claim, until the appearance of the pamphlet giving a detailed account of Mr. Payson's proceedings. This pamphlet is now in the hands of the printer. Mr. Payson intimates that the result of his mission was a negative; and that the much talked of Will of Benjamin Burnham has no existence, and that the Burnham family have no claims upon any property in England.—*Maine Farmer*.

SCRAPS—Mr. Micajah Mott, of Alburgh, Maine, in 1864, cut on his farm a hemlock-tree, which has been the subject of considerable interest to antiquaries and lovers of the marvellous.

The tree stood in a hemlock grove, about three-fourths of a mile from the lake, and from which he cut a stick of timber, forty feet in length, squaring eight by ten inches. After felling the tree, he discovered, near the butt, a bulge; and, thinking it might prove unsound, cut off five or six feet, but found it perfectly sound. The butt cut off, he drew it home for wood, and, upon splitting it, found that, when the tree was about eight inches in diameter, it had been hewed, on four sides, with an axe or some other sharp tool, about eighteen inches in length and perfectly smooth, leaving the tree nearly square, except upon one corner, where the bark had been left in a strip about three inches wide. The tree had grown and completely covered this scarf or hewing, having no external indication except the slight bulge spoken of. Mr. Mott counted two hundred and forty

grains which had grown over the scarf, which had been cut.

By whom, and for what purpose, was this tree thus marked? It must have been done somewhere about the year 1624. Champlain, who discovered and gave his name to our lake, in the year 1609, was frequently about the lake from that time down to the year he died, in 1635. The Pilgrims landed in the year 1631; and this tree was thus marked but four years later. In the year 1623, the English had begun settlements at Portsmouth and Dover; and in the year 1638, had penetrated the wilderness to Windsor, Connecticut. It was these advancing settlements that aroused the jealousy of the Indians and led to the conspiracy, formed by the Narragansetts and other tribes, for the extermination of the English. This tree may have been marked by some of those Indian war parties, which made this section the theatre of wars and a scene of havoc and cruelty of the most appalling character, or by Champlain himself, on some of his expeditions while camping in this thicket of hemlocks.

Mr. Mott preserved this for several years, intending it for the Antiquarian Society. At some time, in his absence from home, it was burned by his hired man, which is much regretted.

—In Newport, the old and the new are so ly intermingled. The quaint old town, by the water, and the more pretentious city, on the hill, are equally objects of interest to the pleasure-seeker. Relics of past generations and places distinguished by old associations are to be found on every side. Historical scenes abound around us, but like all things else, they are subject to decay, and the hand of improvement is fast sweeping them away. Even now, while I write, the old Penrose House, on Church-street, is being demolished, to give place to a more modern structure. This house, of late years so dilapidated, was once the Assembly-room of Newport; and Mrs. Cowley, the keeper, one hundred and fifty years ago, was known to all the region round. It was here that Prince de Broglie, Count de Rochambeau, and other officers of the French Army, then quartered in Newport, gave a grand Ball to the ladies and gentlemen of the town. Here, also, the citizens honored Washington and Rochambeau, at the time of Washington's first visit to Rhode Island. Washington opened the ball with Newport's reigning belle, a Miss Champlain, as partner, the lady selecting *A Soldier's Campaign*, then in high favor, for the first dance. And here, when Peace was declared, and Washington was our President, a second grand entertainment was held, in his honor, in this old hall, and again the Father of his Country participated.

in the ceremonies. The hall, we are told, was dressed in great taste, and the dance was commenced with *Washington's March*.

The old Vernon House, on Clarke-street, the Headquarters of Rochambeau, and also the Headquarters of Washington and Lafayette, has lately changed hands and, we understand, will soon be torn down. Thus, one after another of our Revolutionary land-marks are disappearing, and in their places, are springing up dwellings, all in modern elegance and luxury.—*Correspondent of the New York Tribune*, July, 1872.

—The execution of Evans is the twelfth that has taken place in New Hampshire.

In 1739, two women were hanged at Portsmouth, for the murder of a child. In 1755, one Eliphaz Dow was hanged at the same place, for the murder of a man, at Hampton Falls. Thirteen years later, occurred the memorable hanging, at Portsmouth, when an innocent woman died an ignominious death, because the Sheriff was hungry and wanted his dinner. Ruth Blay was hanged; and the messenger, with a reprieve, arrived only five minutes too late. In 1806, one Burnham was hanged, at Haverhill, for murdering two of his fellow-prisoners, while in jail; and, a few years after, Isaiah Thomas was executed, at Dover, for taking the life of a man who lived in New Durham. In 1822, Daniel D. Farmer, of Amherst, was hanged for the murder of a widow named Anna Ayer. About ten years later, Abraham Prescott, a young man, was hanged for the murder of Mrs. Cochrane, of Pembroke. He claimed to have committed the deed while in a somnambulist state, and came near escaping the gallows. In 1840, Rev. Enos G. Dudley was executed, at Haverhill, for the murder of his wife. In 1896, Samuel Mills, who lived at Lisbon, murdered an old man named Maxwell, chopping him up with an axe, and then quietly eating the supper the old man had just prepared in his lonely abode. The murderer escaped, but was afterward apprehended, in Illinois, and hanged, at Haverhill, where thousands gathered to witness the execution. The next victim of the gallows, and the last one preceding Evans, was Joshua L. Pike, who murdered the aged couple, at Hampton Falls, on the night of the seventh of May, 1868, and was hanged on the ninth of November, 1869.

—Mr. Kimball, Chief the Revenue Marine service, recently received a large, solid, twenty-four pound shot, forwarded to him by W. W. Ware, Superintendent of Life-saving stations, at Cape May, New Jersey. The ball was fired by John Maxsen, long since deceased, over the ship *Ayrshire*, wrecked on the twelfth of January, 1850, on Squan-beach, and was thereby the

means of saving two hundred and one lives. The ball was left on the deck of the ship, which soon went to pieces, the ball falling in the hold. The wreck soon sanded, and so remained, until a recent date, when, by the action of the sea, a portion of the wreck was washed out, and the ball found. This was the first ball ever fired in the United States, for the purpose of saving lives endangered by shipwreck.

—The veritable pins used by the Salem witches, and now on file in the office of the Clerk of Courts of Essex-county, Massachusetts, have been so often appropriated by relic-hunters, that the balance are sealed in a vial and can only be seen through a glass. The death-warrant of one of the malefactors, with the return of the officer, that he had caused the prisoner to be hanged until she was dead, and burned (though the two last words are erased) still hangs on the wall of the Clerk's office, in an excellent state of preservation.

—Twenty autograph letters of General Washington are reported to have been discovered at Princeton, New Jersey. About half the number relate to the affairs of Princeton-college, to General Mercer—who was killed at the Battle of Princeton—and to the battle itself. They were written to the Burrs, father and son—the one, at one time, President of the College, and the latter Vice-president of the United States—and to President Witherspoon. One of them, relating to General Mercer, urges the erection of a monument to that gallant General.

XI.—BOOKS.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. SCRIENNER, ARMSTRONG, & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient to them.]

A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*The Palatine Emigration to England, in 1709.* By Henry A. Homes, A. M. From *The Transactions of the Albany Institute*, Vol. VII., Page 106. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1871. Octavo, pp. 28.

A very excellent paper, from the pen of the very careful State Librarian, on the history of the emigration of the Palatines, in 1709; and embracing, not merely the history of their migration to England, but, incidentally, that from England to America and Ireland.

It is a remarkable record, evidently made up from authentic sources; and the stern facts which it presents will disarm more than one historian and silence more than one zealot. If

religious persecution formed any portion of the animus, it was evidently a very small portion; and emigrant-agents, pouring into the ignorant ears of these rustics, the stories of untold wealth which awaited them, in America, there can be little doubt, were vastly more instrumental in that work than any other cause.

Mr. Homes has rendered a good service to students of American history, in thus bringing forward the facts of this great migration; and we thank him, heartily, for the neat tract, containing his paper, of which he has favored us with a copy.

2.—*Early Days at Racine, Wisconsin*, intended as a Response or as Emendations to a part of Hon. Chas. E. Dyer's Address, before the Old Settlers Society. By an Outsider. *Sine loco*. [*Racine?*] 1872. Octavo, pp. 22.

In our number for January, 1872, we noticed an excellent address delivered by Hon. Charles E. Dyer, before the Old Settlers Society of Racine, giving it that just meed of praise to which it was evidently entitled. But "another cometh and searcheth him."

There are very few who are wholly without fault; and it seems that, here and there, Mr. Dyer has fallen into an error of statement; and, here and there, he has omitted, wholly or in part, the notice of some fact. "An Outsider," therefore, in a series of ten short papers—sometimes in one temper and sometimes in another—follows him, correcting what has been inaccurately told and filling some, at least, of the gaps in his narrative.

It is very evident that there has been some ill-feeling, on the part of the "Outsider," in thus becoming an annalist of Racine; but we can thank him, nevertheless, for the services he has probably rendered, even in his bad humor, while exposing his victim's mistakes and exhibiting his own better information. He has certainly rendered good service in the establishment of some facts—hitherto, imperfectly understood—in the early history of that city, which, sometime, will become very useful.

The pamphlet is printed with great taste, "for the author;" and was evidently intended for private circulation.

3.—*Di Agonas Kata Nikas. Kenyon College, Tenth Anniversary of the Class of 1862*. Gambier, Ohio: June, 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 20.

The Class of 1862 had no re-union, in 1872, but the Committee has preserved a record of the Class and printed it, in this tract, only for private circulation. The Rev. William D'Orville Doty, of Waterloo, New York, having favored us with a copy, we notice it.

Commencing with No. 1, of the Class—Rev.

Alexander V. G. Allen, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Episcopal Theological School, at Cambridge, Mass., with few exceptions each of the fifty-eight members presents his ten years' narrative and his present record—or has them presented for him—and as there seems to have been no thought that their letters would be published to the outside world, some of those records are exceedingly pleasant—such, in fact, as ten-year-old-men would be apt to write to their cronies of by-gone boyhood.

It is a pleasant record, as a whole; and Mr. Doty, who sent our copy of it, will please accept our thanks for it.

4.—*Washington: his person as represented by the Artists. The Houdon Statue, its History and Value*. Published by order of the Senate of Virginia. [Richmond:] R. F. Walker, Superintendent of Public Printing. 1872. Octavo, pp. 22.

Some years since, the Corporation of the City of New York printed a Report of its Committee on the Fine Arts, on the history and character of Houdon's statue of Washington, a copy of which in bronze, had been offered, for sale, to the City and the Senate of Virginia, in the tract before us, has repeated the interesting narrative, possibly with a little more of the details, but with very little.

It is a very interesting narrative, both as to history and as indicative of the peculiar value of the Houdon statue as a most accurate representation of General Washington, as he really was; and the Senate of Virginia has done well in printing it, as a public document of the State—an instance, by the way, of the growing respect which that good old State is manifesting for the history of Virginia and Virginians, so often and so unjustly sneered at by those who know not what they do, while doing it.

The copy of this work now before us is printed on tinted paper—one of fifty copies which were printed, for private circulation, at the expense of our friend, Thomas H. Wynne, Esq., of Richmond, through whose kindness we are indebted for it. As a specimen of book-making, however, it reflects no credit on the professional abilities or taste of those who printed it.

5.—*Names which the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians gave to rivers, streams, and localities, within the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, with their significations*. Prepared for the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, from a manuscript by John Heckewelder, by William C. Reichel. Bethlehem: 1872. Octavo, pp. 58.

The contents of this very handsome tract are so fully described in its title-page that little more is necessary, unless to say that the elaborate

foot-notes, occupying more than one half the space, notwithstanding the modesty of the learned Editor, cannot be safely disregarded by those who shall resort to the text, for information concerning the "Indian names," in the country of the Delawares.

The high authority of Heckewelder, on all matters connected with the philology of the aborigines, is generally conceded; and Mr. Reichel has done well in presenting this hitherto unpublished manuscript, from his pen, with such important additions, to the reading public.

This tract formed, originally, a part of a recent volume of the *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*; but "a few" copies, as an independent volume, were printed at the expense of John Jordan, Esqr., of Philadelphia, "for distribution among friends who take an interest in such matters;" and to that gentleman we are indebted for the copy of the work which is before us.

It is very neatly printed, on tinted paper.

6.—*The Stabat Mater and Other Hymns*, translated by John D. Van Buren. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1872. Octavo, pp. 87.

The originals of the grand old hymns, *Stabat Mater*, *Dies Iræ*, and *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, have taxed the skill of very many scholars, each impressed with the belief that they could improve the English versions of them and each anxious to display his superior knowledge of the intricacies of the Latin and the English languages. The last of these attempts, which has met our eye, is that which is before us.

Without discussing the merits of Mr. Van Buren's translations to a greater length, we may be permitted to say that they display more stiffness of style than is agreeable to us or necessary for the proper presentation of the originals, in an English dress.

Typographically considered, the little volume is a specimen of elegant book-making, which reflects credit on even the Munsell Press.

B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

7.—*First Congregational Church in Brunswick, Maine. Historical Sketch, Confession of Faith, Covenant, Rules of the Church, and Catalogue of Members, to January 15, 1872.* Brunswick: Joseph Griffin. 1872. Duodecimo, pp. 72.

This ancient church was constituted and had a stated Pastor—Rev. Robert Rutherford—as early as 1735; but the *Church*-records of that period have disappeared. From that time to the present, however, it has maintained its position, bravely and effectively confronting the

wrong-doers and wrong-thinkers in its vicinity; and, to-day, it occupies an enviable position among the Christian communities of the country.

The historical sketch contained in this *Manual* is from the pen of Professor Alpheus S. Packard, of Bowdoin-college, which affords all the guarantee of its accuracy which any one will need. A list of members, chronologically arranged, from the earliest day, follows; and that is followed by a list of those who are now members, alphabetically arranged.

This *Manual* is one of the most complete of this class of works; and, as a local history and as a help to those who follow genealogical pursuits, it will be found very useful.

8.—*Manual of the Second Presbyterian Church, Indianapolis.* Published by the Session. Indianapolis: 1872. 16mo. pp. 27.

This church, organized in November, 1838, had Henry Ward Beecher for its first Pastor; dedicated its first meeting-house, in October, 1840; called its second Pastor, Clement E. Babb, in 1849; colonized the Fourth Presbyterian-church, in 1851; received its third Pastor, Thornton A. Mills, in January, 1854; its fourth, George P. Tindall, in 1857; and its fifth, Hanford A. Edson, in January, 1864; dedicated its second missionary meeting-house—now the Fifth Presbyterian-church—in May, 1864; the third—now the Olivet Presbyterian-church—in November, 1867, and the fourth, in May, 1870; dedicated its own new meeting-house, in January, 1870; and, at the date of the publication of this *Manual*, was a hale and hearty body.

This little tract contains a brief history of the Church, its *Confession of Faith and Covenant*, a statement of its System of Benevolence, its *Standing Rules, Official Record*, and *Calendar* of meetings, etc.; and forms an interesting record of the constitution and work of this important Western Church and Congregation.

9.—*Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, October 8, 1872.* Montpelier: Printed for the Society. 1872. Octavo, pp. xxi., 197.

This very handsome volume contains, first, the record of the proceedings of the Society, at its October meeting, 1872; and, second, the very elaborate address which had been delivered, on the preceding June, and which was repeated, on that occasion, by Hon. L. E. Chittenden, on the capture of Ticonderoga, by the insurgents, in 1775.

The Vermont Historical Society is doing a very good work, in some respects; and if it would cut loose from the restraints imposed on it by one or two of its older members, who are

running in their old-time ruts and cannot turn out from the old track, no matter what fact is encountered, it would do much more good, in the intelligent community, than it now does. The consequence is, any evidence which tends to make Ethan Allen and the Vermontese of that day, any thing else than patriots who were boiling over with unselfish anxiety to benefit mankind, generally, is entirely discredited; and those who dispassionately write or speak, as the evidence directs, are regarded only as libellers and vagabonds.

We do not find, in this exceedingly elaborate paper, first, any reason assigned for those patriotic Vermonters' deathlike quiet, in 1775, until *they were paid*, with the money carried from Hartford, to *move against Ticonderoga*; second, any reason for having allowed the fort and its treasures to remain so long, unmolested, in the hands of the King's officers, while an abundant force was close by, to take it, and a sparkling patriotism crowding it onward, to glory and to fortune; third, just why, if Arnold was a mere interloper, of no account, he was allowed to share the honor of the command with Allen, marching into the fort at the head of the insurgents, side by side with Allen; and, fourth, if Allen and his followers were such remarkable patriots and accomplished soldiers, why their exploits ended with the seizure of an undefended fort, whose gates were wide open to receive them, while Arnold's exploits only just began there.

It strikes us that, had these Green-mountain-boys been the real honest patriots we read about, such a prize as Ticonderoga—which really invited some one to take it, without risk—would have been promptly taken, without an invitation from Hartford and without Connecticut gold as a compensation; and it strikes us, also, that if Allen and his party of Vermontese had been such mighty men of valor and such unselfish patriots as is pretended, they would have continued the exploits, thus commenced, notwithstanding the supply of money from Hartford was exhausted, and have secured some other subject for the Vermont Historical Society to talk about, than the seizure of an undefended fort. That particular part of the play, we notice, was left for Arnold to do; and he did it, notwithstanding the insignificance with which the Vermont Historical Society is so fond of attributing to him—without the help, too, of any Committee from Hartford or any illegal appropriation of public money, in either of the Colonies.

The Address of Mr. Chittenden is very complete and, with the qualification referred to, a very good compend of the history of the events referred to.

10.—*Report of the Committee appointed by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the relief of the sufferers by the great fire in Chicago, October, 1871, with the Roll of Contributors to the Fund, and the adjusted accounts of the Treasurer. June, 1872. New York: 1872. Octavo, pp. 71.*

This tract presents a record of which the Chamber may reasonably be proud—a record of which every New Yorker, as such, may, reasonably, be equally proud.

It is the record of what the merchants of New York did for Chicago, in the day of Chicago's deep distress; and the one million and forty-four thousand dollars which they received and disbursed are therein set forth, in all their details—the receipts ranging from fifty cents to ten thousand dollars; and the disbursements from fifteen to two hundred thousand dollars.

11.—*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Corporation of the Chamber of Commerce, of the State of New York, for the year 1871-72. In two parts, compiled by George Wilson, Secretary. New York: Press of the Chamber of Commerce. 1872. Octavo, pp. xv., 168, 222.*

The *First Part* of this volume includes the official record of the Chamber's proceedings, from May, 1871, until May, 1872; and as that record includes the several Reports of the Standing Committees, on the various commercial and industrial questions of the day, it is, consequently, a record of the minds of the most intelligent business-men, on those important matters, the great importance and relative value of which will be apparent to every one. The *Second Part* is composed of seventy-six distinct papers—Reports on separate branches of Commerce and Trade, elaborate statistical tables illustrative of nearly every element of the wealth and industry of the Republic, etc.

The deservedly high character of the Reports of the New York Chamber of Commerce is known and recognized, the world over; and the opinions of no Association whatever are received with more respect or carry with them greater weight and influence. They are the results of an active intelligence, presented with that care and precision of statement which successful business-men insensibly acquire; and they combine the theoretical and the practical, enforcing and illustrating their theories by—if they do not base those theories on—the well-established facts which they present, at the same time. The series of which this volume is the fourteenth, therefore, is of the very highest importance to every thinking man who cares anything for the material prosperity of the Republic; and those who care nothing for our country's welfare need not resort to it with any hope of finding in its pages the least particle of sympathy or consolation.

C.—OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

12.—*Eleventh Annual Report of the Librarian of the Maine State Library to the Legislature of Maine*, with a list of new books, for the year 1872. Published agreeably to a Resolve approved February 25, 1871. Augusta: 1872. Octavo, pp. 57.

We have been gratified, by the perusal of this Report, with the evidence which it contains of the diligent attention to the increase of the library by the excellent State Librarian. With only a thousand dollars at his command, he has purchased four hundred and fifty-eight volumes and obtained by exchange two hundred and seventy-seven, besides providing for the extraordinary expenses of binding, etc.; and, with such satisfactory results before them, in this instance, it is to be hoped that librarians in this neighborhood, who possess much greater means, will change their habits and produce more from their annual outlays than they have done, hitherto.

13.—*Rules and Decisions of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, Legislative Directory, together with Useful Political Statistics, List of Post Offices, County Offices, &c.* By John A. Small, Resident Clerk of the House of Representatives. Harrisburg: B. Singerly, State Printer. 1872. 16mo., pp. iv., 563.

This very useful handbook of Pennsylvanian statistics comes to us from our respected friend, Isaac Moorhead, one of the Clerks of the House of Representatives; and we thank him for it. It seems to be an improvement on the issues of former years; and we hope that its author will continue to improve it, year by year, until Pennsylvania shall possess, in this yearly, a Manual which is worthy of her.

14.—*Annals of Public Education in the State of New York, from 1696 to 1746.* By Daniel J. Pratt, A. M. Albany: Argus Company. 1872. Octavo, pp. vii., 152.

We have hitherto noticed the original issues of the parts which, together, form this volume; and we welcome it, in this revised and extended form, as one of the most important, as it is one of the best authenticated, of the recent publications devoted to the local history of New York. Indeed, we know no work of so little pretension and such singular merit, as material for history, among the public documents of recent publication, in any part of the Union; and we earnestly hope that Mr. Pratt may be enabled to complete the work which he has thus so admirably commenced.

We suppose an Index to the entire work, of a character in keeping with that of the text, will be added to the Second Part, which we understand to be now in preparation for early publication.

15.—*Senate Document. The Report of the Commissioners on Boundary Lines, between the State of Virginia, and the States of Maryland, North Carolina, and Tennessee.* Read in the Senate, Jan. 17, 1872. [Richmond: 1872.] Octavo, pp. 22.

Report and accompanying Documents of the Virginia Commissioners appointed to ascertain the Boundary Line between Maryland and Virginia. Richmond: R. F. Walker, Sup't Public Printing. 1873. Octavo, pp. 148, [Appendix,] 314.

Maps to accompany the Report of the Commissioners on the Boundary Line between Virginia and Maryland. Richmond: R. F. Walker, Superintendent Public Printing. 1873. Octavo, pp. iv., and nine maps.

Virginia, too, has her boundary disputes with her neighbors, notwithstanding her share of other troubles might reasonably exempt her from these. She has Commissioners, also, who are protecting her interests, in those disputes; and those Commissioners seem to have tried, at least, to do their duty, honestly and earnestly. The volumes before us—kindly sent to us by Thomas H. Wynne, Esq., of Richmond—constitute the Reports of those Commissioners, to the General Assembly of the State.

The first of these volumes contains a history of the Commission and of its labors, in 1870 and 1871, including the Report of Mr. D. C. De Jarnette, who was sent to England for copies of maps, pamphlets, documents, etc., for the establishment of Virginia's title to the disputed territory—the greater portion of which maps, etc., by-the-bye, might have been found very much nearer home than London is.

The second volume contains the final Report of the Commission, with an elaborate Appendix, in which are included the respective statements of the two Commissions—Virginia's and Maryland's—together with the voluminous Documents on which Virginia relies for the confirmation of her claim.

The third volume is, in fact, an atlas containing copies of the John Smith map of 1629; the Baltimore map of 16—; the Herman map of 1673; the Vaugondy map of 1755; the Pownall map of 1755; the Bowen map of —; the Fry and Jefferson map of 1775; the Faden map of 1793; and the map engraved to illustrate Mr. Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*.

As we have said, the Virginia Commissioners evidently discharged the duties assigned to them with great diligence and fidelity; and their two Reports are not only honorable to them, but they will continue to be serviceable to students of the local history of the distinguished parties in the dispute, through all time to come.

The letter-press of the Reports is very neat; but the photo-lithographic copies of the ancient maps, notwithstanding their English origin, are

not remarkable as specimens of high artistic abilities in those who executed them.

OUR EXCHANGES.—We continue our notices of the few exchanges with which we indulge ourselves; and, at the first convenient opportunity, we shall continue them.

—*The New York Daily Witness*, published by John Dougall, in New York City, at Three dollars per annum, is an evening paper, issued daily; and is gradually pushing itself into the ranks of the established newspapers of the day. It is not a member of the Associated Press, and so is not always first in the dissemination of the latest news; and it is avowedly religious in its teachings and tendencies, and so is not apt to be sensational in its articles. But it is a wholesome paper and, generally, impartial; and it may be received in any family, no matter of what creed or nationality, without exposing either old or young to the foul teachings which too often pervade the newspapers of the day, in New York and elsewhere.

—*The Christian Union*, published, weekly, by J. B. Ford & Co., 27 Park Place, New York City, at Three dollars per year, in advance, is a family newspaper, edited by Henry Ward Beecher, and circulating widely throughout the entire Union. It is one of the very best of the, so-called, "religious press," combining, as it does, a running glance at leading current events, a serial story, admirably written papers on various topics, editorials of unusual merit, reviews, etc.; but, above all, it is without that cant and bigoted sectarianism which render most papers of this class intolerable to all candid readers. As we said, it is one of the very best of weeklies—we should be afraid to say how *small* the number is, which, in our opinion, is entitled to take rank with it, lest we should hurt somebodies' feelings. We believe it gives premium chromos to its subscribers;—but we have not seen them. Such a paper needs no such accompaniment, however, to ensure its welcome, wherever it is known; and we are sorry to see it pander to that questionable fashion, although it is said that, unlike some others, its pictures are not mere daubs.

—*The Christian Advocate*, edited by our honored friend and neighbor, Rev. Daniel Curry, D.D., and published by the Methodist Book Concern, New York City, at Two dollars and fifty cents per year, is known, the Christian world over, as one of the standards of American Methodism and, at the same time, one of the bravest, and most ably edited, and best of

Church weeklies. Of course, it is nothing else than Methodist in its teachings, and never looks on nonsense, in any quarter, with the least allowance; but those who are not Methodists will rejoice over its sturdy defence of what on every subject, it conceives to be "the right," while those who are Methodists, in name, may well be cautious how they expose their wrong-doings or, even, their doubtful adventures, to the lash of its judgment. It is a grand old paper, apart from its Methodism; and we heartily wish both it and its Editor-in-chief continued prosperity and usefulness.

—*The Doylestown Democrat*, published weekly, by our friend, General W. W. H. Davis, at Doylestown, Pennsylvania, at Two dollars and fifty cents per year, is, in our judgment, a model country newspaper, which others may take pattern from, but can hardly hope to surpass, in excellence. Its selections are judiciously; its editorials are spirited and fearless in their tone, while they are, also, courteous, where courtesy is due—they are Democratic, of course, in their teachings; its local news are the best and the most varied of all; and it is printed very neatly. We know no other paper which will equal it; and its Editor and his *Democrat* have our best wishes.

—*Zion's Herald*, published by the Wesleyan Association, at Two dollars and fifty cents per year, is another of those *Church weeklies* which are exactly what they pretend to be—devoted to the best interests of the world, and presenting to their readers matter which is calculated to do them good. Its teachings, of course, are such as active, earnest, honest *Wesleyans* teach; but it contains, also, admirably written papers which are entirely Catholic in their character and purpose—papers which every one may usefully read and more usefully use for instruction from. It is a family paper of great merit; and, as such, we commend it. We desire, also, to call the attention of our readers, especially, to an admirable lithograph of Captain Miles Standish which the publishers of this paper offer, as a premium, to those who subscribe for the *Herald*. It is large-sized, admirably drawn, printed in tints, and of such quality, as a picture, as entitles it to the respectful attention of every one who is interested in the history of the sturdy old Puritanic-Roman Catholic of Duxbury. It is worthy of a place on the wall of any ordinary parlor; and Massachusetts-people, especially, will heartily welcome it.

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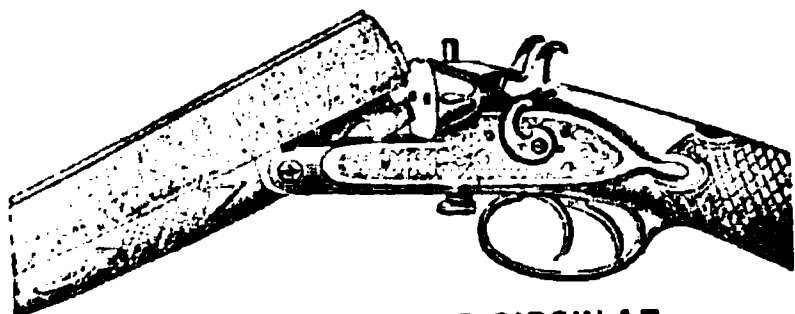
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